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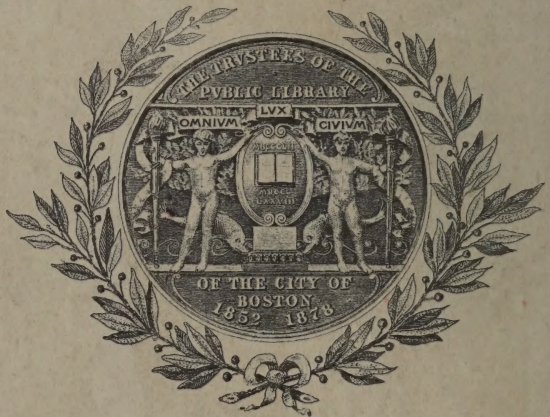

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OUTLINES

OF

MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN HISTORY.

A TEXT-BOOK

FOR

HIGH SCHOOLS, SEMINARIES, AND COLLEGES.

BY

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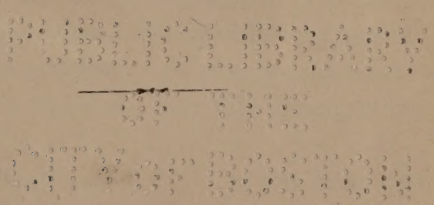

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PREFACE.

THIS work is a continuation of my *Outlines of Ancient History*. The two books are alike in general plan, but the present volume is intended for pupils of somewhat maturer minds than those for whom the first book was written.

Ueberweg's definition of History, that it is the unfolding of the essence of spirit, has, I perhaps ought to say, had much to do in determining the character of the work. It is under the influence of this conception that I have estimated the value of facts and judged of the significance of events. My aim has been to deal with the essential elements, not the accidental features, of the life of the race. The book, therefore, gives prominence to the virtues, rather than the vices, of men. It concerns itself mainly with those phenomena and institutions which are the expression of the permanent tendencies of the developing spirit of humanity.

The guiding idea mentioned has controlled the analysis of the subject-matter. The principles of grouping are the laws of historic development. Events have not, as a rule, been gathered under reigns or dynasties.

The divisions and subdivisions of the subject being thus philosophical and natural, with cause and effect as the associating principle, the whole has unity and cohesion, and, readily impressing itself upon the memory of the reader, forms a permanent outline for his guidance in all further historical work. At times, the mate-

rial is gathered about prominent personages, but only because these are the representatives of great principles or tendencies.

With the analysis completed, my aim has been the expansion of this into a clear, continuous, and attractive narrative, — into a story that should at every point hold the attention and throughout sustain the interest of the reader. The infinite difficulty of giving proper perspective and artistic form to the work, on account of the very superabundance of the material to be dealt with, will be appreciated by all students of these periods of history. An honest effort, however, has been made to do this, considerable portions of the volume having been rewritten several times. The book has been kept within moderate compass and prevented from becoming a mere schedule of names and dates, only by the rigid adhesion to two rules. First, facts have been regarded as available and of value simply as they might be used to illustrate historic laws, principles, or tendencies. This rule has excluded a multitude of details whose presence, instead of rendering clearer the vision, would simply tend to obscure the view. Second, from among many possible illustrative facts, only the most striking or typical have been selected, and these have been presented with as much background and atmosphere as possible in limited space; for simply to mention facts and not frame them, is to give the reader a page which will leave nothing but a blur upon the memory.

Writing primarily for the student and the teacher, I have tried to keep ever before me the necessity of condensed and suggestive statement. My effort has been to lodge germs in the mind, not to transplant into it fully-developed ideas. Consequently, while the text is designed for memorizing by the pupil, it is also adapted to being made the basis of easy amplification by illustration and comment on the part of the teacher.

I have, of course, carefully avoided a controversial tone, and yet I have not thought I should conceal, nor have I concealed, my profound sympathy with the principles of religious toleration and of political democracy. Especially have I not thought that the impartiality which should characterize a work like the present forbade my endeavoring, by every art in my power, to foster in the mind of the young student a hatred of all forms of political exclusiveness and tyranny, and a hopeful and sympathetic interest in the institutions of self-government.

I scarcely need to add that the book is not a political history, nor yet the history of any single element of civilization. It aims to blend in a single narrative accounts of the social, political, literary, intellectual, and religious developments of the peoples of mediæval and modern times, — to give in simple outline the story of civilization since the meeting, in the fifth century of our era, of Latin and Teuton upon the soil of the Roman Empire in the West.

As the pupil is supposed to be familiar with United States history before he comes to this text-book, I have referred to the affairs of our own country, only when necessary to show the influence of the New World upon the Old. Nor have I attempted to give any connected account of the nations of Eastern Asia, for the double reason of lack of space, and because they lie so aside from the main currents of history, I could leave them out without omitting any essential feature of the story I had to tell.

In the preparation of the book, I have not failed to refer to all the best authorities within my reach. From among the many works I have used, I desire to make special mention of the following, because it is their guidance I have mainly followed in treating the subjects with which they severally deal: Freeman's *History of the Norman Conquest;* Michaud's *History of the Crusades;*

Bryce's *The Holy Roman Empire;* Symonds's *The Renaissance in Italy;* Green's *History of the English People;* Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic;* Hallam's *Constitutional History of England;* Schuyler's *Peter the Great;* and Thiers's *The French Revolution.*

From among the numerous other works to which I am indebted, though in a less degree than to the above, I desire to name the following: Hallam's *Middle Ages;* Hodgkin's *Italy and her Invaders;* Finlay's *History of the Byzantine and Greek Empires;* Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire;* Lecky's *History of European Morals;* Muir's *Mahomet and Islam;* Osborn's *Islam under the Arabs;* Ockley's *History of the Saracens;* Montesquieu's *The Spirit of Laws;* Lea's *Superstition and Force;* Guizot's *History of Civilization;* Lea's *Studies in Church History;* Milman's *History of Latin Christianity;* Ranke's *History of the Popes;* Alzog's *Universal Church History;* Trench's *Lectures on Mediæval Church History;* Freeman's *Historical Geography of Europe;* Draper's *Intellectual Development of Europe;* Stubbs's *Constitutional History of England;* Bontaric's *Le Régime Féodal;* Johnson's *The Normans in Europe;* Mill's *History of Chivalry;* Robertson's *History of Charles V.;* Prescott's several histories; Morgan's *Ancient Society;* Martin's and Kitchen's histories of France; Seebohm's *The Era of the Protestant Revolution* and *The Oxford Reformers of* 1498; Baird's *History of the Rise of the Huguenots;* Fisher's *History of the Reformation;* Schiller's, Gardiner's, and Gindely's histories of the Thirty Years' War; Rambaud's *History of Russia;* Taine's *History of the French Revolution;* Lamartine's *History of the Girondists;* Lecky's *History of England in the XVIIIth Century;* Shaw's *History of English Literature;* May's *Constitutional History of England;* McCarthy's *History of Our Own Times;* and Müller's *Political History of*

Recent Times. These titles, together with the references occurring throughout the book, will, I believe, fairly indicate the sources whence I have drawn my material, and the authorities upon which I have relied.

I wish also to acknowledge my deep obligation to the following friends for valuable aid. I am indebted in a very special way to Professor William F. Allen, of the University of Wisconsin, who was so kind as to read not only the greater part of my manuscript, but also the proof-sheets as they came from the press. Every part of the work is indebted to his scholarly criticism and his excellent suggestions. To John M. Newton, Esq., Librarian of the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association of Cincinnati, I am also under obligation for many favors. Nor would I forget to express my warm thanks to W. O. Robb, Esq., of Cincinnati, for his kindness in reading the proof-sheets, and in giving me on many points the benefit of his admirable literary judgment. Finally, I would express my obligation to Professor E. W. Coy, Principal of Hughes High School, Cincinnati, for valuable suggestions on special chapters of the book.

A word respecting the progressive historical maps that embellish the work. It is to the courtesy of Professor E. A. Freeman, and the liberality of my publishers, that the book is indebted for these excellent and instructive charts. They are reproduced from Freeman's *Historical Geography of Europe* by special arrangement with Mr. Freeman effected through my publishers.

P. V. N. M.

Belmont College, College Hill, Ohio.
December, 1885.

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OUTLINES

OF

MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN HISTORY.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

Divisions of the Subject. — In a previous work we sketched briefly the affairs of men from the time that they first emerged from the obscurity of the past to the downfall of the Roman Empire in the West, A.D. 476. In the present volume we propose to continue the narrative there begun, and bring the story down to our own day. It will be our aim constantly to direct special attention to the state and progress of the arts and sciences, of learning, literature, and society, that our sketch may not be a recital simply of the outer circumstances, but a history of the real inner life of the European peoples — for with them we shall be almost exclusively concerned — during the period under review.

The fourteen centuries of history embraced in our survey are usually divided into two periods, — the *Middle Ages*, or the period lying between the fall of Rome and the discovery of America by Columbus in 1492, and the *Modern Age*, which extends from the latter event to the present time.

The Middle Ages, again, naturally subdivide into two periods, — the *Dark Ages* and the *Age of Revival;* while the Modern Age also falls into two divisions, — the *Era of the Protestant Reformation* and the *Era of the Political Revolution.* We will indicate the limits and chief characteristics of each of these periods,

in order that we may fix in mind the prominent landmarks of the vast region we are to traverse.

Chief Characteristics of the Four Periods. — The *Dark Ages*, which embrace the years intervening between the fall of Rome and the opening of the eleventh century, are so called by way of special distinction on account of the rude and benighted state of society during this time. The events that mark the period are, the migration and settlement of the Teutonic tribes; their conversion to Christianity; the fusion of the Latins and Teutons; the fortunes of the Roman Empire in the East; the rise of the Saracens; the restoration of the Roman Empire in the West by Charlemagne; the expeditions and settlements of the Northmen; the growth of the Papacy; and the origin of Feudalism.

The second period, the *Age of Revival*, begins with the opening of the eleventh century and ends with the discovery of America by Columbus in 1492. During all this time civilization was making slow but sure advances; social order was gradually triumphing over anarchy, and governments were becoming more regular; the arts were being developed with increasing success; trade and commerce were being gradually extended; and knowledge was becoming more generally diffused. The last century of the period especially was marked by a great intellectual revival, by improvements, inventions, and discoveries, which greatly stirred men's minds and awakened them as from a sleep. It was the age of intellectual emancipation. Man came to know the truth about himself and the universe, and the truth made him free. The human spirit escaped from the thraldom of ignorance and superstition, than which there is no more degrading or cruel bondage. The chief matters that will occupy our attention are, the culmination and decline of the temporal power of the Papacy; the enterprises of the Normans; the Crusades; the rise of the Free Cities; and the revival of learning and the formation of national governments and literatures, which important political and intellectual movements heralded the approach of the Modern Age.

The third period, the *Era of the Reformation*, embraces the

sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth. It naturally followed the Age of Revival, for intellectual emancipation is sure to lead to religious reform and freedom. The period is characterized by the great religious movement known as the Reformation, and the tremendous struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism. Almost all the wars of the period were religious wars. The immediate issue of the Reformation was the freeing of Northern Europe from the absolute spiritual dominion of Rome; its more distant result was or will be the securing of religious freedom to all the world; that is, the recognition of the right of every man to hold, avow, and teach such views in regard to religious matters as may seem to him to be true. The chief events of the era are, the opening of the Western Hemisphere as the destined home of civil and religious liberty; the great revolt under Luther against Rome; the ascendency of the Catholic and despotic power of Spain; the establishment of Protestantism in England during the Tudor period; the struggle between the Protestant provinces of the Netherlands and their Catholic Spanish sovereigns; the Huguenot wars in France; and the Thirty Years' War in Germany, which was closed by the famous Peace of Westphalia in 1648. After this date the disputes and wars between parties and nations were political rather than religious in character.

The fourth period, the *Era of the Revolution*, extends from the Peace of Westphalia to the present time. Though an age crowded with an infinite variety of events, and marked by the contention of many and diverse principles, it is nevertheless especially characterized by the great conflict between despotic and liberal principles of government, resulting in the triumph of democratic ideas; that is, the doctrine that the people have a right to govern themselves, as against the doctrine that certain so-called royal families have a divine right to rule, through a commission from God, such, for instance, as had the Hebrew kings. The most noteworthy matters of the period are, the ascendency of France under the absolute government of Louis XIV.; the despotism of the Stuarts in England and the English Revolution; the rise of the great

despotic power of Russia; the growth of Prussia; the war of American Independence; the terrible upheaval of the French Revolution; and the emancipation and unification of Germany and of Italy.

Having now made a general survey of the ground we are to traverse, having marked the successive stages of the progressive course of civilization, the three great steps in intellectual, religious, and political freedom which have carried mankind out of the darkness and bondage of the Dark Ages into the light and liberty of the present age, we must return to our starting-point, — the fall of Rome.

Relation to World-History of the Fall of Rome. — The calamity which, in the fifth century, befell the Roman Empire in the West is sometimes spoken of as an event marking the extinction of ancient civilization. The treasures of the Old World are represented as having been destroyed, and mankind as obliged to take a fresh start, — to lay the foundations of civilization anew. It was not so. All that was really valuable in the accumulations of antiquity escaped harm, and became sooner or later the possession of the succeeding ages. The catastrophe simply prepared the way for the shifting of the scene of civilization from the south to the north of Europe, simply transferred at once political power, and gradually social and intellectual preëminence, from one branch of the Aryan family to another, — from the Græco-Italic to the Teutonic.

The event was not an unrelieved calamity, because fortunately the floods that seemed to be sweeping so much away were not the mountain torrent, which covers fruitful fields with worthless drift, but the overflowing Nile with its rich deposits. Over all the regions covered by the barbarian inundation a new stratum of population was thrown down, a new soil formed that was capable of nourishing a better civilization than any the world had yet seen.

Or, to use the figure of Draper, we may liken the precipitation of the northern barbarians upon the expiring Roman Empire to

the heaping of fresh fuel upon a dying fire; for a time it burns lower, and seems almost extinguished, but soon it bursts through the added fuel, and flames up with redoubled energy and ardor.

Relation of the Mediæval to the Modern Age. — We are now in a position to understand the real relation of the Mediæval to the Modern Age. The first was to civilization a period of recovery from interruption and disaster, — interruption and disaster that were really disguised blessings. It was a sort of spring-time, a germinal season, a period during which the seeds of Greek and Roman civilization, scattered everywhere by the wide extension of Roman power during the preceding era, were taking root in the good soil of the hearts and minds of a new race.

During these centuries the arts, the sciences, the literatures, and the institutions that characterize the modern era took shape, and gave promise of what they were to become; the leading modern nations grew into form, and the political divisions of Europe were more or less definitely outlined. In a word, the era bears the same relation to the Modern Age that the period of youth does to that of manhood. This conception of its real character as a germinal, formative period will tend to impress us with a proper sense of the importance of a careful study of its events and circumstances. It affords the key to modern history.

Elements of Civilization transmitted by Rome. — We must now notice what survived the catastrophe of the fifth century, what it was that Rome transmitted to the new race, the Teutonic, that was henceforth to be the guardian of the treasures of civilization. It was a rich bequest she made, a large part of which, however, had become hers through inheritance or through appropriation by conquest.

It will be convenient to consider what the northern or Teutonic nations received through Rome from the ancient world, under the following heads: 1. Græco-Roman civilization; 2. Christianity. We will speak of them separately.

Græco-Roman Civilization. — By the phrase "Græco-Roman civilization," we mean that whole body of arts, sciences, philoso

phies, literatures, laws, manners, customs, ideas, and social arrangements, — everything, in a word, save Christianity (which we desire to speak of separately), that Greece and Rome, through the medium of the latter, gave to mediæval and modern Europe. These things constitute what is called in history the *classical element.* Taken together, they were a valuable gift to the new northern race that was henceforth to represent civilization.

From among the varied elements of this rich legacy of the elder to the younger world, we will select for special mention here only three things, — the *idea of the Empire,* the *Roman law,* and *Græco-Roman art and literature.*

The first of these may seem a very vague, shadowy thing; but we shall see that this recollection of the great Roman State and its imperial glories had a most profound influence upon mediæval and even later history. Men were constantly striving to set up in the world something like that old Roman Empire, whose memorials and legends had cast such a spell over them. Just as they strove to realize in their individual lives the ideal that Christianity held up, so did they in governmental matters strive to shape the world after the Roman model. The vast empire built up by Charlemagne, and the Holy Roman Empire of the later German princes, were simply attempted revivals of the old Roman Empire, — the fallen Dagon, as some one has said, set up again in his place. The Papacy, in the language of Hobbes, was but "the ghost of the deceased Roman Empire crowned and seated upon the grave thereof."

This historic ghost cannot be ignored any more than the ghost in Shakespeare's drama of Hamlet. Like the ghost of the play, it will explain many things going on upon the political stage of Europe which would otherwise be wholly inexplicable.

The Roman law-system, with its admirable principles and practical ideas, exercised from the very first a great influence upon the rude legal forms, customs, and practices of the barbarians. Throughout a large part of Europe it came to form the groundwork of all legislation and jurisprudence, and everywhere its influ

ence was felt upon statesman and jurist. "No European lawyer," says Palgrave, "has failed to profit by Rome's written wisdom."

The stores of classical art and literature — such part of these as survived the disruption of the Empire — were destined to become a most important factor in the new civilization. It is true that the barbarian invaders of the Empire seemed at first utterly indifferent to these things; that the masterpieces of the Greek artists were buried beneath the rubbish of sacked villas and cities, and the precious manuscripts of the ancient sages and poets suffered to lie neglected in the cellars and garrets of cathedrals and monasteries. Nevertheless Greece and Rome — we shall learn it later — were the instructors of the Middle Ages. It was they that taught the hand of the mediæval builder its cunning, and imparted to the thought of the mediæval schoolman its subtlety. And it was the relics of Græco-Roman antiquity, drawn from their various hiding-places by curious scholars, that created, towards the close of the mediæval period, that enthusiasm for classical art and learning which resulted in what is known as the Renaissance or New Birth, — the herald of the Modern Age.

It will appear hereafter, as we proceed with our narrative, how large a debt modern civilization owes to the preceding culture of ancient Greece and Rome.

Christianity. — The religion which Rome gave to her conquerors was quite different from that taught by Christ and his Apostles. But all we need to notice now is that in giving this religion to the Teutonic nations, Rome gave them something which was destined to produce a profound influence upon all their future. It shaped all the events of their history. It moulded all their ideas and institutions. It informed all their literatures, and ennobled their architecture, their painting, and their sculpture. It covered Europe with monasteries, cathedrals, and schools. It abolished servitude, inspired the Crusades, and aided powerfully in the creation of Chivalry. It added to mediæval history the chapter on the Papacy, and to modern that on the Reformation. It cast upon the Middle Ages the darkest

shadows, yet lighted them up with the most splendid radiance. It occasioned wars and persecutions without number, yet blessed Europe with the Truce of God.

In a word, it has so colored the whole life, and so informed all the institutions of the European peoples, that their history is very largely a story of the fortunes and influences of this religion, which, first going forth from Semitic Judæa, was given to the younger world by the missionaries of Rome.

The Teutons. — In the foregoing paragraphs we have named some of the chief elements of civilization which the ancient world through Rome gave to the mediæval and modern. We must now see what the Teutons, who became the possessors of all these accumulations of the past, contributed to this world-treasure, to this ever-growing thing that we call civilization.

The Teutons were poor in those things in which the Romans were rich. They had neither arts, nor sciences, nor philosophies, nor literatures. But they had something better than all these; they possessed the essential elements of a virtuous and robust manhood. And it was because of this, because of their *personal worth*, that unto them the promise had been given that their seed should become great nations — that the future should be theirs.

If we should analyze this character of the Teutonic peoples which we praise so highly, we would find in it at least three prominent traits of which we ought at this time to take special notice; namely, capacity for civilization, love of personal freedom and independence, and reverence for womanhood. We will say just a word respecting each of these, in order to place them distinctly before our minds.

Their Capacity for Civilization. — We cannot better illustrate the capacity for civilization of the Teutonic nations than by contrasting them with the Turanian peoples,[1] as for instance the

[1] This intimated incapacity for culture of the Turanian race finds marked exceptions in the case of the Finns, the Magyars or Hungarians, and the Japanese. Nevertheless, the verdict of general history is, that the Turanians, as a race, have displayed little political, scientific, or literary capacity.

Turks. These last-named folk have been in contact with European civilization for centuries, but have shown themselves utterly incapable of profiting by such association, being wholly insensible to the influence of the superior culture of the European nations.

The Teutons fortunately belonged to a progressive and civilizable race. They came of good stock. They had back of them the push of a strong and noble ancestry. In the process of time their open and susceptible nature appropriated whatever was good — and unfortunately much that was not good — in the civilization they had overthrown. It was this quality in the Teutonic conquerors, this boundless capacity for growth, for culture, for civilization, which saved the countries of the West from the sterility and barbarism reserved for those of the East that were destined to be overrun and taken possession of by the Turanian hordes.

Their Love of Personal Freedom. — The love of the Teutons for personal freedom is noticed by the old Latin writers. They could not even bear to have the houses of their villages set close together. "They dwell scattered and separate," says Tacitus, "as a spring, a meadow, or a grove may chance to invite them." The walled cities of the Romans they regarded as prisons. There were no towns in Germany before the eighth century, save a few places founded by the Romans along the Rhine and Danube. This same feeling of independence appears again in the relation sustained by the German warriors to their chief. They followed their chosen leader as companions and equals. The chief's power was extremely limited. "The general," says the Latin writer just quoted, "commands less through the force of authority than of example." And again we see the same independent spirit expressed in their assemblies of freemen, in which meetings all matters of public interest were debated, disapproval being manifested by a general murmur, and approval by the clashing of javelins and spears.

This sentiment of the Teutons determined in a large measure the nature of the institutions which they established upon the soil of the conquered Empire. It was this element in their character which led them, influenced, however, by Roman customs and

forms, to set up, in all the countries of which they took possession, that peculiar form of government known as Feudalism, — an organization allowing a great amount of personal independence among its members. In this same trait of the Teutonic disposition lay also the germ of representative government; for from the general assemblies of the free Teutonic warriors beneath the forests of Germany may probably be traced the origin of the parliaments of modern Europe. Furthermore, in this characteristic of the Teutonic spirit, in this sentiment of individualism, this idea that a man has a right to himself, lay hidden the germ of Protestant (or Teutonic) Christianity.

Their Reverence for Womanhood. — A feeling of respect for woman characterized all the northern or Teutonic peoples. Tacitus says of the Germans that they deemed something sacred to reside in woman's nature. This sentiment guarded the purity and sanctity of the home. In their high estimation of the sacredness of the family relation, the barbarians stood in marked contrast with the Romans. All students, ancient as well as modern, of the declining Roman Empire admit that Rome fell because of her vices, and that most prominent among these were those which, degrading woman, destroy the sanctity of the family life. But the Teutons had preserved religiously those ideas and sentiments which ruled the early Aryan home, which traditions the Romans, as well as the Greeks before them, had undervalued and lost. Now in bringing among the peoples of the corrupt and decaying Empire the sentiment of which we speak, the barbarians contributed a most important element to European civilization. Strengthened by Christianity,[1] it aided powerfully in giving birth to Chivalry, an institution which, as we shall see, colored all the events of the later mediæval centuries and gave to modern civilization some of its loftiest ideals. It is only among the Teutonic nations, or among peoples that have felt their influence, that the family is the actual unit of society, and woman the real compan-

[1] Although monasticism certainly degraded woman, it cannot be doubted that the general influence of Christianity has been to elevate and dignify her.

ion and equal of man. Our own sacred word *home*, as well as all that it represents, comes from our Teutonic ancestors.

Celts, Slavonians, and Other Peoples. — Having noticed the Romans and the Teutons, the two most prominent and important of the peoples that present themselves to us at the time of the downfall of Rome, if we now name the Celts, the Slavonians, the Persians, the Arabians, and the Turanian or Tartar tribes of Asia, we shall have under view the chief actors in the drama of mediæval and modern history.

At the commencement of the mediæval era the Celts were in front of the Teutons, clinging to the western edge of the European continent, and engaged in a bitter contest with these latter peoples, which, in the antagonism of England and Ireland, was destined to extend itself to our own day.

The Slavonians were in the rear of the Teutonic tribes, pressing them on even as the Celts in front were struggling to resist their advance. These peoples, progressing but little beyond the pastoral state before the Modern Age, will play only an obscure part in the events of the mediæval era, but in the course of the modern period will assume a most commanding position among the European nations.

The Persians were in their old seats beyond the Euphrates, maintaining there what is called the New Persian Empire, the kings of which, until the rise of the Saracens in the seventh century, were the most formidable rivals of the Emperors of Constantinople.

The Arabians were hidden in their deserts; but in the seventh century we shall see them, animated by a wonderful religious fanaticism, issue from their peninsula, and begin a contest with the Christian nations of the East and West which, in its varying phases, was destined to fill a large part of the mediæval period.

The Tartar tribes were buried in Central Asia. They will appear late in the eleventh century, proselytes for the most part of Mohammedanism; and, as the religious ardor of the Semitic Arabians grows cool, we shall see the Crescent upheld by these

zealous converts of another race, and finally, in the fifteenth century, placed by the Turks upon the dome of St. Sophia in Constantinople.

As the Middle Ages draw to a close, the remote nations of Eastern Asia will gradually come within our circle of vision; and, as the Modern Age dawns, we shall catch a glimpse of new continents and strange races of men beyond the Atlantic.

PART I.

MEDIÆVAL HISTORY.

FIRST PERIOD.—THE DARK AGES.

(FROM THE FALL OF ROME, A.D. 476, TO THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.)

CHAPTER I.

MIGRATIONS AND SETTLEMENTS OF THE TEUTONIC TRIBES.

Kingdom of the Ostrogoths (A.D. 493–554). — As soon as Odoacer, the leader of the Herulian mutiny, had dethroned Augustulus, the last of the Western Roman Emperors, he seized upon, and divided among his followers, the estates of the wealthy Italian nobles. His feeble government lasted seventeen years, when it was brought to a close by the invasion of the Ostrogoths (Eastern Goths), under Theodoric, the greatest of their chiefs.

The Ostrogoths came from the region of the Lower Danube. They were, at this time, nominal allies of the Eastern Emperor, and had been assigned the duty of guarding the Danubian frontier. But they were very troublesome and costly friends, the Emperor being obliged to purchase their good-will with constant gifts of land and money. At last Theodoric asked of the Emperor permission to lead an expedition to the conquest of Italy. "If I fall"—thus he urged his suit—"you will be relieved of a troublesome friend; if, with the divine permission, I succeed, I shall govern in your name, and to your glory, the Roman senate, and

the part of the republic delivered from slavery by my victorious arms."

The Emperor granted the permission sought; and the entire Ostrogothic nation — warriors, women, and children — set out for Italy. It was a migration rather than a military expedition. Italy was not simply to be plundered, as when Alaric led the Visigoths over the Alps, but to be occupied as a permanent possession; so the trains of the migrating nation were lengthened by their flocks and herds, and by clumsy wagons loaded with such property as make up the riches of a roving people.

From their seats on the Danube to the northern plains of Italy was a long and broken march of seven hundred miles. The snow and cold of a winter of unusual severity, and hostile bands of Burgundians and Sarmatians, impeded and harassed their march. But the genius and daring of Theodoric, who animated his followers with his own intrepid spirit, and encouraged them with prospects of the rich booty that awaited them, surmounted every obstacle; and in the spring, A.D. 490, the inhabitants of Italy were again startled by the apparition of a Gothic host issuing from the defiles of the Alps.

Odoacer and his followers made an heroic defence of their dominions. But after a struggle of three years, during which time Italy suffered all the evils incident to barbarian warfare, the contest was ended by the surrender of Ravenna, in which city Odoacer had entrenched himself. The conqueror of Rome was treacherously murdered by Theodoric, who now assumed the sovereignty of all Italy, and, in fulfilment of the promises he had made his followers, distributed among them one third of the land of the peninsula.

The reign of Theodoric lasted thirty-three years, — years of such quiet and prosperity as Italy had not known since the happy era of the first two Antonines. The king made good his famous declaration that his reign should be such that "the only regret of the people should be that the Goths had not come at an earlier period." During this auspicious time the Goths increased in

EUROPE
IN THE REIGN OF
THEODORIC
C A. D. 500.
Roman Empire
Teutonic Settlements
Celts
Eboracum [York]
Londinium
Cologne
Trier
Mainz
Metz
Paris
Chalons
Tours
Orleans
Lyons
Geneva
Milan
Bordeaux
Toulouse
Narbonne
Arles
Nice
Ravenna
Salona
Barcelona
Toledo
Cordova
Carthage
Naples
CORSICA
SARDINIA
BALEARIC IS.
Strait of Gibraltar
ROME
Danube R.
Pannonia
Gepidæ
SLAVES
HUNS
Cherson
THRACE
Constantinople
Thessalonica
Nicæa
PONTUS
Theodosiopolis
Melitene
Amida
Nisibis
Nineveh
Antioch
ASIA
CRETE
Alexandria
EGYPT
Ælia
Medina
Mecca
SARACENS
PERSIAN KINGDOM
Kashmire
Persarmenia
Glassanides
FRANKISH KINGDOM
BURGUNDIAN K.
ALEMANNI
Thuringia
Saxons
Angles
Jutes
THANET
Rhine R.
Elbe R.
Weser R.
Saxons
BRITAIN
Ireland
Picts
WEST GOTHIC KINGDOM
SUEVIAN K.
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
Guadalquivir R.
Ebro R.
EAST GOTHIC KINGDOM
VANDAL KINGDOM
ILLYRICUM

numbers until the census of the nation amounted to at least 1,000,000 souls.

Notwithstanding the barbarians were scattered everywhere throughout the country, and were in intimate relations with the Italians, they did not blend with them. As the Spartans held in contempt the learning and refinement of the Athenians, so did these rude warriors despise the schools and manners of the more cultured race among whom they had thrust themselves as conquerors and rulers. Theodoric expressed his contempt of their schools by declaring that "the child who had trembled at a rod, would never dare to look upon a sword." The king himself had passed his youth as a hostage at the court of Constantinople; but refusing to profit by the instruction of his teachers, gave himself entirely to such athletic sports as hunting and riding, which he thought the only worthy employments of the prince of a warlike race. He managed to attach his name to such papers as required his signature, by the device of a stencil.

The dominions of Theodoric, gradually extended by conquests and negotiations, finally embraced the fairest provinces formerly ruled by the Western Roman Emperors. Italy, Sicily, part of Southern Gaul, and the countries between the head of the Adriatic and the Danube, acknowledged the authority of the Gothic king. And such was the reputation of Theodoric for wisdom and fairness, that the disputes of all the neighboring Teutonic nations were referred to him for arbitration. The last years of his reign, however, were embittered by religious quarrels, and stained by his acts of cruelty and persecution.

The kingdom established by the rare abilities of Theodoric lasted only twenty-seven years after his death, which occurred A.D. 526. Justinian, Emperor of the East, taking advantage of that event, sent his generals, first Belisarius and afterwards Narses, to deliver Italy from the rule of the barbarians. The last of the Ostrogothic kings fell in battle, an end befitting the last descendant of a martial race; and Italy, with her fields ravaged and her cities in ruin — for the Goths, loath to give up the coun-

try, made a desperate resistance — was reunited to the Empire (A.D. 554). Such of the barbarians as did not seek adventure in other lands were gradually absorbed into the native population.

Kingdom of the Visigoths (A.D. 415–711). — The Visigoths (Western Goths) were already in possession of Spain and Southern Gaul when the Roman Empire in the West was brought to an end by the act of Odoacer and his companions. The name of Euric (A.D. 466–483) holds the same place of preëminence among their kings as does that of Theodoric among the Ostrogothic princes. His fame was spread not only throughout Europe, but even reached some of the most distant countries of Asia.

Being driven south of the Pyrenees by Clovis, king of the Franks, the Visigoths held possession of Spain until the beginning of the eighth century, when the Saracens crossed the Strait of Gibraltar, destroyed the kingdom of Roderic, the last of the Gothic kings, and established throughout the country the authority of the Koran (A.D. 711). The Visigothic Empire when thus overturned had lasted nearly three hundred years. During this time the conquerors had mingled with the old Romanized inhabitants of Spain, so that in the veins of the Spaniard of to-day is blended the blood of Iberian, Celt, Roman, and Teuton.

Kingdom of the Burgundians (A.D. 443–534). — Towards the middle of the fifth century, the Burgundians, who were near kinsmen of the Goths, acquired, with the permission of the Romans, a permanent settlement in the territory now known as Savoy; and, at length, by force of arms or by peaceful negotiations, possessed themselves of all the southeastern portion of what is now the Republic of France, as well as considerable tracts of Western Switzerland. A portion of this ancient dominion still retains, from these German settlers, the name of "Burgundy." The Burgundians had barely secured a foothold in Gaul before they came in collision with the Franks on the north, and were reduced by Clovis and his sons to a state of dependence upon the northern kingdom.

Kingdom of the Vandals (A.D. 439–533). — About half a century

before the fall of Rome, the Vandals, crowded from their seats in Pannonia, traversed Gaul and Spain, passed the Strait of Gibraltar, overran in a few years all Northern Africa, and made the city of Carthage the capital of the kingdom which they set up in those regions (A.D. 439).

These Vandal conquerors were animated by a more destructive energy than any other of the Germanic tribes that took part in the subversion of the Roman Empire. Their very name has passed into all languages as the synonym of wanton destruction and violence. The terror of this name they spread throughout the Mediterranean countries. Their pirate ships swept all the waters between the Pillars of Hercules and the Nile. They carried their horses with them in their ships, and making a descent upon an unprotected coast, mounted the animals, scoured the country, gathered the booty into their vessels, and were away before an alarm could be sounded. Even walled cities did not escape the audacious attacks of these "Vikings of the South." In another volume we have told how the Vandal King Genseric bore in triumph down the Tiber the heavy spoils of Rome herself.

Genseric was a worthy representative of his race. Reckless and daring, he seems to have left to chance to determine whither his expeditions should be directed. It is said that, when about to sail, his answer to the inquiries of his pilots as to the direction in which they should guide the fleet, was, "Go with the winds; God will thus direct us against the guilty."

Nor did the Vandal pirates content themselves with plundering excursions. They emulated the ambition and imitated the conquests of the Carthaginians, whose ancient capital they had made their own. Besides conquering all Northern Africa, they seized Corsica, Sardinia, and the Balearic Isles. And not satisfied with reducing their enemies to political servitude with the heavy blows of their swords, they endeavored to subjugate them spiritually with the same weapon. Being Arian Christians, they persecuted with furious zeal and unrelenting cruelty the orthodox party, the followers of Athanasius. No crueler persecution stains the pages

of history than that waged by these semi-Christian Vandals against the African Catholics.

But vengeance was at hand. The Vandals had but just effected the conquest of Sardinia, when Zano, the general who had accomplished this undertaking, was sent for in haste to return to the defence of Africa. The Emperor Justinian had sent his general Belisarius to drive the barbarians from Africa, and to restore that province to the bosom of the true Catholic Church. The expedition was successful, and Carthage and the fruitful fields of Africa were restored to the Empire, after having suffered the insolence of the barbarian conquerors for the space of one hundred years.

At the time of their conquest by Belisarius the entire number of Vandals in Africa was, according to some authorities, about half a million. Many of them now enlisted in the army of the Eastern Emperor, while others engaged in different enterprises the hazardous nature of which struck their savage imagination. Those remaining in the country were gradually absorbed by the old Roman population, and after a few generations no certain trace of the barbarian invaders could be detected in the physical appearance, the language, or the customs of the inhabitants of the African coast. The Vandal nation had disappeared; the name alone remained.

The Franks under the Merovingians (A.D. 486–752).—The Franks, who were destined to give a new name to Gaul and form the nucleus of the French nation, made their first settlement west of the Rhine towards the close of the third century, about two hundred years before the fall of Rome. The name was the common designation of a number of Teutonic tribes that had formed a confederation while dwelling beyond the Rhine. The Salian Franks were the leading tribe of the League, and it was from the members of their most powerful family, who traced their descent from Merovæus, a legendary sea-king of the Franks, that leaders were chosen by the free vote of all the warriors.

After the downfall of Rome, Clovis, then chief of the Franks, conceived the ambition of erecting a kingdom upon the ruins of the Roman power. He attacked Syagrius, the Roman governor of

Gaul, and at Soissons gained a decisive victory over his forces (A.D. 486). Thus was destroyed forever in Gaul that Roman authority established among its barbarous tribes more than five centuries before by the conquests of Julius Cæsar. The victorious Clovis now set up his court at Lutetia, a small mud-built town of a Celtic tribe known as the Parisii, whence the name of Paris.

Clovis in a short time extended his authority over the greater part of Gaul, reducing to the condition of tributaries the various Teutonic tribes that had taken possession of different portions of the country. Success won for him friends on every hand. The bishops of the Christian Church, which had been established in Gaul during the Roman period, espoused with all the weight of their authority, which was not small, — for in that superstitious age they had acquired a wonderful ascendency over the minds of the barbarians, — the cause of Clovis, hoping in return to receive his support in their contest with the yet unconverted enemies of the Church. In this they were not disappointed, as we shall see a little later.

Furthermore, the Emperor at Constantinople sent the Frankish king the purple robe and other insignia of a Roman consul, thereby clothing him with all the authority of the imperial government. Clovis in accepting these became the lieutenant or viceroy of the Eastern Emperor only in name ; his authority was really as untrammeled and absolute as that of the most independent prince. But this formal recognition of the sovereignty of the court at Constantinople, which during all this period was acknowledged by almost all the German chiefs of the West, while it amused the Eastern Emperor, and laid no burdens or restrictions upon the barbarian princes, rather strengthened the authority of the latter among their own people, and especially among the former subjects of the Empire, who still reverenced the name of Rome, and looked upon the Emperor and those clothed with his delegated authority, with an almost superstitious veneration.

But though his acknowledged dependence upon the Eastern Emperor did not abridge the authority of the Frankish king, the

customs and regulations of the barbarians themselves so restricted the power of their chief that he by no means exercised an unrestrained control over the tribes at whose head he was placed. Indeed, Clovis himself ruled rather by the weight of influence and example than by authority. This relation of the Frankish chief to his followers is illustrated by the familiar story of the "vase of Soissons." Upon the division at Soissons of some spoils, Clovis seeking to have set aside in his favor a rule of the barbarians whereby everything was always distributed by lot, asked that he might have placed at his disposal a beautiful vase taken from the Cathedral at Rheims. The army assented, save one of the warriors, who, unwilling to yield his individual rights, lifted his battle-axe and struck the vase, at the same time telling the king that he should have nothing but what fell to him by lot. Although Clovis afterwards avenged himself upon the rude soldier, at that time he dared not manifest any resentment towards him, for he had simply asserted what was the undoubted right and liberty of every Frank.

Upon the death of Clovis (A.D. 511) his extensive dominions were divided equally among his four sons, according to the Salian law of inheritance. The natural consequences of such a parceling out of the supreme authority soon followed, and the kingdom was rent with dissensions and wars. About a century and a half of discord followed the energetic rule of Clovis, by the end of which time the princes of the house of Merovæus had become so feeble and inefficient that they were contemptuously called *fainéants*, or "do-nothings," and the ambitious members of other families that had grown rich and influential through their connection with the government were encouraged to aspire to the royal dignity.

Now the Frank monarchy at this time was composed of two members, an eastern and a western division, known respectively as *Austrasia* and *Neustria*, which represented in a vague way the Germany and France of later times. The eastern division, as was natural on account of its position, was more thoroughly Teutonic than the western, where the Roman element predomi-

nated. Naturally there existed an irreconcilable antagonism between the two members of the Frankish state. At the head of each division was a high officer of the crown known as Mayor of the Palace. After a long contest the Mayors of the eastern division gained the ascendency, pushed aside the weak Merovingian kings, and gave to the Frankish monarchy a new royal line, — the Carolingian.

It required the genius, the achievements, and the ambition of three successive princes, Pepin of Heristal, Charles Martel, and Pepin the Short, father, son, and grandson, to lift the aspiring Austrasian family to fully acknowledged royal dignity, although the first Pepin by a great victory over the Neustrians A.D. 687 secured such an ascendency in the monarchy, that he thenceforth really exercised royal power, notwithstanding a descendant of Merovæus still sat as a shadow-king upon the throne.

Charles, son of Pepin, by his genius, energy, and splendid services, raised to a more secure eminence the growing fortunes of the family. Never did ambition have presented to it a rarer opportunity.

The Saracens, of whom we shall tell in a following chapter, having reduced the East, Northern Africa, and Spain, had crossed the Pyrenees, and were threatening the subjugation of all Europe. The eyes of everybody were turned to Charles as the only one whose arm was powerful enough to stay the insolent progress of the Arab hosts.

Charles gathered his warriors, and on the field of Tours in Central France inflicted upon the invaders a most memorable defeat, thus saving Europe from the Mohammedan yoke (A.D. 732). From his exploits on this famous field Charles acquired the surname Martel, "the Hammer," and gained such renown and ascendency that he, like his father before him, became virtually the king of the Franks, although the honor of bearing that title was reserved for his son Pepin, who, in a way that will hereafter be explained, became the first in name of the Carolingian kings (A.D. 752).

At this point we must turn from tracing the growing power

of the Franks, in order to follow the fortunes of other invaders of the Empire.

Kingdom of the Lombards (A.D. 568–774).—The circumstances attending the establishment of the Lombards in Italy were very like those marking the settlement of the Ostrogoths. The Lombards (Longobardi), so called either from their long beards, or their long battle-axes, came from the region of the Upper Danube, where they had long been in the employ of the Eastern Emperor, engaged in a war of extermination against the Gepidæ. From this enterprise, which well suited their fierce and martial character, they turned to the conquest of Italy. This country, it will be borne in mind, had but recently been delivered from the hands of the Ostrogoths by the lieutenants of the Eastern Emperor.

In just such a march as the Ostrogoths had made nearly a century before, the Lombard nation now crossed the Alps and descended upon the plains of Italy. After many years of desperate fighting, they wrested from the Empire all the peninsula, save the great cities of Ravenna, Rome, Naples, and some other places of less importance, and set up in the country a monarchy which lasted almost exactly two centuries.

The Lombards were, after the Vandals, the fiercest of the tribes that fell upon the Roman provinces, and their conquests were attended with the most appalling slaughters and cruelties. Insensibly, however, the softening influences of the civilization with which they came in contact in Italy modified their rough manners and tamed their fierce dispositions, so that in process of time the rude invaders took on a quite different character, and became the generous patrons of art and learning.

The government they established was a sort of feudal monarchy, the country being parceled out among thirty dukes, who stood in the relation of vassals to the king. When they entered Italy they were Christians of the Arian sect; but afterwards they became converts to the orthodox faith of the Roman Church, and Pope Gregory I. bestowed upon the Lombard king an iron crown,

made, so it was declared, from one of the nails of the cross upon which Christ suffered.

The kingdom of the Lombards was destroyed by Charlemagne, the greatest of the Frankish rulers, who conquered Desiderius, the last of the long-bearded kings, and received from the hands of the Pope the iron crown that had been forged for the Lombard chief (A.D. 774).

The rule of the Lombard princes thus came to an end; but the blood of the invaders had by this time become intermingled with that of the former subjects of the Roman Empire, so that throughout all that part of the peninsula which is still called Lombardy after them, the people at the present day reveal, in the light hair and fair features which distinguish them from the inhabitants of Southern Italy, their partly German origin.

The Anglo-Saxon Conquest of Britain. — In the fifth century of our era, being then engaged in her death struggle with the barbarians, Rome withdrew her legions from Britain, in order to protect Italy. Thus that province was left exposed to the attacks of the fierce Celts of Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, as well as to the depredations of the Anglo-Saxon corsairs, who were now vexing the coasts of the northern seas.

During the long occupation of Britain by the Romans the dwellers of the cities had become quite thoroughly Romanized, while the inhabitants of the country had clung to their ancient customs and manners. Hence, straightway upon the departure of the Roman soldiers, two parties sprang up, one composed of the inhabitants of the towns, who desired to retain those arts and customs introduced by the conquerors, the other comprising the rural population, who wished the nation to return to the ways of their ancestors and the ancient order of things. With counsels thus divided, no effective measure of resistance could be concerted against the foes that now attacked the deserted provincials by land and sea.

The untamed tribes of Wales issued from their mountain strongholds and harried the country all about; the Picts made plunder-

ing raids over the Wall of Hadrian in the north; the Irish Celts descended in their piratical crafts upon the western, and the German buccaneers upon the eastern shores of the island.

In this extremity of affairs Ambrosius, the leader of the Roman party, is said to have appealed for aid to the Roman governor of Gaul, picturing the condition of his unfortunate countrymen in these terms: "The barbarians drive us into the sea; the sea throws us back upon the swords of the barbarians; and we have only the hard choice of perishing by the sword or by the waves." The appeal, if ever made, was unavailing, for the Roman legions were just then battling with the terrible hosts of Alaric and Attila, and could extend no help.

The distressed Britons were driven to what proved a fatal device. They determined to make friends of a part of their foes by means of bribes in land and money, and then turn these against the rest of their enemies. The German pirates were gained over by the means suggested. Hengest and Horsa, two half legendary Jutish chiefs, were the leaders of the first bands that came (A.D. 449). They were given as a base of operations the Isle of Thanet, at the mouth of the Thames, and the Picts were soon driven back into their northern fastnesses. Reports of the settlement, and glowing accounts of the richness of the soil and the delightfulness of the climate of the new land, caused fresh shiploads of the kinsmen of the colonists to join them. The new immigrants were Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, tribes of very near kin, that came from Jutland and the country along the lower courses of the Elbe and the Weser.

The Britons became alarmed at the increasing swarms of ships and men, and, when too late, realized that they had made a grave mistake in giving these fierce warriors a foothold in their country. They now, either through deliberate purpose or because the number of the strangers had become so great that they were not able to make good their pledges to them, withheld promised lands and provisions. Thereupon the new-comers resolved to help themselves. They attacked the Britons, overthrew them in a terrible

battle, and began to take possession of the island. We say began, for neither the generation that commenced the work of subjugating the island, nor yet the three succeeding ones, saw the conquest nearly effected. The advance of the invaders was disputed foot by foot, and a hundred and fifty years passed away before the Teutons had secured possession of even the eastern half of what now forms England. No other province of the Roman Empire made such determined and heroic resistance against the barbarians. Up to the close of the sixth century — after that date the struggle grew less savage and unrelenting — so bitter and desperate was the contest that the provincials were either exterminated or driven bodily westward. Almost every trace of Roman civilization was obliterated. The Christian religion, which had been introduced during the Roman sway, was virtually swept away, and Teutonic England again fell back into the savagery and paganism in which Julius Cæsar had found its tribes six hundred years before.

There is no more touching story in all history than that which tells how our barbarian ancestors dispossessed the Britons of their fair island, and drove them among the mountains of Wales or across the water to other lands.[1] It is to this period of desperate struggle that the famous King Arthur belongs. The legends that have gathered about the name of this national hero are mostly mythical; yet it is probable that he had a real existence, and that his name is that of the most valiant of the Celtic chiefs who battled so long and heroically against the pagan invaders.

Although the conquerors of Britain belonged, as we have learned, to three Teutonic tribes — the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes — they all passed among the Celts under the name of Saxons, and among themselves, after they began to draw together into a single nation, under that of Angles, whence the name England (Angle-land).

By the close of the sixth century the invading bands had set up

[1] Many of the hard-pressed Britons fled across the English Channel to the adjacent shores of France, and gave name to the French province of Brittany.

in the conquered parts of the island eight or nine, or perhaps more, kingdoms,[1] among which three, Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex by name, enjoyed a sort of preëminence, and formed the centres about which the smaller states tended to group themselves. For the space of two hundred years there was an almost perpetual strife among these leading states for supremacy, the king first of one and then of another forcing from one or both of the others a more or less perfect acknowledgment of his overlordship. Finally Egbert, King of Wessex, whose ambitious projects were favored by a growing sense of the advantages of a national union, and by the fear occasioned by the descent upon the coast of Scandinavian pirates, brought all the other states to a subject or tributary condition, and became, though he really never assumed the title,[2] the first king of England, and the founder of the long line of Saxon monarchs (A.D. 827).

Teutonic Tribes outside the Empire. — We have now spoken of the most important of the Teutonic tribes that forced themselves within the limits of the Roman Empire in the West, and that there, upon the ruins of the civilization they had overthrown, laid or helped to lay the foundations of the modern nations of Italy, Spain, France, and England. Beyond the boundaries of the old empire were still other tribes and clans of this same mighty family of nations, — tribes and clans that were destined to play great parts in European history.

On the east, beyond the Rhine, were the ancestors of the modern Germans. Notwithstanding the immense hosts that the

1 "These kingdoms are sometimes called the *Heptarchy*, from the Greek words ἑπτά, *seven*, and ἀρχή, *kingdom* or *government*. But I do not think this a good name. For ἑπταρχία in Greek would not mean seven kingdoms close together, but rather a single government in the hands of seven persons. And the name Heptarchy also gives the idea of a more regular state of things than there was, if there had always been exactly seven kingdoms, neither more nor fewer." — FREEMAN'S *Old English History*.

2 The title given him in the Saxon *Chronicle* is that of *Bretwalda*, which is sometimes rendered "Wielder of Britain." The *Chronicle* also states that Egbert was the eighth king to bear this title.

forests and morasses of Germany had poured into the Roman provinces, the Father-land, in the sixth century of our era, seemed still as crowded as before the great migration began. These tribes were yet savages in manners and for the most part pagans in religion.

In the northwest of Europe were the Scandinavians, the ancestors of the modern Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians. Untouched by the civilization or religion of Rome, they were thorough savages and pagans. We shall scarcely get a glimpse of them before the ninth century, when they will appear as "Norsemen," the dreaded corsairs of the northern seas.

CHAPTER II.

THE CONVERSION OF THE BARBARIANS.

I. The Introduction of Christianity among the Different Tribes.

Introductory. — The most important event in the history of the tribes that took possession of the Roman Empire in the West was their conversion to Christianity. The facility with which they exchanged their primitive beliefs for the new faith was due to two causes, — the excellence of the religion that was offered for their acceptance, and the loose hold they had upon their own. "Those who have no homes for themselves," says Montesquieu, "were never known to build temples, and those peoples who have no temples have but a small attachment to their own religion." The Teutons, before they entered the Empire, were without homes or temples. As they readily abandoned old seats and went in search of others, so did they lightly give up old beliefs and embrace new ones. Also, they were almost, if not quite, without written records; and races whose religion is merely traditional and not yet embalmed in literature, will more readily give it up in exchange for a new than those whose faith is conserved by the authority of books venerable through age, and sacred by virtue of mysterious or forgotten origin.

We shall now notice some of the incidents and features of the great victory gained by Christianity over the barbarian subverters of the Roman Empire, — a peaceful victory much more worthy of our attention than many a triumph of a more martial nature.

Progress of Christianity before the Fall of Rome. — By the end of the fourth century Christianity had achieved its first great victory. It had triumphed over pagan and skeptical Rome. As early as A.D. 313 Constantine had proclaimed it the favored religion

of the Empire. But the zeal of the missionaries of the new faith did not permit them to stop at the boundaries that circumscribed the Roman State; for they were the embassadors of a universal kingdom which recognized none of the dividing lines of nations. They crossed all the frontiers of the Roman dominion, and taught the new doctrines in Ireland and Scotland, beneath the forests of Germany, and upon the plains of Scythia. By the opening of the fifth century the empire of Christianity was far ampler than that of the Cæsars had ever been.

To this circumstance of the barbarians' conversion before or soon after their entrance into the Empire, its subjects owed their immunity from the excessive cruelties which rude pagan barbarians never fail to inflict upon a subjected enemy. Alaric left untouched the treasures of the churches of the Roman Christians, because his own faith was also Christian. For like reason the Vandal king Genseric yielded to the prayers of Pope Leo the Great, and promised to leave to the inhabitants of the Imperial City their lives. The more tolerable fate of Italy, Spain, and Gaul, as compared with the hard fate of Britain, is owing, in part at least, to the fact that the tribes which overran those countries had become in the main converts to Christianity before they crossed the boundaries of the Empire, while the Saxons when they entered Britain were still untamed pagans.

Conversion of the Goths. — The first converts to Christianity among the barbarians beyond the limits of the Empire were won from among the Goths. Probably the pioneer missionaries among these tribes were captives taken by them in their raids across the Danube. These slaves became the teachers of their rude masters, and thus the doctrines and precepts of the Christian faith were spread among the various tribes of the Gothic nation. Foremost of the apostles that arose among them was Ulfilas, who translated the Scriptures into the Gothic language, omitting from his version, however, "the Books of Kings,"[1] as he feared that the

[1] I. and II. Samuel and I. and II. Kings. "This was the first translation of the Bible into a barbarian tongue." — HODGKIN.

stirring recital of wars and battles in that portion of the Word might kindle into too fierce a flame the martial ardor of his new converts.

When the Visigoths, distressed by the Huns, besought the Eastern Emperor Valens for permission to cross the Danube, one of the conditions imposed upon them was that they should all be baptized in the Christian faith, to which they acceded. This seems to have crowned the work that had been going on among them for some time. "In their long and victorious march from the Danube to the Atlantic Ocean, they converted their allies; they educated the rising generation; and the devotion which reigned in the camp of Alaric, or the court of Toulouse might edify or disgrace the palaces of Rome and Constantinople." — GIBBON.

Conversion of the Vandals and Other Tribes. — What happened to the Goths happened also to most of the barbarian tribes that participated in the overthrow of the Roman Empire in the West. By the time of the fall of Augustulus, A.D. 476, the Gothic and other barbarian mercenaries in Italy who dethroned that emperor; the Vandals, who had traversed the length of the Empire and were now in Africa; the Suevi, who had crossed the Pyrenees and entered Spain; the Burgundians, who had established themselves in southeastern Gaul — all these had become proselytes to Christianity. They professed, however, the greater part of them, the Arian creed, which had been condemned by the great council of the Church held at Nice during the reign of Constantine the Great (A.D. 325). Hence they were regarded as heretics by the Roman Church, and all had to be reconverted to the orthodox creed, which thing was gradually effected.

The remaining Teutonic tribes of whose conversion we shall speak — the Franks, the Anglo-Saxons, the Scandinavians, and the chief tribes of Germany — embraced at the outset the Catholic faith.

Conversion of the Franks. — The Franks, when they entered

the Empire, like the Angles and Saxons when they landed in Britain, were still pagans. Christianity gained way very slowly among them until a supposed interposition by the Christian God in their behalf led the king and nation to adopt the new religion in place of their old faith. The circumstances were these. In the year 496, just twenty years after the fall of Rome, the Alemanni crossed the Rhine and fell upon the Franks. Clovis gathered all his warriors to repel the invaders. A terrible battle ensued. After many hours' hard fighting the situation of the Franks appeared desperate. Then Clovis, falling upon his knees, called upon the God of the Christians, whose faith the good queen Clotilda had often sought to persuade him to embrace, and solemnly vowed that if He would give victory to his arms, he would become His faithful follower, and ever maintain His cause with his sword. The battle soon turned in favor of the Franks, and Clovis, faithful to his vow, was baptized, and with him several thousands of his warriors.

This incident illustrates how the very superstitions of the barbarians, their belief in omens and divine interpositions, contributed to their conversion. The terror occasioned by a desolating plague caused the Bulgarians to seek refuge and relief by a profession of the Christian faith. In like manner the Burgundians, when sorely pressed by their enemies, thinking their own gods were offended or were powerless to aid them, embraced in a body the religion of the Christians. Thus the reception of the new faith was often a tribal or national affair, rather than a matter of personal conviction.

Augustine's Mission to England. — The Angles and Saxons were not converted to Christianity until about a century and a half after their first landing in Britain. The Welsh still retained the Christian faith which they had received during Roman times; but, as has been said, they felt no inclination to help these barbarians who had robbed them of their lands, to secure a title to the heavenly inheritance. The work of our forefathers' conversion was, in its inception, the result of the missionary zeal of Rome.

In the year 596 Pope Gregory I. sent the monk Augustine with a band of forty companions to teach the Christian faith in Britain. Gregory had become interested in the inhabitants of that remote region in the following way. One day, some years before his elevation to the papal chair, he was passing through the slave-market at Rome, and noticed there some English captives, whose fine form and fair features awakened his curiosity respecting them. Inquiring of what nation they were, he was told that they were called Angles. "'Right,' said he, 'for they have an angelic face, and it becomes such to become coheirs with the angels in heaven. What is the name,' proceeded he, 'of the province from which they are brought?' It was replied that the natives of that province were called Deiri. 'Truly are they *De ira*,' said he, 'withdrawn from wrath and called to the mercy of Christ. How is the king of that province called?' They told him his name was Ælla; and he, alluding to the name, said, 'alleluia, the praise of God the Creator, must be sung in those parts.'"[1]

The pious monk wished to set out at once himself as a missionary to the pagan peoples in whom his interest had thus been awakened; but duties at the capital hindered him. When, however, a little while afterwards he was elected Pope, still mindful of the incident of the slave-market, he sent to the Angles the embassy to which we have alluded.

Not less interesting than the story of the inception of the commission to the tribes of Britain, is that of the manner in which the natives received the embassy. At this time Ethelbert of Kent was overlord of several of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms that had grown up in the island. Now it so happened that his queen Bertha, being a Frankish princess, was a professor of the faith that had already been received by the Frank nation, and through her influence the king received Augustine and his companions with open courtesy, listened attentively to the appeals of the monk, and finally yielding to the persuasions of his eloquence, embraced with his people the Christian faith. And so it came to pass that

[1] Bede's *Eccl. Hist.* II. 1.

the Saxons were first called Christians at Canterbury, the capital of Kent, and from that day that city became the centre of the early religious life of England, and in time acquired a wide celebrity as the seat of one of the most famous cathedrals of Christendom.

A little while after the reception of Christianity by the king and people of Kent, the same faith was received in the kingdom of Northumbria. When the Christian messengers appealed to Edwin, the king of the Northumbrians, to embrace the religion of which they were the embassadors, he called a council of his wise men, and submitted to them the question whether the old faith should be exchanged for the new. Then one of the aged counselors, whose words well illustrate the serious, thoughtful character of the Saxon spirit, arose in the assembly, and said: "O king, man's life is like a bird, that, driven by the storm, flees from the darkness without and flying in by the open door flits for a few moments in the warmth and light of the dwelling, where the fire is glowing, and then hastily darts out again into the cold and darkness. Whence it comes, whither it goes, no one can tell. Such is the life of man. The soul for a few moments takes up her warm abode in this body; then quickly departs hence, but into what weal or woe no tongue has yet ever revealed to us. If then this mystery these strangers can tell us, heartily let us welcome them and listen to the tidings they bring." [1]

The result of the embassy and of the deliberations of the wise men was that the temples of Woden and Thor were burned, and the king and his people were baptized and confessed the Christian faith (A.D. 627).

The Celtic Church. — The bright prospects for the new faith in Northumbria were soon overclouded. King Edwin fell in battle with the pagan king of Mercia, and his kingdom sank back into heathenism. Soon, however, it was reconquered from Woden and won again for Christ, but this time not by Roman, but by Celtic missionaries.

[1] Bede's *Eccl. Hist.* II. 13.

It here becomes necessary for us to say a word respecting the Celtic Church. Christianity, it must be borne in mind, held its place among the Celts whom the Saxons crowded slowly westward. Now during the very period that England was being wrested from the Welsh warriors, the Welsh missionaries were effecting the spiritual conquest of Ireland. The struggle with the invaders was at its height when a zealous priest, Patricius by name, better known as Saint Patrick, whose early years had been passed in captivity among the Irish, crossed over to the island as a missionary of the Cross. With such success were his labors attended that by the time of his death, which probably occurred towards the close of the fifth century, a large part of the island had embraced the Christian faith.

Never did any race receive the Gospel with more ardent enthusiasm. The Irish Church sent out its devoted missionaries into the Pictish Highlands, into the forests of Germany, and among the wilds of Alps and Apennines. "For a time it seemed that the course of the world's history was to be changed; as if the older Celtic race that Roman and German had driven before them had turned to the moral conquest of their conquerors; as if Celtic, and not Latin, Christianity was to mould the destinies of the churches of the West."[1]

Among the numerous religious houses founded by the Celtic missionaries was the famous monastery established about A.D. 564 by the Irish monk Saint Columba, on the little isle of Iona, just off the Pictish coast. Iona became a most renowned centre of Christian learning and missionary zeal, and for almost two centuries was the point from which radiated light through the darkness of the surrounding heathenism. Fitly has it been called the Nursery of Saints and the Oracle of the West.

The Celtic Mission to Northumbria (A.D. 635). — From this mother-monastery it was that went forth the missionaries destined to effect the reconquest of Northumbria. They came at the

[1] Green's *The Making of England*, p. 281.

invitation of King Oswald, who, during a period of exile, had found an asylum in the cloisters of Iona. The king gave the monks for the site of a monastery the isle or peninsula of Lindisfarne upon the Northumbrian coast, where the dash of the tempestuous Northern Sea must often have reminded them of the little storm-swept isle on the opposite Atlantic shore. The work of the monks, fostered by Oswald's zeal, was crowned with abundant success, and Northumbria was soon won to the communion of the Celtic Church.

Rivalry between the Roman and the Celtic Church. — From the very moment that Augustine touched the shores of Britain and summoned the Welsh clergy to acknowledge the discipline of the Roman Church, there had been a growing jealousy between the Latin and Celtic Churches, which had now risen into the bitterest rivalry and strife. So long had the Celtic Church been cut off from all relations with Rome, that it had come to differ somewhat from it in the matter of certain ceremonies and observances, such as the time of keeping Easter and the form of the tonsure. Furthermore it was inclined to look upon St. John rather than upon St. Peter as the apostle of pre-eminence.

The Council of Whitby (A.D. 664). — With a view to settling the quarrel Oswy, king of Northumbria, who thought that "as they all expected the same kingdom of heaven, so they ought not to differ in the celebration of the divine mysteries," called a synod composed of representatives of both parties, at the famous monastery of Whitby. The chief question of debate, which was argued before the king by the ablest advocates of both Churches, was the proper time for the observance of Easter. The debate was warm, and hot words were exchanged. Finally Wilfred, the speaker for the Roman party, happening to quote the words of Christ to Peter, "To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven," the king asked the Celtic monks if these words were really spoken by Christ to that apostle, and upon their admitting that they were, Oswy said, "He being the door-keeper, . . . I will in all things

obey his decrees, lest when I come to the gates of the kingdom of heaven, there should be none to open them."[1]

The decision of the prudent Oswy gave the British Isles to Rome; for not only was all England quickly won to the Roman side, but the churches of Wales and Ireland and Scotland soon came to conform to the Roman standard and custom. In the year 716 Iona itself, "the last stronghold of Celtic Christianity," yielded to the supremacy of the Roman Church. "By the assistance of our Lord," says the pious Latin chronicler, "the monks were brought to the canonical observation of Easter, and the right mode of the tonsure."

The Roman Victory Fortunate for England. — Although in this struggle between the Celtic and the Roman Church our sympathies are apt to go with the former, still there is no doubt but that it was very fortunate for England that the controversy turned as it did. For one of the most important of the destined consequences of the conversion of Britain was the re-establishment of that connection of the island with Roman civilization which had been severed by the calamities of the fifth century. As Green says, — he is speaking of the embassy of St. Augustine, — "The march of the monks as they chanted their solemn litany was in one sense a return of the Roman legions who withdrew at the trumpet call of Alaric. . . . Practically Augustine's landing renewed that union with the western world which the landing of Hengest had destroyed. The new England was admitted into the older Commonwealth of nations. The civilization, art, letters, which had fled before the sword of the English conquerors returned with the Christian faith."

Now all this advantage would have been lost had Iona instead of Rome won at Whitby. England would have been isolated from the world, and would have had no part or lot in that rich common life which was destined to the European peoples as co-heirs of the heritage bequeathed to them by the dying Empire.

[1] Bede's *Eccl. Hist.* III. 25.

A second valuable result of the Roman victory was the hastening of the political unity of England through its ecclesiastical unity. The Celtic Church, in marked contrast with the Latin, was utterly devoid of capacity for organization. It could have done nothing in the way of developing among the several Anglo-Saxon states the sentiment of nationality. On the other hand, the Roman Church, through the exercise of a central authority, through national synods and general legislation, overcame the isolation of the different kingdoms, and helped powerfully to draw them together into a common political life.

Pagan and Christian Literature of the Anglo-Saxons. — Much light is cast upon our ancestors' change of religion by two famous poems which date from the Anglo-Saxon period of our literature. One of these, called *Beowulf*, was composed while our forefathers were yet pagans, and probably before they left the continent; the other, known as the *Paraphrase of the Scriptures*, was written soon after their conversion to Christianity.

Beowulf is an epic poem, which tells of the exploits of an heroic Viking, Beowulf by name, who delivers King Hrothgar and his Danes from the ravages of a terrible monster, called Grendel, a sort of northern Cyclops, who feasted upon sleeping men. It is alive with the instincts of paganism, and is a faithful reflection of the rough heathen times in which it had birth. Every passage displays the love of the savage for coarse horrors and brutal slaughters. Thus it runs: "The wretched wight [Grendel] seized quickly a sleeping warrior, slit him unawares, bit his bone-locker, drank his blood, in morsels swallowed him; soon had he all eaten, feet and fingers." Before another can be made a victim Beowulf closes with the monster. "The hall thundered, the ale of all the Danes and earls was spilt. Angry, fierce were the strong fighters, the hall was full of din. It was great wonder that the wine-hall stood above the war-like beasts, that the fair earth-house fell not to the ground."

Such was the gleeman's song which delighted our Saxon forefathers as they drank and caroused in their great mead-halls.

They were savages, evidently, rough and fierce; yet their spirits were true and brave.

In striking contrast with the pagan hero-poem stands the *Paraphrase*, the first-fruits in English literature of the mission of Augustine. This poem, which was written sometime in the seventh century, exhibits our Saxon ancestors as Christian converts, studying and apparently appreciating the grand literature of the Hebrews. In it a Saxon monk, named Cædmon, upon whom the gift of song, according to legend, had been miraculously bestowed,[1] sings with strange power and rapture, such as none of his race had known before him, — the creation of the world, the fall of man, and all the long Bible story.

The *Paraphrase* reminds us of Milton's *Paradise Lost* (written a thousand years later), and pursues very much the same order in the treatment of its lofty theme. Hence Cædmon is sometimes called the Saxon Milton. His poem was multiplied in manuscript copies, and for five centuries was read by all classes of Englishmen, being given an honored place alongside the Bible itself. The poet-monk thus did much to advance the cause of Christianity among our ancestors; for, by his verses, as says the Vener-

[1] The following is the substance of the account which Bede gives respecting the call of Cædmon: "There was in the monastery of Whitby, over which presided the Abbess Hilda, a certain brother, who had learned the art of poetry, not from men, but from God; for having lived in a secular habit till he was well advanced in years, he had never learned anything of versifying; for which reason being sometimes at entertainments, when it was agreed for the sake of mirth that all present should sing in their turns, when he saw the instrument come toward him, he rose up from table and returned home. Having done so at a certain time, and gone out of the house where the entertainment was, to the stable, where he had to take care of the horses that night, he there composed himself to rest. In his sleep a person appeared to him, and saluting him, said, 'Cædmon, sing some song to me.' He answered, 'I cannot sing, for that was the reason why I left the entertainment.' The other replied, 'However, you shall sing.' 'What shall I sing?' rejoined Cædmon. 'Sing the beginning of created beings,' was the reply. Whereupon, he presently began to sing verses to the praise of God. Awaking from his sleep, he remembered all that he had sung in his dream, and soon added much more to the same effect in verse worthy of the Deity." — *Eccl. Hist.* IV. 24.

able Bede,[1] "the minds of many were often excited to despise the world, and to aspire to heaven."

Effect of Conversion upon the Martial Spirit of the Anglo-Saxons. — The conversion of England was effected chiefly through the labor of monks, and consequently it was the monastic form of Christianity that was introduced. The land became crowded with monasteries and nunneries. "More than thirty kings and queens," Trench says, "descended from the throne to end their days in cloistral retreats." Perhaps no other Teutonic tribes gave up so much of their native strength and martial energy, upon receiving Christianity, as did the Angles and Saxons of Britain. The practice of arms was discouraged and neglected; the people became "a nation of praying monks." This decay of the martial spirit in a martial age, at a time when the independence and very life of a nation depended upon its strength in arms, brought upon England centuries of invasion, woe, and disaster. Of the ravages committed in the island by the Danes or Northmen, during the eighth and ninth centuries, to which calamities we refer, we shall come to speak in a following chapter. We will here simply say that these hard experiences, and the infusion of the fresh blood of the Northern peoples, resulted finally in the revival of the early vigor and martial spirit of the nation.

The Conversion of Germany. — The conversion of the tribes of Germany was effected by Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, and Frankish missionaries, — and the sword of Charlemagne. The great apostle of Germany was the Saxon Winfred, better known as St. Boniface, who was born about A.D. 688. During a long and intensely active life he founded schools and monasteries, organized churches, preached and baptized; and at last died a martyr's death (A.D. 753). Through him, says Milman, the Saxon invasion of England flowed back upon the Continent.

[1] Bede the Venerable (A.D. 673–735) was a pious and learned Saxon monk, who wrote, among other works, an invaluable one entitled *The Ecclesiastical History of England.* The work recites, as its central theme, the story of how our forefathers were won to the Christian faith. We are indebted to Bede for a large part of our knowledge of early England.

A single incident will illustrate the zeal and resolution of the priest, and the character of his work in the German forests. Finding his followers still lingering in their old superstitions, Boniface resolved to demonstrate to them the powerlessness of their deities, by felling a large, venerable oak in a grove sacred to the Thunderer. The natives awaited with breathless expectation the issue of this challenge to their god, expecting to see the audacious priest struck to the earth by the bolts of heaven; but when the tree at last fell with a great crash, and no harm came to the bold axeman, the pagans acknowledged the superiority of the Christian God. Out of the wood of the sacred oak Boniface caused to be built a large chapel, and from this time the work of conversion went rapidly forward.

The Saxons were the most important of the German tribes left untouched by the mission of Boniface. (Only a small part of this tribe, apparently, had pushed out to the conquest of England.) These fierce and obstinate pagans were finally driven within the pale of the Church by the strong arm of Charlemagne (A.D. 772–803), — a Christian Mohammed in his methods of persuasion.

The christianizing of the tribes of Germany relieved the Teutonic states of Western Europe from the constant peril of massacre by their heathen kinsmen, and erected a strong barrier in Central Europe against the advance of the waves of Turanian paganism and of Mohammedanism which for centuries beat so threateningly against the eastern frontiers of Germany.[1]

Christianity in the North. — The progress of Christianity in the North was slow; but gradually, during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, the missionaries of the Church won over all the Scandinavian peoples.

[1] The conversion of Russia dates from about the close of the tenth century. Its evangelization was effected by the missionaries of Constantinople, that is, of the Greek or Eastern Church. Of the Turanian tribes, only the Hungarians or Magyars embraced Christianity. All the other Turanian peoples that appeared on the eastern edge of Europe during the Middle Ages came as pagan or Moslem enemies.

The circumstances attending the introduction of the new religion into Iceland possess a special interest. In the year 1000 some missionaries from Norway pushed out to the island to aid a weak Christian party in establishing there the faith of the Cross. It so happened that just at this time one of the volcanoes of the land broke out in violent eruption. The advocates of the ancient faith, who bitterly opposed the new religion, declared that the outburst of lava was the sign of the anger of their gods because of the attempted innovation. But this argument was met by one of the old chiefs, who asked, "And what excited their wrath when these rocks of lava, which we ourselves tread, were themselves glowing torrents?"

The adherents of Odin were silenced. A decree was ratified by the national assembly, which ordered that all the inhabitants be baptized, that the heathen idols and temples be destroyed, and that any one *publicly* worshipping the ancient deities be punished. "But private worship, the exposing of infants, the eating of horse-flesh, and other practices not inconsistent with the precepts of Christianity were still tolerated."[1] After a few years, however, these heathen practices were suppressed, as well as trial by judicial combat.

By the end of the eleventh century all the Northern countries were christianized. One important effect of the conversion of the Scandinavian nations was the checking of their piratical expeditions, which, during all the centuries of their pagan history, were constantly putting out from the fiords of the Northern peninsulas, and vexing every shore to the south. "These perennial streams of wrath and bitterness, which it had been impossible to staunch, were healed at their source; and the dreaded Viking, the Regnars and the Hastings, or the like of these, sat down to peaceful occupations in their own land." — TRENCH.

By the opening of the fourteenth century all Europe was claimed by Christianity, save a limited district in Southern Spain

[1] Wheaton's *History of the Northmen*, p. 44.

held by the Moors, and another in the Baltic regions possessed by the still pagan Finns and Lapps.

The Paganizing of Christianity. — Thus were the conquerors of the Empire met and conquered by Christianity. The victory, it must be confessed, was, in a great degree, a victory rather in name than in fact. The uncivilized tribes for a long time after they were called Christian knew very little of the doctrines, and exhibited still less of the true spirit of the religion they professed. Nor, indeed, could we expect to find it otherwise. The subjects of the Roman Empire, in adopting the new religion in exchange for their own, had mingled with it many of their heathen notions and rites. Then, when these semi-Christian Latins imparted this modified Christianity to their conquerors, it naturally underwent a still further corruption among the latter. "The immediate effect," as Church says, "of this contact of the barbarians with Christianity was to lower and injure Christianity. Christianity raised them, but it suffered itself in the effort." The simple-minded barbarians being utterly unable to comprehend the metaphysical subtleties elaborated by the Greek and Latin Fathers out of the plain doctrines and precepts of Christ and the teachings of his disciples, naturally fell away into all sorts of heresies. Furthermore, the Church even intentionally transformed herself, in order the better to secure her object. In the poetical language of Michelet, "she made herself a child to prattle with her child, and translated the ineffable to it in puerile legend, such as fitted its tender age." "To dazzle the senses of the barbarians, and work upon their imagination," says Guizot, "she increased wonderfully the number, pomp, and variety of her religious ceremonies. She converted them by grand spectacles." Yet this, as Alzog maintains, was but prudence and moderation, the Catholic missionaries so adjusting the requirements of Christian law, and so tempering its severity as not to do violence to the prejudices and practices of the idolaters whom they would win.

Still, however justifiable may have been the course of the Catholic missionaries, the result was that the mediæval Church

became very different from that of the primitive age of Christianity. Even what are called the "reformed creeds" are very far from having effaced the traces of the barbarian period of the Church's history. Many of our religious ideas, festivals, and ceremonies, as witness Easter and Christmas, may be traced back to an origin in the practices and beliefs of our heathen ancestors.

II. Development of the Monastic System.

Origin of Monasticism. — It was during this very conflict with the barbarians that the Church developed the remarkable institution known as Monasticism. This was so singular a system, and one which exerted so profound an influence upon mediæval history, that we must in this place acquaint ourselves with at least its origin and aims.

Monasticism or Monachism, from the Greek word *monos*, meaning alone, denotes a life of seclusion from the world, with the object of promoting the interests of the soul. The central idea underlying the system is, that the body is a weight and hindrance to the spirit; and that it is especially meritorious to refuse gratification to all those appetites and instincts that have their rise in our physical nature.

The monastic system embraced two prominent classes of ascetics: 1. Hermits or anchorites, persons who, retiring from the world, lived solitary lives in desolate places; 2. Cenobites or monks, who formed communities and lived under a common roof.

The monastic idea of life was by no means original with Christianity; the notion was held and acted upon long before the Christian era. In the ascetic mode of life adopted by many of the Jewish teachers, as, for instance, by Elijah and John the Baptist, we find illustration of this. The Hindu prince known as Buddha, the founder of the religious system of Buddhism, who renounced the luxuries of the palace for the austerities of the desert, was a typical anchorite. About the time of Christ there

were to be found in Egypt the Therapeutæ and in Syria the Essenes, sects of religious enthusiasts whose members affected a solitary and ascetic life.

But it was under the influence of Christianity that Monachism exhibited its most wonderful development. The advice of the Apostle Paul respecting marriage, and a misconception of certain Scriptural texts wherein are set in opposition the life of the body and that of the spirit and which enjoin the mortification of the flesh, encouraged and fostered the doctrine. It was not, however, until the beginning of the third century that the idea became a part of the theology of the Church. Then it seized upon the Christians of the East like a contagion. The famous St. Anthony, an Egyptian ascetic, who by his example and influence gave a tremendous impulse to the strange enthusiasm, is called the "father of the hermits." The Decian persecution (A.D. 249–251), driving thousands into the deserts, contributed vastly to the movement. The cities of Egypt became almost emptied of their Christian population. It is estimated that before the close of the fourth century the number of hermits and cenobites in a great part of Egypt was about equal to the population of the cities.[1]

These pious enthusiasts of the desert, renouncing family and friends and the world, thought by the most ingenious self-torture and sacrifice of the body to make sure of the salvation of their souls. They lived, some in tombs, some in dried-up wells, others in caves so low and small that the body could never assume a position of ease. One saint lived in a swamp, that he might subject his naked body to the sting of insects; another stood praying for forty days in a thorn-bush; while still another spent three years leaning against a rock, not permitting his body to assume any posture more comfortable. Some acquired the reputation of immaculate purity of soul by allowing their bodies, untouched by water, to accumulate the filth of half a century. Most renowned of all, however, was St. Simeon Stylites (died A.D. 461), who spent thirty years on a pillar sixty feet high and

[1] Lecky's *History of European Morals*, Vol. II. p. 105.

only three feet in circumference,[1] thereby earning the titles of Star of the Earth and Wonder of the World.

Monasticism in the West. — About the middle of the fourth century the cenobite system was established in the East, and soon afterwards was introduced into Europe, and in an astonishingly short space of time spread throughout all the western countries where Christianity had gained a foothold. Here it prevailed to the almost total exclusion of the hermit mode of life, though there were some famous anchorites among the European churches; but the climate, among other causes, was unfavorable to the development of the enthusiasm in this form. Monasteries arose on every side, in the wilds of the desert and in the midst of the crowded city. The number that fled to these retreats was vastly augmented by the disorder and terror attending the invasion of the barbarians and the overthrow of the Empire in the West. The movement drew within the circle of its influence women as well as men, and nunneries were founded in great numbers, which were subjected to a discipline similar to that of the monasteries.

With the view of introducing some sort of system and uniformity among the numerous communities, fraternities or associations were early organized and spread rapidly. The three essential vows required of their members were poverty, chastity, and obedience. The most famous of these fraternities was the Order of the Benedictines, so called from St. Benedict (A.D. 480–543), the founder of the celebrated monastery of Monte Cassino in Southern Italy.

[1] On this aërial perch "he remained exposed to every change of climate, ceaselessly and rapidly bending his body in prayer almost to the level of his feet. A spectator attempted to number the rapid motions, but desisted from weariness when he had counted 1244. For a whole year, we are told, St. Simeon stood upon one leg, the other being covered with hideous ulcers, while his biographer was commissioned to stand by his side, to pick up the worms that fell from his body, and to replace them in the sores, the saint saying to the worm, 'Eat what God has given you.' From every quarter pilgrims of every degree thronged to do him homage. A crowd of prelates followed him to the grave." See Lecky's *History of European Morals*, Vol. II. p. 112, from which work are drawn the illustrations of the text.

The rules of this fraternity were simple and some of them very sensible, as for instance that which made work with the hands a pious duty. The order became immensely popular. So universally did the monks subject themselves to the Rule of Benedict, as it was called, that Charlemagne was constrained to make diligent inquiry to ascertain whether there were monks of any other order. At one time it embraced about 40,000 abbeys. From its ranks came twenty-four popes and bishops, and saints without number.

Advantages of the Monastic System. — The early establishment of the monastic system in the Church resulted in great advantages to the new world that was shaping itself out of the ruins of the old Empire.

The monks became missionaries, and it was largely to their zeal and devotion that the Church owed her speedy and signal victory over the barbarians;[1] they also became teachers, and under the shelter of the monasteries established schools which were the nurseries of learning during the Middle Ages; they became copyists, and with great care and industry gathered and multiplied ancient manuscripts, and thus preserved and transmitted to the modern world much classical learning and literature that would otherwise have been lost; they became agriculturists, especially the Benedictines, and by skilful labor converted the wilderness about their retreats into fair gardens, thus redeeming from barrenness some of the most desolate districts of Europe; they became further the almoners of the pious and the wealthy, and distributed alms to the poor and needy. Everywhere the monasteries opened their hospitable doors to the weary, the sick, and the discouraged. In a word, these retreats were the inns, the asylums, and the hospitals,

[1] "The Missioners who went as upon the forlorn hope of the Middle Ages, who wrought the conversion of England, of Germany, of Scandinavia, of Slavonia, had been trained in the cloisters of Iona, or of St. Gall, or of the Benedictine Abbey of New Corbey, of which it is not too much to say, that the whole Scandinavian mission was fed from that single house, or of some other religious foundation of like kind." — TRENCH, *Mediæval Church History*, p. 104.

as well as the schools of learning and the nurseries of religion of mediæval Europe. Nor should we fail to mention how the asceticism of the monks checked those flagrant social evils that had sapped the strength of the Roman race, and which uncounteracted would have contaminated and weakened the purer peoples of the North; nor how, through its requirements of self-control and self-sacrifice it gave prominence to the inner life of the spirit. In the words of Armitage, "It taught men in plain language that the spiritual life is the only real life, the only life worth living."

Evils of the System. — But there is another and darker side to the picture. The religious orders too often forgot or neglected their vows, and the monasteries, instead of fostering piety and devotion, became the nurseries of indolence and profligacy. The tendency of the entire system was to cast contempt upon woman and degrade the domestic relations. Again, the movement withdrew from active life, just at a time when the world needed its best men, many of the choicest spirits of the age. Also, the influence of the monastic orders was usually cast on the side of the Popes as against the Bishops and secular rulers, and thus they contributed, perhaps more than any other agency, to the building up of that colossal power of the Papacy, which enchained the temporal princes of Europe in a servitude from which they were able to free themselves only after the greatest suffering and loss.

Conclusion. — With a single word or two respecting the general consequences of the conversion to Christianity of the Teutonic tribes, we will close the present chapter.

The adoption of a common faith by the European peoples drew them together into a sort of religious brotherhood, and rendered it possible for the continent to employ its undivided strength, during the succeeding centuries, in staying the threatening progress toward the West of the colossal Mohammedan power of the East. It set in the midst of the seething, martial nations and races of Europe an influence that fostered the gentler virtues, and a power that was always to be found on the side of order, and usually of mercy.

It taught the brotherhood of men, the essential equality in the sight of God of the high and the low, and thus pleaded powerfully and at last effectually for the freedom of the slave and the serf. It prepared the way for the introduction among the barbarians of the arts, the literature, and culture of Rome, and contributed powerfully to hasten the fusion into a single people of the Latins and Teutons, of which important matter we shall treat in the following chapter.

CHAPTER III.

FUSION OF THE LATIN AND TEUTONIC PEOPLES.

Introductory. — Having seen how the Hebrew element, that is, the ideas, beliefs, and sentiments of Christianity, became the common possession of the Latins and Teutons, it yet remains to notice how these two races, upon the soil of the old Empire, intermingled their blood, their language, their laws, their usages and customs, to form new peoples, new tongues, and new institutions.

In the new society arising from the fusion of the Latinized inhabitants of the Empire and their barbarian conquerors, the various resulting social or political institutions exhibit very different proportions of the two combining elements. Sometimes it is the Latin, and then again the Teutonic element which predominates. Often, indeed, it is very difficult, as in the case of the early so-called barbarian monarchies and the later institution of Feudalism, to determine just what was contributed by each. In many institutions we shall find the shaping spirit to have come from the classic culture, and the form from barbarian maxims and usages; or, again, we shall discover the spirit to be Teutonic and the form Roman.

In the present chapter we shall speak of only a few things touching the intermingling of the peoples themselves, the formation of the new Romance tongues, and the relation of the barbarian codes to the Roman law. We shall say just enough to show how composite is the character of the structure that was reared on the site of the old Empire, out of the ruins of the broken-down civilization of Rome and the new contributions of the Northern peoples.

The Barbarians and the Roman Lands. — The Teutons in their different settlements dealt with the conquered inhabitants

of the Empire with varying degrees of harshness, the treatment in any particular case being determined by the character of the intruding tribe and the circumstances attending the invasion. Usually, cattle, furniture, money, the treasures of the churches, — all movables, in a word, were at once appropriated by the barbarians as the legitimate spoils of war. But as a general thing they left the conquered provincials their freedom, and supplied themselves with servants by forcing the subjected people to give up to them part or all of their slaves. Yet, as a punishment for revolt or obstinate resistance, the entire population of a city or province was sometimes reduced to slavery, or was exterminated.

If the intruders proposed to make a permanent settlement, they took possession of such portion of the soil as their numbers required. The German tribes that invaded Gaul in the time of Julius Cæsar were accustomed to demand of the conquered Celts one half of their lands. The German adherents of Odoacer demanded and received one third of the soil of Italy;[1] the Ostrogoths seized two thirds of the lands of the same country; and the Visigoths took possession of a like proportion of the regions they occupied; the Vandals appropriated the most and the best of the lands of North Africa; while the Saxons stripped the subjugated inhabitants of Britain of everything, indeed, exterminated them, or pushed them entirely off the soil. Where the conquered people were left any portion of their ancient possessions, this usually was the tillable part of the land, the barbarians, being hunters and shepherds, choosing for their part the forests and pastures. The Burgundians, however, took two thirds of the arable land of the districts they settled, the forest and pasture land being used in common by the invaders and the provincials.

[1] In this case "the proportion claimed was, no doubt, suggested by the Imperial system of billeting, according to which the citizen upon whom a soldier was quartered was bound to divide his house into three compartments, of which he kept one himself, his unbidden guest was then entitled to select another, and the third portion as well as the first remained in the occupation of the owner." — HODGKIN.

The Romance Nations. — In some districts the barbarian invaders and the Roman provincials were kept apart for a long time by the bitter antagonism of race, and a sense of injury on the one hand and a feeling of disdainful superiority on the other. But for the most part the Teutonic intruders and the Latin-speaking inhabitants of Italy, Spain, and France very soon began freely to mingle their blood by family alliances. It is quite impossible to say what proportion the Teutons bore to the Romans. Of course the proportion varied in the different countries. In none of the countries named, however, was it large enough to absorb the Latinized population; on the contrary, the barbarians were themselves absorbed, yet not without changing very essentially the body into which they were incorporated. Thus about the end of the fourth century everything in Italy, Spain, and France — dwellings, cities, dress, customs, language, laws, soldiers — reminds us of Rome. A little later, and a great change has taken place. The barbarians have come in. For a time we see everywhere, jostling each other in the streets and markets, crowding each other in the theatres and courts, kneeling together in the churches, the former Romanized subjects of the Empire and their uncouth Teutonic conquerors. But by the close of the ninth century the two elements have become quite intimately blended, and a century or two later Roman and Teuton have alike disappeared, and we are introduced to Italians, Spaniards, and Frenchmen. These we call Romance nations, because at base they are Roman.[1]

The Formation of the Romance Languages. — During the five

[1] Britain did not become a Romance nation on account of the nature of the barbarian conquest of that island. The Romanized provincials, as has been seen, were here almost destroyed by the fierce Teutonic invaders, so that at the end of the eighth century we find these intruders essentially the same people that they were when they entered the island three centuries before. Hence the resemblance in manners, social arrangements, and language between the English and the modern Germans. The English would still more resemble the Germans of to-day, were it not for the accident of the Norman Conquest, which, in the eleventh century, mingled the blood of the population of Northern France with that of the English.

centuries of their subjection to Rome, the natives of Spain and Gaul forgot their barbarous dialects and came to speak a corrupt Latin. This exchange of languages was of course effected very gradually. Midway in the period, that is to say about the third century after Christ, it was almost a necessity for persons who dealt with all classes of society to be familiar with both the Latin and the Celtic language; but by the fifth century the native tongue had everywhere and almost wholly given way to the speech of the conquerors.

Now, in exactly the same way that the barbarous dialects of the Celtic tribes of Gaul and of the Celtiberians of Spain had given way to the more refined speech of the Romans, did the rude languages of the Teutons now yield to the more cultured speech of the Roman provincials. In the course of two or three centuries after their entrance into the Empire, Goths, Lombards, Burgundians, and Franks, had, in a large measure, dropped their own tongue, and were speaking that of the people they had subjected. The conqueror becomes the conquered. "Rome, which had Latinized her conquered provinces, ultimately Latinized also her German conquerors."

But there is need we bear in mind that the Latin used by the Roman provincials was not the classic speech of the capital. In its adoption by rude and ignorant peoples, the Latin had necessarily suffered change and degradation. It was this vulgar Latin that now underwent a still further corruption upon the lips of the mixed descendants of the Romans and Teutons. These semi-barbarians, children that they were, had the same dislike for the difficult declensions and conjugations of the Latin that young scholars entertain to-day; and so in place of the long and troublesome terminations of the nouns and verbs, they substituted particles and auxiliary verbs. Long words they shortened by dropping out syllables, with a view to rendering them easier to pronounce.

These changes were hastened and rendered greater than they would otherwise have been, by the decay of literature and learn-

ing; for nothing so conserves the forms of a language as its embalmment in literature. This fixes and makes permanent the forms of words, which in the swift stream of illiterate speech are worn and rounded like pebbles in a mountain torrent. Furthermore, because of the absence of a common popular literature, the changes that took place in one country did not exactly correspond to those going on in another. Hence, in the course of time, we find different dialects springing up, and by about the ninth century the Latin has virtually disappeared as a spoken language, and its place been usurped by what will be known as the Italian, the Spanish, the Portuguese, the French, and the Provençal tongue, all more or less resembling the ancient Latin, and all called Romance languages, because children of the old Roman speech.

Consequences of the Confusion of Languages. — We are now in position to discern one of the causes that helped to render denser that dark pall of ignorance which, settling over Western Europe in the fifth century, continued almost unrelieved until the eleventh. As the provincial Latin began to change, the language in which the books were written and the speech of common talk began to diverge. Thus the manuscript rolls which held the wisdom of the Greeks and Romans soon became sealed to all save the learned. In this way the confusion of tongues conspired with the general confusion and anarchy of the times to extinguish the last rays of science and philosophy, and to deepen the gloom of the night that had settled upon all the lands once illumined by ancient learning and culture. Several centuries had necessarily to pass before the new languages forming could develop each a literature of its own. Meanwhile all learning was shut up within the walls of the monasteries.

The Barbarians and Roman Learning. — The sentiments of the barbarians tended to the same end as the separation of the language of every-day use, and that of letters. They prided themselves on their ignorance of letters, deeming that these impaired the native vigor of the mind, and rendered soft and

effeminate the becoming hardihood of the warrior. The subjected Roman provincials unfortunately came to entertain the same opinion. With no rewards for learning, no praises of society for the successful cultivator of letters, both naturally fell into contempt and neglect. "For many centuries," says Hallam, "to sum up the account of ignorance in a word, it was rare for a layman, of whatever rank, to know how to sign his name." It has been a matter of great dispute whether Charlemagne, the most renowned personage that appears to view during the five centuries following the fall of Rome, was able to write.

The Barbarian Codes. — The Teutonic tribes, before they entered the Roman Empire, had no written laws. As soon as settled in the provinces, however, they began, in imitation of the Romans, to frame their rules and customs into codes, and so we hear of the Salian, the Ripuarian, the Burgundian, the Lombard, and the Visigothic code. In some countries, particularly in Spain and Italy, this work was under the supervision of the clergy, and hence the codes of the Teutonic peoples in these countries was a sort of fusion of Roman principles and barbarian practices. But in general these early compilations of laws — they were made, for the most part, between the sixth and ninth centuries — were not so essentially modified by Latin influence but that they serve as valuable and instructive memorials of the customs, ideals, and social arrangements of the Teutonic peoples.

Personal Character of the Teutonic Legislation. — The legislation of the barbarians, so long as they remained such, that is to say, until Latins and Teutons became one people, was generally personal instead of territorial, as with us; that is, instead of all the inhabitants of a given country being subject to the same laws, there were different ones for the different classes of society. The Latins, for instance, were subject in private law only to the old Roman code, while the Teutons lived under the rules and regulations which they had brought with them from beyond the Rhine and Danube; all, however, were alike subject to the same political law.

Even among themselves the Teutons knew nothing of the modern legal maxim that all should stand equal before the law. The penalty inflicted upon the evil-doer depended, not upon the nature of his crime, but upon his rank, or that of the party injured. Thus slaves and serfs could be beaten and put to death for minor offences, while a freeman might atone for any crime, even for murder, by the payment of a fine, the amount of the penalty being determined by the rank of the victim. Among the Franks, the *weregild*, as the compensation for murder was called, was fixed by the "tariff of damages" at 600 solidi (the solidus was equal to about sixteen shillings) for the life of an Antrustion or vassal of the king, but at only one third this sum for the life of a common Frank. Among the Saxons the life of a king's thane was worth 1200 shillings, while that of a churl was valued only one sixth as high.[1]

The satisfaction allowed to despised classes of persons for assault or insult was sometimes singularly whimsical. Thus mountebanks and jugglers were simply given the satisfaction of striking the shadow of their assailant; while the injured hired champion[2] — a person held in especially low esteem — was to consider ample reparation to have been made him when the offender cast upon him a ray of sunshine reflected from a polished shield.[3]

Ordeals. — The modes in which guilt or innocence was ascertained show in how rude a state was the administration of justice among the barbarians. One very common method of proof was by what were called ordeals, in which the question was submitted to the judgment of God. Of these the chief were the *ordeal by fire*, the *ordeal by water*, and the *ordeal by battle*.

The *ordeal by fire* consisted in taking in the hand a red-hot iron, or in walking blindfolded with bare feet over a row of hot ploughshares laid lengthwise at irregular distances. If the person escaped unharmed, he was held to be innocent.[4] This was a favorite form of trial with Charlemagne, king of the Franks.

[1] Hallam's *Middle Ages*, "Weregild." [2] See next paragraph.
[3] Lea's *Superstition and Force*, p. 125.
[4] Blackstone's *Commentaries*, "Ordeal, Trial by."

Another way of performing the fire-ordeal was by running through the flame of two fires built close together, or by walking over live brands; hence the phrase "to haul over the coals." It was in this way that the first crusaders in the eleventh century tried a priest who was accused of deceit; and just at the close of the fifteenth century the celebrated Savonarola, in Italy, consented to allow a companion monk to walk through the flames to settle a dispute relating to certain claims made by the reformer. In this latter case, however, some difficulties in arranging the preliminaries of the ordeal, and a sudden dash of rain, which put out the fire, prevented the trial.

The *ordeal by water* was of two kinds, by hot water and by cold. In the hot water ordeal the accused person thrust his arm into boiling water, and if no hurt was visible upon the arm three days after the operation, the party was considered guiltless. When we speak of one's being "in hot water," we use an expression which had its origin in this ordeal.

In the cold water trial the suspected person was thrown into a stream or pond: if he floated, he was held guilty; if he sank, innocent. The water, it was believed, would reject the guilty, but receive the innocent into its bosom. The practice common in Europe until a very recent date of trying supposed witches by throwing them into a pond of water to see whether they would sink or float, grew out of this superstition.[1]

The *trial by combat*, or *wager of battle*, as it was called, was resorted to in the belief that God would give victory to the right — a theory upon which nations sometimes go to war, making an appeal to the "God of battles."

According to Montesquieu, this form of trial grew out of the

[1] There was a difference, however, between the old ordeal and the later trial, which was strictly not an ordeal at all, it being no longer an appeal to the decision of God, but merely a test as to change in specific gravity, the superstition now consisting in the belief that the body of a witch became, through communication with evil spirits, imponderable like them, and thus capable of being spirited through the air.

custom which allowed a person accused of a crime to clear himself by simply swearing that he was innocent, provided he could get a sufficient number of his friends or neighbors to swear that he was telling the truth.[1] The number of concurring witnesses was dependent upon the seriousness of the charge or the rank of the person making the oath. As many as seventy-two were sometimes required. Now this privilege was liable to abuse, and the only resort left to the injured person in such case was to challenge the perjurer to submit to the judgment of God as it should be pronounced in a solemn judicial duel.[2]

This form of trial grew into great favor. Even the judge in some cases resorted to it to maintain the authority and dignity of his court. To a person who had disregarded a summons the judge would send a challenge in this form: "I sent for thee, and thou didst not think it worth thy while to come; I demand therefore satisfaction for this thy contempt." Religious disputes also were sometimes settled by this sort of "martial logic." "In the eleventh century a contest between two rival liturgies in Spain was decided in this way. A pair of knights in complete armor fought and decided which was the orthodox one." The modern duel may perhaps be regarded as a relic of this form of trial.

The ordeal was frequently performed by deputy, that is, one person for hire or for the sake of friendship would undertake it for another; hence the expression "to go through fire and water to serve one." Especially was such substitution common in the judi-

[1] In course of time this absurd form of the oath was changed, so that the compurgators, as the witnesses were called, simply swore that they *believed* the oath of the accused to be true and clean.

[2] The wager of law, as the purgation by oath was called, is not to be reckoned among the ordeals, as it lacked the essential element of an ordeal, namely, the appeal to the judgment of heaven. In connection with what has been said in the text respecting Montesquieu's views on the relation of this form of trial to that by battle, it ought, perhaps, to be added that others think the latter was introduced into jurisprudence as a regulation of the right of private war, as a limitation by law and rule of the barbarian's right to avenge his own wrongs.

cial duel, as women and ecclesiastics were generally forbidden to appear personally in the lists. There are instances mentioned, however, where even women performed the wager of battle; in which case, to equalize the conditions, the man was buried to the waist, with his left hand tied behind his back.

The champions, as the deputies were called, became in time a regular class in society, like the gladiators in ancient Rome. Religious houses and chartered towns hired champions at a regular salary to defend all the cases to which they might become a party. In order that the champion might be stimulated to do his best for the party he represented, his hand was cut off if he suffered himself to be worsted in the combat.[1]

The management of the first-mentioned ordeals fell into the hands of the clergy, and of course fraud and collusion were often practised. It was not very difficult for the priests to carry through the ordeal without harm the person whose innocence they were interested in establishing.[2] Doubtless they sometimes employed

[1] Montesquieu's *The Spirit of Laws*, vol. II., p. 232.

[2] There were many other forms of ordeal, besides those we have given, in use among the different Teutonic tribes, some of which were plainly native customs, while others seem to have been introduced by the Christian priests. Thus, there was the ordeal by consecrated bread; if the morsel strangled the person, he was adjudged guilty. From this form of trial arose the expression "may this morsel be my last." In what was called the ordeal of the bier the person charged with murder was made to touch the body of the dead man; if the body stirred or blood flowed afresh from the wound, the man was held guilty of the murder.

Such ordeals are found among all barbarous and superstitious people. The Hindus had many curious ones. In one the person accused of a crime was forced to swim across a river filled with crocodiles; if caught by the reptiles, that was conclusive proof of his guilt. In another the accused was first carefully weighed; then a band upon which was written the charge was bound upon his forehead, and he was weighed again: if he weighed more than at first, he was pronounced guilty. Proof by ordeal was also known among the Hebrews; see Numbers v. 11-31; Joshua vii. 16-18. The combat between David and Goliath, being an appeal to the judgment of Heaven, possesses the essential element of the judicial duel. We also find an ordeal in the test proposed by Elijah to the prophets of Baal, — *1 Kings* xviii. 17–40.

the devices and tricks used by the mountebank or sleight-of-hand performer at the present day, which enable him, unhurt, to handle fire, to take live coals in his mouth, and to do other things equally marvellous in the eyes of the ignorant.

The Revival of the Roman Law. — Now these codes of the barbarians, the character of which we have simply suggested by the preceding illustrations, gradually displaced the Roman law in all those countries where the two systems at first existed alongside each other, save in Italy and Southern France, where the great preponderance of the Latin population, in connection with other circumstances, caused the barbarian laws gradually to give way to the Roman. But, after a while, as a deeper darkness settled over Europe, these written laws of the barbarians also fell into disuse. The spirit and principles, however, of these early collections animated and shaped the new customs and usages which grew up to meet the changing needs of society. That is to say, speaking generally, the customs and practices that had force in the greater part of Europe during the earlier mediæval centuries were Teutonic rather than Roman.

But this supremacy of the maxims and customs of the barbarians over the law-system of the Romans was destined not to be permanent. The admirable jurisprudence of Rome was bound to assert its superiority. Thus, about the close of the eleventh century, there was a great revival in the study of the Roman law as embodied in the *Corpus Juris Civilis* of Justinian, and in the course of a century or two this became either the groundwork or a strong modifying element in the jurisprudence of almost all the peoples of Europe.

What took place may be illustrated by reference to the fate of the Teutonic languages in Gaul, Italy, and Spain. As the barbarian tongues, after maintaining a place in those countries for two or three centuries, at length gave place to the superior Latin, which became the basis of the new Romance languages, so now in the domain of law the barbarian maxims and customs, though holding their place more persistently, likewise finally give way,

almost everywhere and in a greater or less degree, to the more excellent law-system of the Empire. Rome must fulfil her destiny and give laws to the nations.

Though longer delayed in their adoption, the law maxims and principles of the Empire at length became more widely spread and influential than the Latin speech; for Germany, which never gave up her Teutonic tongue, now, through the relation of the German kings to the restored Roman Empire, of which we shall hear much hereafter, adopted the Roman law-system, to the degree of making its principles the basis of her jurisprudence. And even England, though she clung tenaciously to her Teutonic customs and maxims, just as she held on to her own Teutonic speech, could not escape the influence of the Roman jurisprudence, which penetrated there, and, to a certain extent, chiefly through the courts of the Church, modified English law, just as the Latin in an indirect way finally modified and enriched the English speech, while leaving it the same in groundwork and structure. "Our laws," says Lord Bacon, "are mixed as our language; and as our language is so much the richer, the laws are the more complete."

Under the influence of the classical revival, the various ordeals, which were already disappearing before the growing enlightenment of the age and the steady opposition of the Church, or rather of the papal authority, rapidly gave way to modes of trial more consonant with reason and the spirit of the civil law.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE EAST.

The Era of Justinian (A.D. 527–565). — At the time of the dethronement of Augustulus by Odoacer, the imperial throne in the East was held by Zeno, a weak and obscure prince. To him it was that the crown and purple robe of the Western Emperors were sent as an acknowledgment that he was now the sole representative of the power and authority of the Cæsars.

During the fifty years immediately following this event, Zeno and his successors Anastasius and Justin, struggled hard and doubtfully to withstand the waves of the barbarian inundation which constantly threatened to overwhelm Constantinople with the same awful calamities that had befallen the imperial city of the West. Had the new Rome — the destined refuge for a thousand years of Græco-Roman learning and culture — also gone down at this time before the storm, the loss to the cause of civilization would have been incalculable.

Fortunately, in the year 527 there ascended the Eastern throne a prince of unusual ability, to whom fortune gave a general of such rare genius that his name has been allotted a place in the short list of the great commanders of the world. Justinian was the name of the prince, and Belisarius that of the soldier. The sovereign has given name to the period, which is called after him the "Era of Justinian"; but it is mainly the conquests and achievements of his general that cause the annals of the period to fill so prominent a place in the records of the Empire, or rather, we should say, in the pages of world-history; for, in the words of Finlay, "the unerring instinct of mankind has fixed on this period as one of the greatest in man's annals."

We shall first notice, very briefly, the wars of Justinian, — the management of which was entrusted, for the most part, to his famous general Belisarius, whose relations to his jealous and ungrateful master were strikingly like those sustained by the renowned Stilicho to the unworthy Honorius; afterwards we shall say something of his works of peace, which, far more than the conquests of his arms, entitle the prince to our praise and admiration.

The Conquest of Africa. — Ambition and religious motives united in urging Justinian to endeavor to wrest out of the hands of the barbarians those provinces of the Empire in the West upon which they had seized. It seemed to him a reproach and disgrace that the sovereigns of the new Rome should appear unable to retain the territories won by the valor of the consuls and Cæsars of the old. He coveted for himself the honor of restoring to their ancient and most extended circuit the boundaries of the Roman State.

To these natural promptings of pride and ambition were added the persuasions of religion. The barbarians that had taken possession of the Western provinces were, as we have learned, with the exception of the Franks, followers of Arius, whose doctrines had been declared heretical by the Nicene Council. But these semi-Christians were, nevertheless, zealous converts, and making up in zeal what they lacked in orthodoxy, became, some of them, and notably the Vandals, furious persecutors of the professors of the Athanasian creed. A strong appeal was thus made to the piety of the Emperor to deliver the true Catholic Church of the West out of the hands of the barbarian heretics.

The state of affairs in Africa invited the intervention of Justinian first in that quarter. The Vandal king Hilderic, who, animated by less of the spirit of persecution than his predecessors, had restored to liberty many of the imprisoned bishops and priests of the orthodox Church and granted freedom of worship to his subjects, had been pushed aside and his throne usurped by Gelimer, a zealous and bigoted Arian. Justinian sent an embassy to expos-

tulate with the usurper, and demand the restoration of the throne to Hilderic. Gelimer replied to the imperial commissioners with that haughty insolence characteristic of his race. Justinian now resolved upon war. But such was the terror of the Vandal name that the subjects of the Emperor declaimed against such a distant and hazardous enterprise. For a moment Justinian wavered in his purpose. But a zealous ecclesiastic reanimated the hesitating resolution of the Emperor, by declaring that he had seen a vision, in which God commanded that the war should be immediately undertaken. "It is the will of Heaven, O Emperor!" exclaimed the bishop, "that you should not abandon your holy enterprise for the deliverance of the African Church. The God of battles will march before your standard, and disperse your enemies, who are the enemies of his Son."

The mixed character of the forces that gathered at Constantinople for the execution of the holy undertaking reveals to us how utterly un-Roman the Empire in the East had already become. The army, numbering about 200,000 men, was composed almost entirely of barbarian mercenaries; — Goths, Huns, Thracians, Isaurians, Parthians, and Persians filled the motley ranks. And, as if to illustrate how completely the rulers of Constantinople had come to rely upon barbarian talent and valor, we see the expedition entrusted to the command of a general born as a Thracian peasant. But Belisarius, for he was the leader of whom we speak, was worthy of the confidence that his master reposed in his fidelity and genius. Already in five years' warfare upon the Persian frontier he had illustrated his rare qualities as a commander.

The results of the expedition have been spoken of in a previous chapter, in connection with the kingdom of the Vandals, and so need not detain us long in this place. The empire of the barbarians was completely destroyed, and 8,000,000 of African provincials, who claimed the name of Romans, were delivered from the rule of a nation of 600,000 savage intruders. Africa was again united to the Empire, and its affairs were administered by imperial officers who took the title of Exarchs (A.D. 533).

The Conquest of Italy. — The subversion of the Vandal power in Africa was quickly followed by the destruction of the Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy. In the year 535 Belisarius disembarked his army, recruited by many Vandals who had enlisted under the standard of their conquerer, upon the shores of Sicily, then in the hands of the Goths, and in a single campaign wrested that island from their grasp. The next year he crossed the Sicilian straits and entered upon the conquest of the peninsula. Naples was taken by stratagem after a brief siege. The gates of Rome were opened by its inhabitants to the Deliverer, as Belisarius was hailed, and the Gothic garrison fled toward the north.

Vitiges, the brave and able king of the Goths, rallied his warriors from one end of Italy to the other, for the maintenance of the rich possessions which the valor of their fathers had won. Belisarius with his little army was shut up within the walls of Rome, and there besieged by an army of 150,000 barbarians. The investment lasted an entire year, during which time the Goths attempted again and again to carry the defences by assault, but without success. 50,000 barbarians are estimated to have fallen before the walls of the capital. Nor were the losses of the besieged any less considerable. A large proportion of the population of the city perished from hunger, disease, and the various accidents of war. The ancient monuments suffered irreparable damage from their material being used in the construction of defenses. The stately mausoleum of Hadrian was converted into a fortress, and the masterpieces of Greek and Roman art which embellished it were used as ammunition, and thrown down upon the heads of the besiegers.

During the siege Belisarius sent repeated and urgent embassies to his master at Constantinople, asking for immediate relief. Small reinforcements were at length thrown into the city; and the Goths, despairing of the reduction of the place, broke up camp and commenced a hasty retreat northward, closely pursued by Belisarius, who at last drove them within the walls of Ravenna. Vitiges was finally compelled to surrender and was sent to Con-

stantinople, where he was kindly received by the Emperor and given ample estates in return for the kingdom he had lost.

At this moment, when the conquest of Italy was all but accomplished, the Emperor recalled Belisarius, and soon the Goths, under a new leader, Totila by name, were again in possession of Rome. Belisarius was now sent back to regain what had been thus foolishly lost, and Rome again changed masters. But the jealous Emperor did not support his general with either troops or money, and finally recalling him, abandoned Italy to the barbarians.

But the entreaties of the Pope and of the Italians at length moved Justinian to attempt again the expulsion of their enemies. The command of the imperial forces was this time entrusted to the famous eunuch Narses, who, in the execution of the undertaking, evinced talents second only to those of Belisarius. He soon obtained possession of Rome, this making the fifth time that the unfortunate city had changed hands during the reign of Justinian. All Italy, after much hard fighting in the north, was now freed from the barbarians, and became once more a part of the Roman Empire (A.D. 554).

The Fate of Belisarius. — Justinian's possessions in Eastern Europe were constantly harried by marauding bands of Slavonians, who every year crossed the boundaries of the Empire and spread dismay throughout the provinces of Macedonia and Thrace. In the winter of the year 559 an army of these barbarians crossed the Danube on the ice, and finally pitched their tents within sight of the walls of Constantinople. The commanding spirit of the old soldier Belisarius alone saved the capital from falling a prey to the marauders.

This was the last service which Belisarius rendered to his sovereign or to his country. "He had conquered extensive realms and mighty nations, and led kings captive to the footstool of Justinian, the Law-giver of civilization." But the jealousy of the Emperor not only led him to withhold from his ever-faithful general the reward due to his genius and deeds, but inclined him

to listen to every whisper of envy and malice, and finally induced him, on an unproved and doubtless unjust charge of taking part in a conspiracy against his life, to imprison him and confiscate his property. In a short time, however, he was given his liberty; but the heart of the old soldier — he was now well advanced in years — seems to have been broken by this last injustice of his master, and he died within a few months after his release. His ungrateful sovereign followed him in less than a year.[1]

Rebuilding of the Church of St. Sophia. — Justinian was the Hadrian of the East. His taste for architecture induced him to spend enormous sums upon the embellishment of his capital, which he so adorned with the triumphs of Art that it seemed a not unworthy successor of the once imperial city of the Tiber. He rebuilt with increased splendor the church of St. Sophia, which, founded by the piety of Constantine, had been burned during a sedition early in Justinian's reign. The edifice still stands, although the Cross that formerly surmounted the dome has been replaced by the Moslem Crescent. The admiration which the stately structure never fails of exciting in the mind of every beholder justifies the pride of the imperial builder, who, in the midst of the dedication service, is said to have exclaimed, "I have vanquished thee, O Solomon!"

The Defenses of the Empire. — Justinian did not confine his attention to the erection of monumental or sacred buildings alone; in every part of his dominion he constructed hospitals, aqueducts, and other works of a utilitarian nature. Among these last-named works we may place those constructions of a defensive character wherewith he girt the cities of the Empire and fortified all its exposed frontiers. (In the case of some of the works enumerated below, Justinian simply restored or strengthened old defenses.)

[1] There is no foundation for the story with which romancers have embellished the close of the life of Belisarius. "That he was deprived of his eyes, and reduced by envy to beg his bread, 'Give a penny to Belisarius the general!' is a fiction of later times, which has obtained credit, or rather favor, as a strange example of the vicissitudes of fortune." — GIBBON.

The Danube presented almost one continuous series of towers, fortified camps, walled towns, and extended lines of ramparts, designed to protect the provinces in that quarter from the inroads of the barbarians. For the protection of Greece the Pass of Thermopylæ was strongly fortified with walls, and the Peloponnesus was protected by ramparts drawn across the Isthmus of Corinth. The tongue of land upon which Constantinople stands was also similarly fortified by a wall running from shore to shore, at a distance of twenty-eight miles from the capital. In the far East the mountain passes between the Euxine and the Caspian, through which the hordes of Scythia poured into the countries of the south, were defended by strong gates, and by ramparts which ran up the flanks of the mountains to their impassable summits.

Fortifications of a different character were needed along the Mesopotamian frontier, — the dividing line of the Roman and Persian empires. Ramparts that might check marauding tribes would be of no use against the forces and military engines of a state like Persia, the only civilized power that now contested with the rulers at Constantinople the sovereignty of the world. So all along this eastern boundary of the Empire, the cities were converted into strong fortresses, with defensive works capable of withstanding the operations of a regular siege.

This enumeration of the defenses of the Empire will illustrate better than anything else the dangers that threatened it and the nature of its assailants.

These fortifications accomplished very imperfectly the purpose for which they were intended. In Europe especially was this true, the provinces there being annually harried by the barbarians from the Adriatic to the Hellespont. The rulers of Constantinople needed to learn the truth so early acquired by the Spartans, that the only reliable defense of a state is the valor of its citizens.

Introduction of Silk Manufacture. — The introduction and establishment in Europe of the industry of silk manufacture deserves special notice as one of the important matters of a reign so crowded with significant events as to render it an epoch in history.

Before the time of Justinian the markets of the West were supplied with silk from China, whence the precious fabric was brought to Europe, sometimes by sea, but more usually over the caravan routes across Central Asia. Some varieties of the silk-worm were raised in Europe previous to this time; but the amount and quality of the fibre produced by these were inferior to that spun by the mulberry-feeding worm of the East.

The Chinese guarded jealously their industry, and would not allow the worms to be carried out of the country. Their watchfulness, however, was eluded by two Persian monks, who having concealed in a hollow cane some eggs of the silk-worm, made their way out of the Empire without detection, and finally reached Constantinople safely with these "spoils of the East," — spoils far more valuable than any which had ever been borne to the old Rome by her most successful generals. The eggs were safely hatched and the species was rapidly propagated, so that in a short time the silk products of Europe far surpassed those of China.

The Code of Justinian. — Among all the acts of Justinian, that which conferred the most signal benefit upon succeeding ages and which entitles his name to a place among the few illustrious princes whose authority and opportunities have been devoted to advancing the well-being of their fellow-men, was the collection and publication of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, the "Body of the Roman Law." This work embodied all the law knowledge of the ancient Romans, and was the most precious legacy of Rome to the world. Upon it is founded, as we have already learned, the law-systems of several of the leading states of Modern Europe, while the jurisprudence of all the others has been more or less influenced by it.

Since we have in another volume,[1] in connection with Latin literature, given some account of this great work, we shall now content ourselves with this simple reference to the undertaking, that it may be given its proper place among the significant labors of the Emperor whose reign we are reviewing.

Closing of the Schools of Athens. — It was during the reign

[1] *Outlines of Ancient History*, p. 466.

of Justinian that the schools of rhetoric and philosophy at Athens were closed by imperial edict. Their suppression excites our astonishment, as the act at first blush seems strangely at variance with the disposition of a sovereign to whom we are indebted for the preservation and transmission of the laws and legal learning of the Roman period.

It was, in part at least, his religious scruples which led the Emperor to close the Athenian schools. Their teachings and methods were deemed by Justinian to be unfriendly to Christianity, as they set reason before faith; and for this cause, together with political reasons perhaps, he issued the decree which forever silenced the eloquence of the Attic Academy and Lyceum.

The intellectual history of Hellas begins in the sixth century before Christ with the Seven Sages, and now it ends in the sixth century after Christ with the Seven Exiles. These seven friends — Diogenes, Hermias, Simplicius, Eulalius, Damascius, Priscian, and Isidore by name — resolved to seek in Persia that freedom of thought which the royal edict forbade them to exercise in their own land. But in that distant country the exile philosophers found the Zoroastrian priests quite as intolerant as the Christian bishops, and, although they had been kindly received by Chosroes I., the Persian king, they soon returned to Europe, where they lived in silence and died in obscurity. With them passed away that long line of Grecian sages who, for twelve hundred years, had occupied the proud position of teachers of the world.

Calamities of Justinian's Reign. — Although so many events of importance and advantage to mankind signalized the reign of Justinian, it was a time of almost unparalleled woes and sufferings. During this period the scourges of war, pestilence, and famine sensibly diminished the number of the human race. Some of the fairest regions of the earth, depopulated at this time, have remained without inhabitants up to the present day. The wars in Africa against the Vandals, and the tumults arising from religious disputes, wasted the population of that region; the Gothic wars, which drew their slow length through twenty years, cost Italy mil-

lions of her population; the Persian wars resulted in frightful losses of soldiers and of the inhabitants of cities; while the constant incursions of the outside barbarians — Turanians, Slavonians, and Teutons — kept the land in almost every quarter of the Empire wet with blood.

The hostile agencies of nature combined, too, with the destructive and malignant energies of man himself, and seemed to threaten the extermination of the human species. Earthquakes following one another with unparalleled frequency and violence, rolled beneath cities and provinces, and carried death and dismay everywhere. Berytus and Antioch on the Syrian coast were destroyed, an immense number of persons perishing in the overthrow of the latter city. Famine prepared the way for the awful pestilence which, bred in Egypt, penetrated into every part of the civilized world. The very air seemed to bear a deadly taint, — caught, perhaps, from the unburied bodies that everywhere poured their poison into it, — so that the element of life was changed into an infectious and fatal thing, which neither the frost of winter nor the fresh breezes from the unaffected regions of the earth appeared to possess any power to purify and restore to a health-giving condition. This terrible scourge fell upon the Empire in the fifteenth year of Justinian's reign, and did not cease its ravages until fifty-two years after its first visitation.

State of the Empire at the Accession of Heraclius (A.D. 610). — Justinian was followed by Justin, Tiberius, Maurice, and Phocas the Usurper, whose checkered reigns bring us to that of Heraclius (A.D. 610–641), a prince about whose name gather many matters of interest and importance.

About this time Chosroes II., king of Persia, wrested from the Empire the fortified cities that guarded the Euphratean frontier, and overran all Syria. The True Cross was torn from the church at Jerusalem and carried off in triumph to Persia. Egypt, too, was seized, Chosroes, in imitation of Cambyses, marching up the valley of the Nile to the confines of Ethiopia. Asia Minor was also overrun, and the Persian army never halted until its tents

were pitched upon the Bosphorus, within sight of the domes of Constantinople. Europe was again threatened with a Persian invasion, such as in the days of Xerxes had spread terror throughout the cities of Greece. History here so strangely repeats itself, that the record of these times reads like some displaced pages of the Græco-Persian wars a thousand years before.

To add to the gloom and distress of the inhabitants of the Empire, the Avars were desolating its European provinces, and spreading their ravages to the very gates of Byzantium. They even carried off bodily a vast multitude of the citizens of the capital, who had been beguiled beyond the walls to participate in festivities that were to celebrate a lasting peace between the barbarians and the Emperor.

Thus beset on every side, Heraclius resolved to abandon Constantinople, escape to Carthage, and make that city the seat of the imperial government.[1] His ships were already packed with the furniture of the palace, when the patriarch of Constantinople interposed. He exhorted the disheartened Emperor never to despair of the cause of the Empire and of the Church, and by entreaties and gentle commands led him to abandon his desperate resolution, and to take a solemn oath that he would never remove the throne from the spot where Constantine and the will of God had established it.

Heraclius now endeavored to obtain some terms of peace with Chosroes that might stay the course of his victorious arms and save at least something to the Empire. But that haughty monarch, doubly insolent and confident in the midst of his triumphs,

[1] A variety of motives, doubtless, led Heraclius to this determination, just as Constantine was influenced by many considerations when he transferred the capital from the Tiber to the Bosphorus. The imperial government, Roman in its spirit and tendencies, was in antagonism with the native populations of the East. It was, in fact, regarded by its subjects as a foreign domination, and was in no sense national. By removing the seat of government to Carthage, which was a thoroughly Roman city, Heraclius might hope to get rid of the Greek influence that surrounded the court at Constantinople, and to strengthen his administration by basing it on a loyal Roman population.

only replied, "I will never give peace to the Emperor of Rome till he has abjured his crucified God, and embraced the worship of the Sun." However, by humiliating concessions on the part of Heraclius, a treaty of peace was arranged, whereby he bound himself to pay the Persian king an annual tribute of "a thousand talents of gold, a thousand of silver, a thousand silk robes, a thousand horses, and a thousand virgins."

The Expedition of Heraclius. — Heraclius evidently signed this disgraceful treaty simply to gain time. To redeem the fortunes of the Empire he now immediately set about organizing an army, the expenses of which were met by stripping the churches of their treasures; the priests consenting to this on condition that the articles should be replaced after the crisis was passed.

With his forces collected, Heraclius placed them aboard the transports that had been provided, and leaving the Persians in front of his capital, sailed away to the plains of Issus, in the north-east corner of the Mediterranean, the spot made historic by the overthrow of the army of Darius III. by Alexander, 333 B.C. The inhabitants of the surrounding country, animated by religious ardor, flocked to his standard, eager to avenge the sacrileges of the fire-worshippers. Upon the very field that had proved so fatal to them a thousand years before, the Persians were drawn into an engagement which resulted in a second victory of the West over the East. Placing his troops in winter quarters, Heraclius now returned to Constantinople, as his presence there was demanded by threatening movements of the Avars.

With the barbarians composed, the Emperor set out on an expedition quite as worthy a place among the records of brilliant military exploits as the March of the Ten Thousand Greeks.

The plan of Heraclius was to penetrate into Persia itself, and by a bold attack upon the capital of Chosroes, to force him to recall the armies that were distressing the provinces of the Empire. For the accomplishment of this daring undertaking, — which presents a striking parallel to the invasion of Africa by Scipio, in order to compel the Carthaginians to call Hannibal out of Italy

to the defence of Carthage, — Heraclius chose a company of only 5,000 men, with whom he sailed through the Black Sea to the port of Trebizond. Having recruited his little army from among the hardy mountaineers of Armenia, he pushed into the heart of Persia. One city after another fell into his hands; and in revenge for the insults heaped by the infidels upon the Christian churches, the altars of the fire-worshippers were everywhere overturned and the fires upon them quenched. Thebarmes, the place held sacred by tradition as the birthplace of Zoroaster, was laid in ruins, in special revenge for the desecration of the holy places of Jerusalem.

Trembling for the safety of his throne, Chosroes hastily recalled his armies from the remote provinces whither their victorious career had led them, and as they arrived, disposed them in such a manner as to form a perfect cordon about the little army of the brave Heraclius. The new recruits were ready to desert, so inevitable seemed the doom that hung over the beleaguered camp. But the Persian armies were as powerless now to withstand the valor of the West as they were ten centuries before. Being scattered in every direction, they sought safety behind the walls of their cities. After besieging and capturing one of these, Heraclius set out on his return. Crossing the mountains that separate the table-lands of Persia from the plains of Assyria, he descended their western slopes, crossed the Tigris, and rested at last in the Mesopotamian fortress of Amída.

This daring expedition of Heraclius, although it doubtless saved the Empire from immediate dismemberment and inspired its inhabitants with new courage, by no means ended the war. Chosroes now in turn penetrated to the heart of the Roman Empire, and laid siege to Constantinople, in which enterprise he was aided by the united hordes of the Tartars and Slavonians. But the attempt was unsuccessful, and he was obliged, after sustaining heavy losses, to abandon the siege.

The Battle of Nineveh (A.D. 627). — The struggle between the two rival empires was at last decided by a terrible combat upon the field of Nineveh.

On the ground broken by the mounds of the old Assyrian capital, the Persian army was drawn up to offer battle to Heraclius. Not far away was the field of Arbela, where, a thousand years before, half a million of Persians, disputing the march of Alexander, had been cut to pieces, and the last king of the Ancient Empire driven a fugitive among the mountains. The strange correspondence that the present series of events had maintained to the course of events then, might have awakened, one would think, dismal forebodings in the mind of Chosroes. But his orders to his general, Rhazates, were to commit the fortunes of the empire to a single and decisive battle. Through one long day and far into the night the opposing lines pushed each other back and forth over the bloody field. The result was the almost total annihilation of the Persian army.

Chosroes sought safety within the walls of his capital city, Ctesiphon, upon the lower Tigris, where he met the fate almost sure to overtake an unfortunate monarch in the East. One of his sons headed a revolt, put to death eighteen brothers who might dispute the succession with him, and cast the aged Chosroes into prison. In a few days grief or violence ended his life. With him passed away the glory of the Second Persian Empire.

The new king, Siroes, negotiated a treaty of peace with Heraclius, in which he gave up all the conquests of his father, surrendered the prisoners and standards that had fallen into the hands of the Persians, and restored the True Cross, which had been carried off by Chosroes. The articles of this treaty left the boundaries of the two rival powers unchanged. Heraclius, whose rare abilities, desperate daring, and resolution had rescued the Empire and Church from threatened destruction, was received at Constantinople with transports of enthusiasm.

The Approaching Storm. — The two combatants in the fierce struggle which we have been watching were too much absorbed in their contentions to notice the approach of a storm from the deserts of Arabia, — a storm destined to overwhelm both alike in its destructive course.

Within a few years from the date of the Battle of Nineveh the Saracens entered upon their surprising career of conquest, which in a short time completely changed the face of the entire East, and set the Crescent, the emblem of a new faith, alike above the fire-altars of Persia and the churches of the Empire. Only a few years elapsed after the death of the great Chosroes II. before the dominions of the Persian kings were overrun by the Arabian conquerors; and Heraclius himself lived to see — so cruel are the vicissitudes of fortune — the very provinces which he had wrested from the hands of the fire-worshippers, in the possession of the more insolent followers of the False Prophet, and the Crescent planted within sight of the walls of Constantinople.[1]

The Empire becomes Greek. — But these seeming misfortunes, so far as they concerned the Roman Empire, were really blessings in disguise. The Empire was actually strengthened by what it lost. The conquests of the Saracens cut off those provinces that had the smallest Greek element, and thus rendered the population subject to the Emperor more homogeneous, more thoroughly Greek. The Roman element disappeared, and though the government still retained the imperial character impressed upon it by the conquerors of the world, the court of Constantinople became Greek in tone, spirit, and manners. Hence, instead of longer applying to the Empire the designation *Roman*, we shall from this on call it the *Greek* or Byzantine Empire.[2]

[1] About six years before his death, despairing of protecting Syria, Heraclius removed from Jerusalem to Constantinople the True Cross, which he had recovered from the Persians. "Farewell, Syria!" were his words, as he turned from the consecrated land which he knew must be given up to the enemies of his faith. Heraclius died A.D. 641.

[2] Finlay thinks the term *Roman* no longer applicable after the reign of Justinian II. (A.D. 710), the last sovereign of the family of Heraclius. (See his *Greece under the Romans.*) After the year 800, the date of the establishment of the *Western* or Teutonic Empire by Charlemagne, it is proper to call the Byzantine Empire, in opposition to the one in the West, the *Eastern* Empire. This latter term, however, should not be used before that date. See chapter VI., note to paragraph headed "Restoration of the Empire in the West."

We shall trace no further as a separate story the fortunes of the Eastern Emperors. In the eighth century the so-called Iconoclastic controversy, which began under Leo the Isaurian (718-741), will draw our attention to them; and then again in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Crusades will once more bring their affairs into prominence, and we shall see a line of Latin princes seated for a time (from 1204 to 1261) upon the throne of Constantine. Finally, in the year 1453, we shall witness the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, which disaster closes the long and checkered history of the Græco-Roman Empire in the East.

CHAPTER V.

MOHAMMED AND THE SARACENS.

Origin and Character of the Arabs. — The Arabs, who are now about to play their surprising part in history, are, after the Hebrews, the most important people of the Semitic race. They trace their descent from Ishmael, the son of Abraham.[1] The name Saracen, applied to them by the ancient classical writers, is of doubtful origin, but seems to come from two Arabic words meaning "Children of the Desert." They are divided into two distinct classes — dwellers in towns and dwellers in tents. It is to the latter class alone that the term Bedouin is properly applied. These nomad Arabs, who comprise probably about one fifth of the population of Arabia, have never been better described than in the Bible account of their origin, where Hagar, while comforted with the promise that her son shall become the father of a great nation, is told that "he shall be a wild man and his hand shall be against every man and every man's hand shall be against him."

Secure in their inaccessible deserts, the Arabs have never as a nation bowed their necks to a foreign conqueror, although portions of the Arabian peninsula have been repeatedly subjugated by different races.

Religious Condition of Arabia before Mohammed. — The religion of the Arabs before the reforms of Mohammed was a sort

[1] The Ishmaelite legend can of course only be taken to indicate a comparatively late and local movement. It seems probable that Arabia was settled by immigrants from Africa, — from Abyssinia and Egypt, — who passed into the southern part of the peninsula over the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, and into the northern by the Isthmus of Suez. This double movement, in connection with subsequent modifying influences, may explain the dual division of the Arabians mentioned a little further on in the text.

of Sabæanism, a worship of the heavenly bodies, similar to that of the ancient Chaldæans and Babylonians. The holy city of Mecca was the centre of the religious life of the entire peninsula. Here was the ancient and most revered shrine of the Caaba, where was preserved a sacred black stone believed to have been given by an angel to Abraham. Hither pilgrimages were made from the most remote provinces of Arabia.

But though the prevailing religion among the tribes of the peninsula was a worship of the celestial bodies under various forms and symbols, still there were many followers of other faiths; for Arabia at this time, in happy and reproving contrast to almost every other country, was a land of religious freedom. Hence religious exiles from every land fled hither as to an asylum, and finding here a toleration that they sought in vain elsewhere, freely expounded their diverse doctrines in all parts of the peninsula. The altar of the fire-worshipper arose alongside the Jewish synagogue and the Christian church. The Jews especially were to be found everywhere in great numbers, having been driven from Palestine by the Roman persecutions. By the Christian missionaries, the Bible was translated into the Arabic language; and inasmuch as the Old Testament narratives respecting Abraham and Ishmael and the other patriarchs harmonized with their own traditions, the Arabs received without dissent this portion of the Word.

Such was the religious condition of the tribes of Arabia about the beginning of the seventh century of our era, when there appeared among them a prophet under whose teachings the followers of all the idolatrous worships were led to give assent to a single and simple creed, and were animated to a pitch of fanatical enthusiasm that drove them forth from their deserts upon a career of conquest which could not be stayed until they had overrun the fairest portions of the Roman and Persian empires, and given a new religion to one sixth of the human race.

Mohammed. — Mohammed, the great prophet of the Arabs, was born in the holy city of Mecca in the year 569. He sprang

from the distinguished tribe of Koreish, the custodians of the sacred shrine of the Caaba. At the age of thirteen he visited, in company with his uncle, the bazaars of Damascus and other Syrian towns, and thus early learned something of the outside world. All the first years of his manhood were passed as a shepherd or merchant. Having been intrusted with the management of the estate of a certain widow named Cadijah, his faithfulness, in connection with the graces of a person of unusual beauty and the fascinations of a gifted mind, won her esteem and affection, and she became his wife.

Mohammed possessed a soul that was early and deeply stirred by the contemplation of those themes that ever attract the religious mind. When the fast of Ramadan approached, — a month set apart for humiliation and prayer, — he was wont to withdraw from his family and the world, to a cave a few miles from Mecca, and there spend long vigils in religious exercises and contemplation.

It is in connection with these visits to this solitary chamber that we find the mystery of Mohammed's life. He declared that there he had visions in which the angel Gabriel appeared to him and made to him revelations which he was commanded to make known to his fellow-men. The sum of the new faith which he was to teach was this: "There is but one God, and Mohammed is his Prophet."

It is probable that Mohammed was subject to such illusions of sights and sounds — a not uncommon disorder of the mind — as caused Joan of Arc to believe that she was commissioned by Heaven to effect the deliverance of her country. Either so, or Mohammed was guilty of the grossest deception from the outset of his career.

Mohammed communicated the nature of his visions to his wife, who, while not doubting the reality of the visitations, knew not whether to attribute them to a good or an evil spirit. Finally she became convinced that the visits were from a good angel, acknowledged the divine mission of her husband, and became his first convert.

For a long time Mohammed now endeavored to gain adherents merely by persuasion; but such was the incredulity with which he everywhere met, that at the end of three years his disciples numbered only forty persons. But he had gained two staunch friends in his relatives Abubekr and Ali, and to these was soon added a third, Omar by name, all of whom were destined to become illustrious champions of the new faith.

The Hegira (622). — The teachings of Mohammed at last aroused the anger of a powerful party among the Koreishites, who feared that they, as the guardians of the national idols of the Caaba, would be compromised in the eyes of the other tribes by allowing such heresy to be openly taught by one of their number, and accordingly plots were formed against his life. He was saved from assassination by the devoted Ali, who, wrapping himself in his master's mantle, occupied his couch, while Abubekr was conducting the Prophet, under cover of night, to a place of safety, — a cave a short distance from Mecca.

Tradition tells how the fugitives, while lying concealed in this place, were saved by a spider's having spun a web across the entrance to the cavern, which led their pursuers to conclude that no person could have recently entered the cave. From this hiding-place Mohammed continued his flight to the city of Medina, where he was received with all the reverence due an accredited messenger of Heaven.

This Hegira, or Flight, as the word signifies, occurred in the year 622, and was considered by the Moslems as such an important event in the history of their religion that they adopted it as the beginning of a new era, and from it still continue to reckon their dates.

The Faith extended by the Sword. — The espousal of his cause by the inhabitants of Medina, and the success that now began to attend his preaching, seem to have had upon Mohammed the effect which success too often has upon ambitious and aspiring minds, and to have filled him with insolent pride. He threw aside the character of an exhorter and assumed that of a warrior.

Persuasion was exchanged for force. He declared that it was the will of God that the new faith should be spread by the sword.

The year following the Hegira he began to attack and plunder caravans. The flame of a sacred war was soon kindled. Warriors from all quarters flocked to the standard of the Prophet. The reckless enthusiasm of his wild converts was intensified by the assurance of the Apostle that death met in fighting those who resisted the true faith ensured the martyr immediate entrance to the joys of Paradise. If at any time they complained of the heat of the desert, they were told that "hell was hotter." At the same time they were allured by the spoils of successful war, which could not fail of appealing powerfully to their plundering instincts.

The terms offered to all unbelievers were the Koran, tribute, or the sword. Within ten years from the time of the assumption of the sword by Mohammed, Mecca had been conquered and the new creed established among all the tribes of Arabia. The idols of the Caaba and of the various shrines between the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea had been broken in pieces. The self-appointed Prophet had become the spiritual and military head of the Arab race, which the intense ardor of religious fanaticism had welded into a mighty brotherhood and nation.

Thus almost in a day the Arab race underwent a complete transformation. There is nothing like it in all history, save that wonderful inspiration of the Hebrew nation on that eventful night spent in the face of their enemy on the shores of the Red Sea. Content hitherto with their ancestral domains, and exhibiting during a period of three thousand years a perfect freedom from the spirit of religious propagandism, the various Arabian tribes are now impatient to burst the bounds of their deserts and spread their new faith over the world.

Mohammed's Embassies to Heraclius and Chosroes. — Even before Arabia had become entirely obedient to his creed, Mohammed began to entertain visions of a universal empire.

Shortly after the Hegira he sent embassies to Heraclius, the Eastern Emperor, to Chosroes II. of Persia, and to other princes,

demanding their allegiance to him as the Apostle of the only God. Heraclius and the rulers of Egypt and Abyssinia, either through policy or fear, gave the embassadors a courteous hearing; but Chosroes indignantly tore in pieces the insolent letter of the Prophet. When Mohammed heard of the act, he exclaimed, "Thus shall God rend asunder the empire of Chosroes."

The Persian empire was soon afterwards actually destroyed, and the conformity of the event to the prophecy was regarded by the disciples of the Apostle as irrefragable evidence of his inspiration.

The Death of the Prophet. — Mohammed's life was just sufficiently prolonged to enable him to set the Arabian tribes on their marvelous career of foreign conquest. Upon the pretext of an insult to one of his embassadors he declared war against Heraclius, and wrested from the Empire several cities lying between the Dead Sea and the Euphrates. These were the only conquests made beyond the limits of the peninsula during the lifetime of Mohammed.

In the year 632 the Prophet, worn out by the labors of his apostleship and broken in strength by the infirmities of age,[1] — he was now in his sixty-third year, — expired in the arms of his faithful wife Ayesha, his last words being, "Yes, I come among my companions on high."

The Character of Mohammed. — No character in all history has been the subject of more conflicting speculations than that of the Arabian Prophet. By some he has been called a self-deluded enthusiast, while others have denounced him as the boldest of impostors.

We shall perhaps reconcile these discordant views, if we bear in mind that the same person may, in different periods of a long career, be both. There seems little doubt that Mohammed was the subject of some bodily or mental disorder, as we have already intimated, which made him the victim of those illusive appearances

[1] Some charge that Mohammed's health was undermined by poison administered by his enemies a considerable time before his death. See Muir, *Mahomet and Islam*, p. 173.

which he sincerely believed to be real visions. His conduct during all the earlier portion of his career, when, amidst every discouragement of insult, persecution, and ill success, he held unfalteringly to his belief in the divine nature of his commission, can be satisfactorily explained upon no other view.

But when the strong advocacy of his cause by the people of Medina placed in his hands the means for the punishment of his persecutors and the enforcement of his claims by the sword, there came to him that temptation which never fails to come to every one inflamed with some lofty purpose, when he has unexpectedly thrust into his hands instruments for the achievement of his ends, the employment of which he knows will insure the success of his plans, but the use of which his conscience condemns. There comes such a crisis in the life of every man of grand aims and lofty ambitions. According as it is met is the character of the man determined. Mohammed yielded to the persuasion of the moment, resolved to adopt the means circumstances had thrust into his hands, and then thought to sanctify the means by the end. The inconsistencies of his earlier and later years — of his life as the humble and persecuted apostle, and as a fierce, marauding warrior, pretending to receive from Heaven fresh revelations for every unworthy emergency — are thus reconciled, and we are enabled to do justice to the Prophet's undoubted genius and virtues, while condemning his weaknesses, his impostures, and his crimes.

The Koran. — Before going on to trace the conquests of the successors of Mohammed, we must form some acquaintance with the religion of the great Prophet.

The doctrines of Mohammedanism or Islam, which means "submission" or "surrender," are contained in the Koran, which is believed by the orthodox to have been written from all eternity on tablets in heaven. A copy of this, they teach, was given to the Prophet by the angel Gabriel. From time to time the Apostle recited to his disciples portions of the book, which were written down upon fragments of pottery, the broad shoulder bones of sheep, and sticks of wood. These scraps of writing,

carefully preserved, and added to by tradition, were, after the death of the Prophet, religiously collected, and arranged chiefly according to length. Such was the origin of the book that has been received as sacred by so large a portion of the human race.

The Doctrines of the Koran. — The subject-matter of the Koran is divided by commentators into precepts, histories, and admonitions. The precepts refer to prayers, pilgrimages, marriages, and matters of a like nature; the historical portions are, in the main, copies of the Hebrew Scriptures, with traditions and fables from other sources; the admonitions contain exhortations to all to embrace the teachings of Mohammed, and hold out to the Faithful the eternal felicities of a heaven filled with every sensual delight, with flowers and fruits and bright-eyed houries of ravishing beauty, and threaten unbelievers with the torments of a hell filled with every horror of flame and demon.

The main articles of the Mohammedan creed as gathered from the Koran are as follows: The faithful Moslem must believe in the absolute unity of God: "There is no God save Allah," is the fundamental doctrine of Islamism, and to this is added the equally binding declaration that "Mohammed is the Prophet of Allah." He must also believe in angels, in the sacredness and infallibility of the Koran, and in the supernatural character of the Prophet. God has revealed himself through four holy men: to Moses he gave the Pentateuch, to David the Psalms, to Jesus the Gospels, and to Mohammed, the last and greatest of all the prophets, He gave the Koran. He is also required to believe in the resurrection and the day of judgment, and an after-state of happiness and misery. Also, he must believe in the absoluteness of the decrees of God, — that He foreordains whatsoever comes to pass, and that nothing that man can do can change His appointments.

The Koran, while requiring assent to the foregoing creed, inculcates the practice of four virtues. The first is prayer; five times each day must the believer turn his face towards Mecca and engage in devotion. The second requirement is almsgiving. The third is keeping the Fast of Ramadan, which lasts a whole

month. This requires abstinence from food during the day only. At night one may eat as much as he pleases. The fourth duty is making a pilgrimage to Mecca. Every person who can possibly do so is required to make this journey.[1]

Abubekr, First Successor of Mohammed (632-634). — Upon the death of Mohammed a dispute at once arose as to his successor; for the Prophet left behind no son, nor had he designated upon whom his mantle should fall. Abubekr, the Apostle's father-in-law, was at last chosen to the position, with the title of Caliph or Vicar of the Prophet, although many claimed that the place belonged to Ali, the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, and one of his first and most faithful companions. This question of succession was destined at a later period, as we shall see, to divide the Mohammedan world into two sects, animated by the most bitter and lasting hostility towards each other.

During the first part of his caliphate, Abubekr was engaged in suppressing revolts in different parts of the peninsula; for upon the death of Mohammed many of the tribes broke away from the tiresome restrictions which the Prophet had put upon them, and refused to pay the tribute and alms that he had exacted. Moreover, several impostors appeared and set themselves up as prophets. Most prominent among these was Moseilama, who succeeded in attracting a large and dangerous following. But Khaled, the general of Abubekr, defeated the self-commissioned apostle and slew ten thousand of his adherents. With such revengeful swiftness and energy did he reduce to subjection the seditious tribes that he gained the surname of "the Sword of God."

With affairs in Arabia, both as regards rebels and rival prophets, thus composed, Abubekr was free to carry out the last injunction of the Prophet to his followers, which enjoined them to spread his doctrines by the sword till all men had confessed the creed of Islam, or consented to pay tribute to the Faithful.

The Conquest of Syria. — The country which Abubekr resolved first to reduce was Syria. A call addressed to all the Faithful

[1] Ockley's *History of the Saracens*, p. 70.

throughout Arabia was responded to with the greatest alacrity and enthusiasm. From every quarter the warriors flocked to Medina, until the desert about the city was literally covered with their black tents and crowded with men and horses and camels. After invoking the blessing of God upon the hosts, Abubekr sent them forward upon their holy mission with these words of admonition: "Be just; the unjust never prosper. . . . When you meet with your enemies, acquit yourselves like men, and if you get the victory, kill no little children, nor old people, nor women. Destroy no palm-trees, nor burn any fields of corn. When you make any covenant, stand to it, and be as good as your word. As you go on, you will find some religious persons that live retired in monasteries, professing to serve God in that way: let them alone. . . . But you will also find another sort of people who belong to the synagogue of Satan, and have shaven crowns; be sure you cleave their skulls and give them no quarter, till they either turn Mohammedan or pay tribute."

The warriors of the Caliph were successful in their first engagement in Syria, and were enabled to send to Medina a large amount of booty as the first-fruits of their crusade. The sight of spoils stirred the plundering instincts of the rovers of the desert, and soon large reinforcements were flocking from all parts of Arabia to the army in Syria. Place after place was captured, until Damascus was besieged. Heraclius, who was at Antioch, sent 100,000 men to the relief of the beleaguered city. These were met and scattered by the Saracens, and soon after a second Christian army of 70,000 was virtually annihilated. Damascus now fell into the hands of the Arabs.

The same day that saw the capture of Damascus witnessed the death of Abubekr (634). In dying he had appointed Omar as his successor. When Omar was informed of Abubekr's intention, he besought him to change his choice, as he had no need of the place. "But the place has need of you," was the reply of Abubekr; and thus Omar became the second of the Vicars of the Prophet.

The change in the caliphate did not interrupt the operations of the Syrian army, and in a few months Jerusalem was in the hands of the Moslems. We must notice the articles of capitulation, for the terms imposed upon their conquered enemies by the Caliphs were always the same, and having examined them in this case, there will be no occasion for our stopping to dwell upon the different negotiations that now follow one another in rapid succession.

Omar himself went to Jerusalem to receive the keys of the city, and to arrange the terms of the surrender. These were, that the Christians should not erect any new churches; that their religious houses should always be opened to Mussulman travelers, whom the monks must entertain as guests three days; that the Christians must always stand when in the presence of a Moslem; that they must not wear the same kind of sandals or turbans as the believers; that they must not use saddles; that they must not employ the Arabic language in their inscriptions; that they must not display the Cross; that they must not ring — though they might toll — the bells of their churches. Beside these there were various other less important restrictions.

By observing all the above matters, and paying tribute, the Christians were to be free to worship as they pleased. Omar gave them the following obligation: "In the name of the most merciful God. From Omar to the inhabitants of Ælia.[1] They shall be protected and secured both in their lives and fortunes, and their churches shall neither be pulled down, nor made use of by any but themselves."

The following incident, which occurred during Omar's visit to the city, will serve to illustrate how carefully he observed not alone the letter, but the spirit of his treaty with the Christians. The Moslem hour of prayer arriving when the Caliph, with the

[1] This name dates from the time of the Emperor Hadrian (A.D. 136), who in punishment for revolt razed Jerusalem to the ground, and on the spot built a new city, to which he gave the name of Ælia Capitolina, the first word commemorating his own family title (Ælius).

patriarch of the city, was in the Church of Constantine, the former expressed a desire to be shown a spot where he might kneel. The patriarch told him to kneel where he was. But he refused to do so, and going out of the building to the east gate, prayed upon the steps. Upon the patriarch asking him why he would not pray within the church, the Caliph replied, "If I had prayed there, the Mohammedans would have taken the church from you, in order that they, too, might pray where the Caliph had kneeled." The precaution was not unnecessary, for the Moslems actually did take possession of the steps, and built a chapel over them.

After the fall of Jerusalem, the cities of Antioch and Aleppo soon yielded to the Saracen arms, and then as to all of Syria the command of the Prophet had been fulfilled. During the following few years the Arabs subjected Mesopotamia, capturing all the strongly fortified cities that had so long defended against the Persians the eastern frontier of the Roman Empire, overran the greater part of Asia Minor, and finally pitched their tents on the shores of the Black Sea and of the Hellespont. They also, like the Romans in the Punic wars, becoming sailors in a day, fitted out a large fleet in the Syrian ports, and sacked the cities of the Grecian Archipelago. It was at this time that they found, and sold for a good price, the prostrate Colossus of Rhodes.

The Conquest of Persia (632–641). — While Khaled and Amrou were effecting the conquest of Syria, another lieutenant of the Caliph, Said by name, was busy with the subjugation of Persia. Enervated as this country was by luxury, and weakened by her long wars with the Eastern Emperors, she could offer but feeble resistance to the terrible energy of the Saracens. In a short time these cavaliers of the deserts had swept in triumph over Babylonia, Assyria, and Persia proper.

Ctesiphon, the capital of the Persian king, situated upon the Tigris, was taken and sacked. There the Arabs gazed in astonishment upon the renowned White Palace of Chosroes, so called on account of its brilliant appearance. As they stripped the royal residence of its treasures and precious furniture, they called to

mind what their Prophet had said when it was told him that Chosroes had torn his letter in pieces, — "Even so shall God rend in pieces his empire." "This," exclaimed they, "is the fulfilment of the prophecy of the Apostle of God."

Among the articles of furniture in the luxurious palace was a silken carpet, upon which was wrought a paradise or garden, with foliage, flowers, and fruit depicted by costly gems of various hues, corresponding with those of nature. This was sent by Saïd to Omar, who cut the precious fabric into pieces to distribute among his chiefs.

The Persian monarch, the seventh ruler who had held the throne during the four years that had elapsed since the defeat by Heraclius of the great Chosroes on the field of Nineveh, fled into Tartary, and in that remote region was murdered by the Turks. Thus died the last of the Sassanian kings of Persia. In a short time the authority of the Saracens was established throughout the country.

Arabian tradition declares that this triumph of Islam over the religion of Zoroaster was foreshadowed by a miracle on the night that Mohammed was born, when the flames upon all the altars of the fire-worshippers, which had been kept burning from age to age, were suddenly extinguished.

Conquests in Central Asia. — Under the Caliph Othman (644–655), who succeeded Omar, the Arabs, following the footsteps of Alexander, crossed the mountains that wall Persia on the north, and effected the conquest of all the regions watered by the Oxus and Jaxartes, and spread their faith among the Turanian tribes of Central Asia.

Among the most formidable of the Tartar clans that adopted the new religion were the Turks. Their conversion was an event of the greatest significance, for it was their swords that were destined to uphold and spread the creed of Mohammed when the fiery zeal of his own countrymen should abate, and their arms lose the dreaded power which religious fanaticism had for a moment imparted to them.

The Conquest of Egypt (638). — The reduction of Syria had

already been accomplished and the fate of the Persian kingdom foreshadowed by the fatal battle of Cadesia (636), when Omar, in the fourth year of his Caliphate, commissioned Amrou, the chief whose valor had won many of the cities of Palestine, to carry the standard of the Prophet into the valley of the Nile.

Egypt was, at this time, one of the most populous and highly civilized of the countries under the rule of the Eastern Emperors. Since its conquest by the Romans (30 B.C.), it had remained in the hands of the Cæsars of Rome or Constantinople, and from its inexhaustible granaries were loaded the vast fleets of grain-ships that supplied the markets of those imperial cities. It was now defended by the garrisons of the Emperor Heraclius, and was further protected by the ancient renown of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies, visions of whose glory and power still filled the imagination of the East. Omar himself, even after the army of the Faithful was upon its march, began to fear lest zeal had passed into presumption in making an attack upon so powerful a state, and dispatched messengers after Amrou, bidding him, if not already across the frontiers of Egypt, to turn back; but if within the country, to "trust God and his sword." The intrepid Amrou, mistrusting the contents of the letter, — which had reached him while he was yet in Syria, — marched on until across the Egyptian frontier, then opened and read it to his soldiers. All declared with one voice that Providence had determined that they were to plant the standard of the Apostle upon the citadels of Egypt.

Pelusium, the ancient stronghold which from the times of the Pharaohs had defended the eastern frontiers of the country, was captured after a short siege, and all Egypt then lay open to the march of the Saracens. Fortunately for their bold undertaking the Coptic Christians, the descendants of the ancient Egyptians, constituting probably nine tenths of the population, had been alienated from the court of Constantinople by the persecutions they had endured on account of their departure from the orthodox creed of the Church, they being sectaries of what was termed the Jacobite heresy. They therefore hailed as deliverers the Arabs,

who promised to permit them to retain their religion upon the payment of tribute. This they were quite willing to do, as the amount they would be required to transmit to the Vicar of the Prophet could not in any event be larger than the exactions wrung from them by the officers of the Eastern Emperor. So the entire Coptic population turned in a body against their Greek oppressors, and "had not the Nile," declares Gibbon, "afforded a safe and ready conveyance to the sea, not an individual could have escaped, who by birth, or language, or office, or religion, was connected with the odious name."

The lieutenants of Heraclius gathered their forces within the walls of Alexandria, and made an obstinate defense of that capital, which next after Constantinople ranked as the most important city of the Empire. But after holding out against the arms of the Saracens for more than a year, the garrison loaded their ships with such treasures as could be carried away, and abandoned the city to the enemy.

Amrou, in communicating the intelligence of the important event to Omar, wrote: "I have taken the great city of the West. It is impossible for me to enumerate the variety of its riches and beauty; and I shall content myself with observing that it contains four thousand palaces, four thousand baths, four hundred theaters or places of amusement, twelve thousand shops for the sale of vegetable food, and forty thousand tributary Jews."

The conqueror further wrote the Caliph about the famous Alexandrian Library, and asked what he should do with the books. Omar is said to have replied, "If these books agree with the Koran, they are useless; if they disagree, they are pernicious: in either case they ought to be destroyed." Accordingly the books were distributed among the four thousand baths of the capital, and served to feed their fires for six months.[1]

[1] This entire story is regarded by many critics as improbable and apocryphal. Gibbon not only doubts the fact of the destruction of the books, but refuses to lament their loss if destroyed. It is probable that the collection was partly burned during the troubles attending Julius Cæsar's invasion of Egypt; and

The loss of Alexandria was regarded at Constantinople as an event almost as calamitous as would have been the capture of that capital itself. The Emperor Heraclius was so affected by the intelligence that he survived the disaster only a few days. But there was still sufficient spirit in the successors to the throne of Constantinople to put forth repeated efforts for the recovery of the lost capital. Three times did the forces of the Empire obtain possession of the prize, and as often were they expelled by the Saracens, who at last destroyed the fortifications of the place, to prevent another occupation by the Romans.

The Caliphs Othman and Ali. — Omar fell by the hand of an assassin in the ninth year of his caliphate, and Othman (644–655) was chosen as his successor. He at once set himself to the pious work of carrying still further from Mecca the standard of the Apostle of God. But dissensions and jealousies were already arising among the followers of the Prophet, and the vigor and unity of effort that had characterized the caliphates of Abubekr and Omar and given irresistible might to the Moslem arms, were no longer to be found in the councils of Mecca. Othman soon had a strong party arrayed against him, and finally he was assassinated in his own house, in the eighty-second year of his age and the twelfth of his reign. Ali (655–661), the son-in-law of Mohammed, — he had married Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet, — was, after some delay, chosen or rather declared Caliph.

The following story at once reveals and explains the condition of affairs at this time at the center of the Moslem world. One day an officer of Ali's court impudently asked him why the reign

that more of the books were destroyed by the early Christians themselves, as being the "monuments of idolatry." The famous dilemma about the uselessness or perniciousness of the books, is one of those sayings that have been accorded a various parentage. The sentiment, *mutatis mutandis*, has been attributed among others to Bishop Theophilus of Alexandria, who lived about the close of the fourth century, and who displayed a fanatical hostility to everything classical.

of Othman and his own were so full of trouble and contention, while those of Abubekr and Omar were so peaceful. Ali replied: "Because Othman and I served Abubekr and Omar during their reigns, and Othman and I found nobody to serve us but you, or such as are like you."

The Establishment of the Dynasty of the Ommiades (661).— The quarrel of the several parties at last broke out in civil war. Ali was scarcely placed in the caliphate before he was forced to send an army against a pretender, Moawiyah by name, who had set up a rival court at Damascus, and whose claims were supported by the able and ambitious Amrou, the conqueror of Egypt. Three men, with a view to removing the causes of discord, planned the assassination of Ali, Moawiyah, and Amrou. The last two escaped the fate intended for them, but Ali fell a victim to the conspiracy (661). "With him," says Osborn, "perished the truest-hearted and best Moslem of whom Mohammedan history has preserved remembrance." Ali was the last of the four so-called "Orthodox Caliphs," all of whom were near relatives or companions of the Prophet.

Moawiyah was now recognized as Caliph. He succeeded in making the office hereditary instead of elective as it hitherto had been, and thus established what is known as the dynasty of the Ommiades,[1] the rulers of which family for nearly a century issued their commands from the city of Damascus.

In securing his power Moawiyah had caused the murder of the two sons of Ali, Hassan and Hosain. These youths were ever regarded as martyrs by the friends of the house of Ali, and their untimely and cruel fate served to render perpetual the feuds whose beginning we have seen. Notwithstanding all the mutations of sovereignties and race in the Mohammedan world, these early dissensions have been kept alive, and still divide the disciples of the Prophet into two factions that cherish the most implacable hatred towards each other.[2]

[1] So called from Ommaya, an ancestor of Moawiyah.

[2] The Mohammedans of Persia, who are known as Shiites, are the leaders

The Conquest of Northern Africa (643–689). — But notwithstanding these feuds and divisions, during the reign of Othman, Ali, and their immediate successors, Northern Africa was subjugated from Egypt to the Straits of Gibraltar. The lieutenants of the Caliphs, however, were obliged to do much and fierce fighting before they obtained possession of these oft-disputed shores. They had to contend not only with the Græco-Roman Christians of the coast, but to battle with the idolatrous Moors of the interior. Furthermore, all Europe had begun to feel alarm at the threatening progress of the Saracens, and to view with apprehension their rapid advance towards the Atlantic, where only a narrow channel of water would separate their victorious hosts from the territory of Europe; so now Roman soldiers from Constantinople and Gothic warriors from Italy and Spain hastened across the Mediterranean to aid in the protection of Carthage, and to help arrest the alarming progress of these wild fanatics of the desert.

But all was of no avail. Destiny had given to the followers of the Apostle the land of Hannibal and Augustine. Akbar, Hassan, and other valiant chiefs of the Moslems turned repeated defeat into ultimate victory. The long and desperate struggle was illustrated, as were all the campaigns of the Arabs, by surprising exploits of valor and splendid examples of religious zeal. Even before Carthage had been taken, Akbar, regardless of the fact that he was leaving an army of enemies in his rear, led his followers along the shore to the westernmost limits of the continent, and then, urging his horse into the waters of the Atlantic, cried, "Great God! if my course were not stopped by this sea, I would

of the party of Ali, while the Turks, known as Sunnites, are the chief adherents of the opposite party. This schism among the followers of the Prophet is believed by Mussulmans to have been prefigured in the fable which tells of Mohammed's cutting the moon in two parts, and, after hiding one portion in his sleeve, again uniting the two halves. From all this they argue that the schism will by and by be healed, and that the entire Mohammedan world will be reunited, with the discords of the past all forgotten. — Introduction to Ockley's *History of the Saracens.*

still go on to the unknown kingdoms of the West, preaching the unity of thy holy name, and putting to the sword the rebellious nations who worship any other gods than thee." (689.)

It was not until nine years after this that Carthage finally fell into the hands of the Arabs. Its Roman and Gothic defenders were driven to their ships, the city was burnt, and every vestige of the capital as carefully erased as it had been by the unrelenting Romans a thousand years before. Nothing save a few hovels has since marked the spot.

The half-Romanized provincials of the coast, — such as the ravages of the wars of Heraclius and the swords of the Moslems had spared, — the Moors of the interior, and the Saracens, gradually melted into a single race confessing the creed and speaking the language of the conquerors; and to-day it would be impossible to distinguish the swarthy Arab Moor of Northern Africa from the tawny Bedouin of Syria or Arabia.

By this conquest all the countries of Northern Africa, whose history for a thousand years, from Dido to Augustine, had been intertwined with that of the opposite shores of Europe, and which at one time seemed destined to share the career of freedom and progress opening to the people of that continent, were drawn back into the fatalism, the despotism, and the stagnation of the East; so that henceforth we shall have occasion to notice their affairs only incidentally, and then only as the barbarous and piratical tribes of the degenerate coast shall need to be chastized by the Christian sovereigns of Europe, or by the rulers of a people from a then unknown world lying beyond the sea invaded by the chieftain Akbar.

Attacks upon Constantinople. — Within fifty years from the death of Mohammed his standard had been carried by the lieutenants of his successors through Asia to the Hellespont, on the one side, and across Africa to the Straits of Gibraltar, on the other. From each of these two points, so remote from each other, the fanatic warriors of the desert were casting longing glances across those narrow passages of water, which alone separated them

from the single continent that their swift coursers had not yet traversed, or whence the spoils of the unbelievers had not yet been borne to the feet of the Vicar of the Prophet of God. We may expect to see the Saracens at one or both of these points attempt the invasion of Europe.

The first attempt was made in the East, where the Arabs endeavored to gain control of the Bosphorus, by wresting Constantinople from the hands of the Eastern Emperors. After the conquest of Syria the Saracens, as we have noticed, fitted out in the Syrian ports large naval armaments, and so were able to carry on their operations against the Empire by both sea and land. In the year 668, only thirty-six years after the death of Mohammed, an immense host of Moslems laid siege to Constantinople. The fate of Christian Europe seemed to hang upon the issue of the event, for should the Arabs force the gates of the city, there was then nothing to prevent their advance into the very heart of the continent.

For six years the Mohammedans pressed the siege with reckless daring and unflagging energy, while the inhabitants of the beleagured city repelled every attack with equal valor and spirit. The final repulse of the assailants and the salvation of the capital was due to the use by the besieged of a certain bituminous compound, called Greek Fire, which upon striking any object instantly ignited with a terrific explosion, and burnt with a fierce and uncontrollable flame. This pitchy substance was poured from the walls upon scaling parties, or was cast to a distance by tipped arrows, or was blown through tubes. The Arabs, whose impetuosity nothing yet had been able to check, retreated in dismay before this terrible liquid fire, and Constantinople was saved.

In 716 the city was again besieged by a powerful Moslem army; but its heroic defense by the Emperor Leo III. saved the capital, for several centuries longer, to the Christian world.

The Conquest of Spain. — While the Moslems were thus being repulsed from Europe at its eastern extremity, the gates of the continent were being opened to them by treachery at the western.

Count Julian, one of the nobles of Roderic, the last Visigothic king of Spain, was the Judas who, tradition says, in revenge for some real or fancied wrong, betrayed his country into the hands of the Mohammedans. This chief had been entrusted by Roderic with the command of the important fortress of Ceuta, which guarded the Straits of Gibraltar, and which was the only stronghold upon the African shore that had not been wrested from the Christians. Julian sent private messengers to Musa, the Mohammedan governor of Africa, offering to surrender his post to him, and lend him aid in an invasion of the dominions of Roderic.

Musa at once availed himself of the offer, and having obtained permission of the Caliph to annex Spain to the dominions of the Faithful, sent a small force across the channel to spy out the land. The report which they brought back of the riches of the country and the weakness of its defenders being favorable, the following spring (711) Musa sent his lieutenant Tarik with a strong force of Moors and Arabs to effect the conquest of the peninsula.

Tarik landed at the point which to this day in its name Gibraltar (*Gibel-al-Tarik*, "Mount of Tarik") retains the name of the famous chief. Roderic gathered his forces from all parts of Spain, and hastened to meet the invaders, whom he encountered upon the field of Xeres, on the banks of the Guadalete. But the soldiers who now marched beneath the standard of the Visigothic king were not the same warriors that had followed Alaric to the spoil of the Roman Empire. During the two centuries and more that the Gothic conquerors had been in Spain, they had become thoroughly assimilated to the Latin-speaking provincials of the peninsula, had assumed their manners and language, and had even appropriated their name, priding themselves upon the title of Romans. This change had been accompanied by an inevitable decay of barbarian virtue and valor. A single glimpse at the Gothic army as it goes out to meet the Moslem host, reveals at once the degeneracy that has overtaken the descendants of Alaric and Euric, and foreshadows the issue of the impending battle. We see Roderic, appareled in silken robes and crowned with a

jeweled diadem, reclining luxuriously in an ivory car, drawn by white mules.

There was disaffection, too, among the chiefs of Roderic; for his reign had been marked by many acts of tyranny and injustice. So from these causes, what should have been an easy victory over the intruders was prolonged into a seven days' battle, which at last resulted in the disgraceful abandonment of the standard of Roderic by a portion of his army, who went over to the enemy, and the only less disgraceful flight of the remainder. Roderic himself fled from the field, and was drowned while crossing the Guadalquivir. Such was the fate of the last of the Gothic kings.

The battle of Xeres decided the fate of Spain. Cordova, Toledo, and all the principal cities now quickly submitted to the authority of the invaders. What the Roman legions had with difficulty effected only after two hundred years' desperate fighting, the lieutenants of the Caliphs accomplished in the space of a few months. By this conquest some of the fairest provinces of Spain were lost to Christendom for a period of eight hundred years.

No sooner had the conquest of the country been effected than multitudes of colonists from Arabia, Syria, and North Africa crowded into the peninsula, until in a short time the provinces of Seville, Cordova, Toledo, and Granada became Arabic in dress, manners, language, and religion.

Invasion of France: Battle of Tours (732). — After having followed the Saracens in their wonderful career of victory during the first century succeeding the death of the Prophet, we naturally are led to ask what limits they propose to their conquests. Our inquiry will be answered if we bear in mind that the last command laid upon the Faithful by the dying Apostle was to carry the Koran to every people under the heavens. Every battle his followers fought, every conquest that they made, was in fulfilment of the sacred commission. The Crescent that they bore was the emblem of a universal empire, which they were to establish over all unbelievers and idolaters. And these Arabian warriors went forth from their deserts with absolute faith that the world had been given to them

And certainly the marvelous success that had everywhere attended their arms justified at once their faith in the inspiration of their Prophet and the divine nature of their commission, while approving as most reasonable the wildest visions of fanaticism. In a period of time embracing only a little more than two generations, the consecrated ensigns of Islam had been carried from Mecca eastward to the shadows of the Himalayas, and westward to the defiles of the Pyrenees. Even the passes of the Pyrenees had already been forced (Abderrahman crossed the mountains in 718), and the Saracens were now establishing themselves upon the plains of Gaul.

The advance of the Moslem hosts beyond the northern wall of Spain was viewed with the greatest alarm by all Christian Europe. The plans of the Saracens were now manifest. The dream of Mithridates and of Cæsar was to be realized in the actual achievements of the lieutenants of the Caliphs. Abderrahman, the Saracen chief now upon the soil of Gaul, was to subjugate the Franks and their confederates, cross the Rhine and crush the tribes beyond that stream, and then follow down the course of the Danube to its mouth. Upon the shores of the Hellespont the bands of the Faithful were to join hands and together give thanks to Allah for the conquest of the World.

Even to the most disinterested watcher of events, it might appear as though these gigantic plans were about to be accomplished. As Draper pictures it, the Crescent, lying in a vast semi-circle upon the northern shore of Africa and the curving coast of Asia, with one horn touching the Bosphorus and the other the Straits of Gibraltar, seemed about to round to the full and overspread all Europe.

In the year 732, exactly one hundred years after the death of the great Prophet, the Franks and their allies met the Moslems upon the plains of Tours in the centre of Gaul, and committed to the issue of a single battle the fate of Christendom and the future course of history. Abderrahman was the leader of the Mohammedan hosts, which, variously estimated from 80,000 to 500,000

men, had been gathered from all the countries of Asia and Africa that yielded obedience to the Vicars of the Prophet. Charles, Duke of the Austrasian Franks, who as Mayor of the Palace under a feeble Merovingian King was regarded as the real head of the Frankish nation, was the chief of the Teutonic warriors, who had been collected from all parts of Gaul and even called from beyond the Rhine.

For six days the opposing hosts engaged in indecisive combats, and not until the seventh day did they join in the final and terrific encounter which was to decide whether Europe should be Christian or Mohammedan, Aryan or Semitic. The desperate valor displayed by the warriors of both armies was worthy of the prize at stake. Abderrahman fell in the thick of the fight, and night saw the complete discomfiture of the Moslem hordes. The loss that the sturdy blows of the Germans had inflicted upon them was enormous, the accounts of that age swelling the number killed to the impossible figures of 375,000. The disaster at all events was too overwhelming to permit the Saracens ever to recover from the blow. They retained, however, their hold upon Septimania for about twenty years, when they were finally driven beyond the Pyrenees.

The young civilization of Europe was thus delivered from an appalling danger, such as had not threatened it since the fearful days of Attila and the Huns. The heroic Prince Charles who had led the warriors of Christendom to the glorious victory was given the surname *Martel,* the "Hammer," in commemoration of the mighty blows of his huge battle-ax.

Beginning of the Dynasty of the Abbassides (750).—Only eighteen years after the battle of Tours, an important event marked the internal history of the caliphate. This was the overthrow of the house of the Ommiades and the establishment of that of the Abbassides.

We have already seen how the setting up of the Ommiade throne was accompanied by the proscription and murder of the sons of Ali, the rights of whose family were maintained by a large party among the Moslems. The adherents of this house were

especially numerous in Persia, and it was that country which finally became the centre of a revolt against the Ommiades. The revolutionists proclaimed as Caliph Abdallah, a descendant of Abbas, uncle of Mohammed. The movement was successful; the Ommiades were proscribed and massacred, and Abdallah became the founder of the celebrated house of the Abbassides, so called from the new caliph's progenitor.

Refusing to reign in the city of Damascus because of its pollution by the Ommiade usurpers, the new family soon after coming to power established the seat of the royal residence on the lower Tigris, and upon the banks of that river founded the renowned city of Bagdad (762), which was destined to remain the abode of the Abbasside Caliphs for a period of five hundred years, — until the subversion of the house by the Tartars of the North.

The Golden Age of the Caliphate. — By the time that the foundations of Bagdad were laid, the successors of Mohammed had quite forgotten the rude simplicity that characterized the court of Medina, and had become as luxurious in habits and tastes as the effeminate Greeks and Persians whom they had subjugated. Hence the new capital rose splendid as an oriental dream. Gorgeous palaces, splendid mosques, and stately public buildings of every kind told of the influence upon the Arabs of the arts of the conquered peoples.

The golden age of the caliphate of Bagdad covers the latter part of the eighth and the ninth century of our era, and was illustrated by the reigns of such princes as Almansor (754–775) and the renowned Haroun-al-Raschid (786–809). During this period science and philosophy and literature were most assiduously cultivated by the Arabian scholars, and the court of the Caliphs presented in culture and luxury a striking contrast to the rude and barbarous courts of the kings and princes of Western Christendom.

The Dismemberment of the Caliphate. — "At the close of the first century of the Hegira," writes Gibbon, "the Caliphs were the most potent and absolute monarchs of the globe. The word that

went forth from the palace at Damascus was obeyed on the Indus, on the Jaxartes, and on the Tagus." Scarcely less potent was the word that at first went forth from Bagdad. But in a short time the extended empire of the Abbassides, through the quarrels of sectaries and the ambitions of rival aspirants for the honors of the caliphate, was broken in fragments, and the authority of the rulers of Bagdad finally reduced to the merest shadow.

In the proscription and slaughter of the unfortunate family of the Ommiades two or three members of the house had escaped. One of these, a youth by the name of Abdelrahman, fled to Egypt, and thence made his way along the African coast to Spain, where he was received with acclamations by the Moslems, who declared themselves independent of the Abbassides, and proclaimed the fugitive Emir[1] of Cordova (755). Thus was the Mohammedan world rent in twain.

Besides the parties of the Ommiades and the Abbassides a third afterwards arose, which, however, never acquired the renown of either of the other two, nor perpetuated itself so long. These sectaries were the Fatimedes or Fatimites. They took their name from Fatima (the daughter of Mohammed and wife of Ali), whose descendants were held by them to be the rightful successors to the authority of the Apostle. Having obtained a foothold in Northern Africa, they gradually extended their authority, until in the year 970 they wrested Egypt from the hands of the Abbassides of Bagdad, and founded Cairo, upon the Nile, as their capital. Palestine and a large part of Syria were afterwards added to their dominions.

So now the empire of the Saracens was divided into three parts, and from three capitals — from Bagdad upon the Tigris, from Cairo upon the Nile, and from Cordova upon the Guadalquivir — were issued the commands of three rival Caliphs, each of whom was regarded by his adherents as the sole rightful, spiritual, and civil successor of the Apostle. All, however, held the great

[1] The title of Caliph was not assumed by the Moslem rulers of Spain until the time of Abdelrahman III. (912–961).

Arabian Prophet in the same reverence, all maintained with equal zeal the sacred character of the Koran, and all prayed with their faces turned toward the holy city of Mecca.

Spread of the Religion and Language of the Arabs. — Just as the Romans Romanized the peoples they conquered, so did the Saracens Saracenize the populations of the countries subjected to their authority. Over a large part of Spain, over North Africa, Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Persia, Northern India, and portions of Central Asia, were spread — to the more or less perfect exclusion of native customs, speech, and worship — the manners, the language, and the religion of the Arabian conquerors.

In Arabia no religion was tolerated save the faith of the Koran. But in all the countries beyond the limits of the peninsula, freedom of worship was allowed (save to *idolaters*, who were to be "rooted out"), yet unbelievers must purchase this liberty by the payment of a moderate tribute. Thus throughout all the conquered countries, Christians, Jews, and Fire-worshippers were alike granted the privilege of retaining the faith of their fathers. In some cases a part of the churches of the Christians were taken away from them, as the legitimate spoils of conquest, and converted into mosques.

But notwithstanding the toleration granted these several faiths, the Christian and Zoroastrian religions — but not the Jewish — gradually died out almost everywhere throughout the domains of the Caliphs. The African Church, which had given birth to a Cyprian and an Augustine, and which for centuries preceding the Saracen conquest had been most powerful in wealth, learning, and confessors, gradually fell away, until by the beginning of the 13th century there probably was not a single church upon the shores of Northern Africa. The creed of Mohammed was confessed by almost every soul dwelling between the Atlantic and the Nile.

The same story may be told of the provinces of Cordova, Seville, Valencia, and Granada in Spain. In Syria and Mesopotamia the Nestorian and Jacobite churches maintained a feeble foothold. In Persia the fires of the fire-worshippers, after languishing for

several centuries, finally expired, save at Yezd, where a few followers of the old worship still fed the sacred flames, and Islam became the prevalent creed throughout the ancient home of the faith of Zoroaster.[1] In Northern India Mohammedanism obtained a strong foothold, which it has retained to the present day, but it never became there the dominant religion; while among the Tartar tribes about the Oxus and Jaxartes the creed of the Apostle was embraced to the virtual exclusion of all ancient forms of idolatry.

And by the Saracen conquests the language of Arabia was spread only less widely than its new faith. Over all the conquered countries west of the mountains that separate Persia from the Tigro-Euphrates valley, that is to say, over ancient Assyria, Babylonia, Syria, Egypt, and Northern Africa, it became the predominant speech, and has remained such up to the present time. So completely were all the inhabitants of these extended regions assimilated to the conquerors, that the traveller to-day in passing from Tangier in Africa to Bagdad in Babylonia meets everywhere — in Morocco, in Tunis, in Egypt, in Syria, in Mesopotamia — people that in face, speech, and customs betray their Arabian origin.

Beyond the eastern edge of Mesopotamia, however, the Arabs failed to impress their language upon the subjected peoples, or in any way, save in the matter of creed, to leave upon them any important permanent trace of their conquests.

The Defects of Islam. — The first-fruits of Islam might well have led one to regard it as a faith favorable to civilization. Thus under the early Abbassides Bagdad became, as we have seen, a renowned centre of light and culture and refinement, while Cor-

[1] The number of Guebers or fire-worshippers in Persia at the present time is about 100,000, found for the most part at Yezd and in the province of Kerman. A larger number may be counted in India, the descendants of the Guebers who fled from Persia at the time of the Arabian invasion. They are there called Parsees, from the land whence they came. After the English, they are the most enterprising, intelligent, and influential class in India to-day. They are more like their European kinsmen than any other of the Asiatic Aryans.

dova under Moslem rule was one of the bright spots of mediæval Europe. Civilization certainly owes a large debt to the Saracens. They preserved and transmitted much that was valuable in the science of the Greeks and the Persians. They improved trigonometry and algebra, and from India they borrowed the decimal system of notation and introduced it into the West.[1]

"But it would be a grievous error," says Osborn, "to confound that gleam of culture which illuminated Bagdad under the first Abbasside Caliphs with the legitimate fruits of Islam." The real relation of Mohammedanism to this civilization is aptly illustrated by the writer just quoted, when he likens it to dark clouds which gather about the setting sun and are lighted up by it with a splendor not their own. "The glories of Bagdad," he says, "were but the afterglow of the thought and culture which sank with the fall of the Sassanides, and the expulsion of the Byzantine emperors." So too, the blossom and fruitage of the Moorish civilization in Spain he would attribute to Jewish and Christian influence.

Many of the tenets of Islam are certainly most unfavorable to human liberty, progress, and improvement. It teaches fatalism, and thus paralyzes the will of man and discourages effort and enterprise. It removes God to an inconceivable distance from humanity, denies all possibility of communion and sympathy between the human soul and the Infinite Spirit, and thus represses all spiritual aspiration and growth. It consecrates sensuality, and thus sinks its devotees into the lowest degradation. It allows polygamy and puts no restraint upon divorce, and thus destroys the sanctity of

[1] What Europe received in science from Arabian sources is kept in remembrance by such words as *alchemy*, *alcohol*, *alembic*, *algebra*, *alkali*, *almanac*, *azimuth*, *chemistry*, *elixir*, *zenith*, and *nadir*. To how great an extent the chief Arabian cities became the manufacturing centres of the mediæval world is indicated by the names which these places have given to various textile fabrics and other articles. Thus *muslin* comes from Mosul, on the Tigris, *damask* from Damascus, and *gauze* from Gaza. Damascus and Toledo blades tell of the proficiency of the Arab workmen in metallurgy.

the family life. It shuts up woman in the harem, and thus deprives all classes of the elevating and refining influences of social intercourse. It permits slavery, and is the foster parent of despotism. It inspires a blind and bigoted hatred of race and creed, and thus puts far out of sight the salutary truth of the brotherhood of men. It gives a "dead revelation" to man, a revelation in which there is no vitality, no power of expansion, no capacity to adapt itself to new human wants, and which thus bars every avenue of social or individual progress and improvement. Because of these and other only less prominent defects in its teachings, Islam has proved a blight and curse to every race embracing its sterile doctrines.

CHAPTER VI.

CHARLEMAGNE AND THE RESTORATION OF THE EMPIRE IN THE WEST.

General Remarks. — In the foregoing chapter we traced the rise and decline of the power of the Saracens. We saw the Semitic East roused for a moment to a life of tremendous energy by the miracle of religious enthusiasm, and then beheld it sinking rapidly again into inaction and weakness, disappointing all its early promises. Manifestly the Law is not to go forth from Mecca. The Semitic race is not to lead the civilization of the world.

But returning again to the West, we discover among the Teutonic barbarians indications of such youthful energy and life, that we are at once persuaded that to them has been given the future and the world. The Franks, who, with the aid of their confederates, withstood the advance of the Saracens upon the field of Tours, and saved Europe from subjection to the Koran, are the people that first attract our attention. Among them it is that a man appears who makes the first grand attempt to restore the laws, the order, the institutions of the ancient Romans. Charlemagne, their king, is the imposing figure that moves amidst all the events of the times; indeed, is the one who makes the events, and renders the period in which he lived an epoch in universal history.

The story of this era affords the key to very much of the subsequent history of Western Europe. The mere enumeration of the events which are to claim our attention will illustrate the important and germinal character of the period. We shall tell how the Mayors of the Palace of the Merovingian princes became the actual kings of the Franks, and how in this matter the Bishops of Rome established a precedent of far-reaching influence for depos-

ing and setting up kings; how, through the liberality of the Frankish kings, the Popes laid the foundations of their temporal sovereignty; how Charlemagne restored the Roman Empire in the West, and throughout its extended limits laid the basis of modern civilization.

How Duke Pepin became King of the Franks. — Charles Martel, whose tremendous blows at Tours earned for him his significant surname, although the most prominent figure amidst the stirring events of his times, was, as we have learned, nominally only an officer of the Frankish court, and, with the title of Duke or Mayor, administered the government in the name of a weak Merovingian sovereign. It would have been easy, we should suppose, for the powerful Duke to depose his imbecile master and place himself upon the throne. But, either because Charles Martel's loyalty was equal to his valor, or because of the reverence in which the Franks held the person of their kings, the Duke remained faithful to his sovereign to the end of his life, and died without ever having borne the title of king, notwithstanding he had exercised all the authority of that office.

But Charles's son Pepin, called *le Bref* on account of his diminutive stature, aspired to the royal title and honors. The manner in which he set about to secure the prize illustrates at once the reverence in which the kingly name was held, and the influence of the Church in these barbarous times. In concurrence with the nobles of the realm, Pepin sent embassadors to Pope Zacharias at Rome to represent that it was the wish of the Franks that the Merovingian king should be deposed, and that the Duke, whose own deeds together with those of his illustrious father had done so much for the Frankish nation and for Christendom, and who wielded all the power of royalty, should be invested with the symbols and titles of the kingly office.

Zacharias, mindful of recent favors which he had received at the hands of Pepin, gave his approval to the proposed scheme by replying that it seemed altogether reasonable that the one who was king in power should be king also in name. This was suffi-

cient. Chilperic — such was the name of the Merovingian king — was straightway deposed; his long hair and beard, the symbol of Merovingian royalty, were cut off; and then he was placed in a monastery. Behind the walls of the cloister the last of the long-haired kings of the Franks is lost to history. Pepin, whose own deeds, together with those of his illustrious father, had done so much for the Frankish nation and for Christendom, was now anointed and crowned king of the Franks (752), and thus became the first of the Carolingian line, the name of his illustrious son Charlemagne giving name to the house.

The part taken by the Pope in this important matter of the deposition of the Merovingian king and the exalting of the dukes of Austrasia to the royal dignity, was afterwards magnified and made a precedent which subsequent Bishops of Rome quoted with effect when endeavoring to establish their claim to the right of deposing for heresy or misrule the temporal princes of the earth.

Pepin gives the Pope Lands retaken from the Lombards. — Pepin had inherited the talent and valor of his father, and during his vigorous reign (752–768) extended his authority throughout all the provinces of Gaul, and often passed beyond the limits of the country upon various military enterprises, always cloaking his ambition under the pretence of a desire to advance the interests of the Church. His campaigns and conquests in Italy were attended with important and lasting results.

In the year 754 Pope Stephen II., who was troubled by the Lombards, made a long and dangerous journey to the capital of Pepin, and besought his aid against the barbarians. Pepin, quick to return the favor which the head of the Church had rendered him in the securing of his crown, straightway crossed the Alps with a large army, expelled the Lombards from their recent conquests, and made a donation to the Pope of the recaptured cities and provinces (755).

This endowment may be regarded as having laid the basis of the temporal sovereignty of the Popes; for though Pepin probably did not intend to convey to the Papal See the absolute sovereignty

of the transferred lands, after a time the Popes claimed this, and finally came to exercise within the limits of the donated territory all the rights and powers of independent temporal rulers.

Accession of Charlemagne. — Pepin died in the year 768, and his kingdom passed into the hands of his two sons Carloman and Charles; but within three years the death of Carloman and the free votes of the Franks conferred the entire kingdom upon Charles, better known by the name he achieved of Charlemagne, or "Charles the Great."

His Campaigns. — Charlemagne's long reign of nearly half a century — he ruled forty-six years — was filled with military expeditions and conquests, by which he so extended the boundaries of his dominions that at his death they embraced the larger part of Western Europe. He made fifty-two military campaigns, the chief of which were against the Lombards, the Saracens, and the Saxons. Of these we will speak briefly.

Among Charlemagne's first undertakings was a campaign against the Lombards, whose king Desiderius, a bitter enemy of the Frankish monarch, had given an asylum to the children of Carloman, and had asked Pope Adrian to anoint them as the successors of their father. The Pope refusing to do as Desiderius desired, the barbarian threatened to seize his little territory, and was proceeding to carry out his threat, when the Pope appealed for aid to his friend Charlemagne. The king at once marched into Italy, wrested from Desiderius all his possessions, shut up the unfortunate king in a monastery, and placed on his own head the famous iron crown of the Lombards. While in Italy he visited Rome, and in return for the favor of the Pope, confirmed the donation of his father Pepin (774).

In the ninth year of his reign Charlemagne gathered his warriors for a crusade against the Saracens in Spain. He crossed the Pyrenees and succeeded in winning from the Moslems all the northeastern corner of the peninsula. As he was leading his victorious bands back across the Pyrenees, the rear of his army, under the lead of the famous paladin Roland, while hemmed in by the

walls of the Pass of Roncesvalles, was set upon by the wild mountaineers (the Gascons and the Basques), and cut to pieces before Charlemagne could give relief. Of the details of this event no authentic account has been preserved; but long afterwards it formed the favorite theme of the tales and songs of the Trouveurs of Northern France.

But by far the greater number of the campaigns of Charlemagne were directed against the pagan Saxons, who almost alone of the German tribes still retained their ancient idolatry. Thirty years and more of his reign were occupied in these wars across the Rhine. The Saxons were fighting not only for their homes, but for their religion; for the establishment of Christianity among them was one of Charlemagne's objects in attempting their subjugation. The Frankish king seemed to deem it a duty and merit, if not a privilege, to employ his sword in driving the pagans within the fold of the Church.

Reduced to submission again and again, as often did they rise in desperate revolt. The heroic Witikind was the "second Arminius" who encouraged his countrymen to resist to the last the intruders upon their soil. Finally Charlemagne, angered beyond measure by the obstinacy of the barbarians in refusing to accept him as their sovereign, and Christianity as their religion, caused 4500 prisoners in his hands to be massacred in revenge for the contumacy of the nation. Witikind at last yielded, threw himself upon the mercy of Charlemagne, was kindly treated, received the communion of baptism, and ended his life in a monastery. Many of his countrymen fled across the sea to Scandinavia, and their descendants — such is the retribution in events — helped to man the ships of the Vikings, the commencement of whose depredations on his subjects Charlemagne himself lived to lament.

Restoration of the Empire in the West (800). — An event of seemingly little real moment, yet, in its influence upon succeeding affairs, of the very greatest importance, now claims our attention. Pope Leo III. having called upon Charlemagne for aid against a hostile faction at Rome, the king soon appeared in per-

son at the capital, and punished summarily the disturbers of the peace of the Church. The gratitude of Leo led him at this time to make a most signal return for the many services of the Frankish king. To understand his act a word of explanation is needed.

For a considerable time a variety of circumstances had been fostering a growing feeling of enmity between the Italians and the Emperors at Constantinople. Disputes had arisen between the churches of the East and those of the West, and the Byzantine rulers had endeavored to compel the Italian churches to introduce certain changes and reforms in their worship, which thing had aroused the most determined opposition of the Roman bishops, who denounced the Eastern Emperors as schismatics and heretics. (See p. 140.) And while persecuting the orthodox churches of the West, these unworthy Emperors had allowed the Christian lands of the East to fall a prey to the Arabian infidels.

Just at this time, moreover, by the crime of the Empress Irene, who had deposed her son Constantine VI., and put out his eyes, that she might have his place, the Byzantine throne was vacant, in the estimation of the Italians, who contended that the crown of the Cæsars could not be worn by a woman. Confessedly it was time that the Pope should exercise the power reposing in him as Head of the Church, and take away from the heretical and effeminate Greeks the Imperial crown, and bestow it upon some strong and orthodox and worthy prince in the West.

Now, among all the Teutonic chiefs of Western Christendom, there was none who could dispute the claims to the honor with the King of the Franks, the representative of a most illustrious house, and the strongest champion of the young Christianity of the West against her pagan foes. Accordingly, as Charlemagne was participating in the festivities of Christmas Day in the Cathedral of St. Peter at Rome, the Pope approached the kneeling king, — who claimed afterwards that he was wholly ignorant of the designs of his friend, — and placing a crown of gold upon his head, proclaimed him Emperor of the Romans, and the rightful and consecrated successor of Cæsar Augustus and Constantine (800).

The intention of Pope Leo was, by a sort of reversal of the act of Constantine, to bring back from the East the seat of the Imperial court; but what he really accomplished was a restoration of the line of Emperors in the West, which 324 years before had been ended by Odoacer, when he dethroned Augustulus and sent the royal vestments to Constantinople. We say this was what he actually effected; for the Greeks of the East, disregarding wholly what the Roman people and the Pope had done, maintained their line of emperors just as though nothing had occurred in Italy. So now from this time on for centuries there were two Emperors, one in the East, and another in the West, each claiming to be the rightful successor of Cæsar Augustus, and each upon occasion denouncing the other as a pretender and an imposter.[1]

The domains over which Charlemagne ruled with imperial authority were quite as ample as those embraced within the most extended limits of the old Roman Empire in the West. Africa and almost all of Spain were, indeed, in the hands of the Saracens, and Britain was held by the Saxons; but almost all of Italy (the southern part was still held by the Greek Emperors), modern

[1] From this time on it will be proper for us to use the terms *Western* Empire and *Eastern* Empire. These names should not, however, be employed before this time, for the two parts of the old Roman Empire were simply administrative divisions of a single empire; but we may properly enough speak of the Roman Empire *in* the West, and the Roman Empire *in* the East, or of the Western and Eastern Emperors. What it is very essential to note is, that Charlemagne in restoring the line of the Western Emperors, actually destroyed the unity of the old Empire, so that from this time until the destruction of the Eastern Empire in 1453, there were, as we have said in the text, two rival Emperors, each in theory having rightful suzerainty of the whole world, whereas the two Emperors in Roman times were the co-rulers of a single and indivisible World-Empire. See Bryce's *The Holy Roman Empire.*

The line of Western Teutonic Emperors was maintained until the present century, when it was ended by the act of Napoleon in the dismemberment of Germany (1806). The Holy Roman Empire, as this western empire came to be called, played a most important part, as we shall see, in the affairs of mediæval Europe. It was, indeed, scarcely more than a name; but then there is often very much in a name.

France, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, and Hungary obeyed his commands, and their numerous and varied tribes and peoples swore fealty to him as Emperor.

Charlemagne's Death: his Character and Work. — Charlemagne enjoyed the Imperial dignity only fourteen years, dying in 814. Within the cathedral at Aachen, in a tomb which he himself had built, the dead monarch was placed upon a throne, with his royal robes around him, his good sword by his side, and the Bible open on his lap. It seemed as though men could not believe that his reign was over. And it was not.

By the almost universal verdict of students of the mediæval period, Charles the Great has been pronounced the most imposing personage that appears between the fall of Rome and the fifteenth century. "He stands alone," says Hallam, "like a beacon upon a waste, or a rock in the broad ocean." He is the King Arthur of the French — the favorite hero of mediæval minstrelsy. His greatness has erected an enduring monument for itself in his name, the one by which he is best known — Charlemagne.

In the breadth and boldness of his plans, and in the swiftness that marked their execution, he has been compared to Alexander, to Cæsar, and to Peter the Great of Russia. In the protection and patronage of the Church he was a second Constantine. To all laws he would give the sanction of religion. He founded schools, regulated manufactures and commerce, built a navy, reformed the laws, collected libraries, established at Paris the first European college, and remodeled his capital Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) in a manner worthy of an Augustus or a Hadrian.

Like King Alfred of England, Charlemagne was a student as diligent as his busy life would admit. He emulated Ptolemy Philadelphus in converting his court into a symposium of the great scholars of the times. He invited the learned Anglo-Saxon monk Alcuin from England to become his tutor. In his old age he at least *tried* to learn to write; and it is said that he could converse in Latin, and that he read, though doubtless with difficulty, the language of Aristotle.

EUROPE
IN THE TIME OF
CHARLES THE GREAT
814.
Western Caliphate
Eastern Caliphate
Roman Empire of the East
Roman Empire of the West and its dependent States
ORKNEY IS.
SHETLAND IS.
THE HEBRIDES
IONA
Lindisfarne
Whitby
York
Humber R.
London
Canterbury
Northmen
Saxons
Hamburg
Paderborn
New Corbey
AACHEN (Aix-la-Chapelle)
AUSTRIA
NEUSTRIA
Paris
Verdun
Frankfurt
BOHEMIA
Chalons
Tours
St. Gall
Geneva
BAVARIA
Lyons
AQUITAINE
Milan
Venice
GASCONY
Pass of Roncesvalles
Arles
Ravenna
CANTABRIA
SPANISH MARCH
Saragossa
Lisbon
Tagus R.
EMIRATE OF CORDOVA
Toledo
Seville
CORDOVA
Granada
Guadiana R.
Guadalquivir R.
Xeres
Cadiz
Strait of Gibraltar
Ceuta
Tangier
MOROCCO
BALEARIC IS.
CORSICA
SARDINIA
ROME
M. CASSINO
Naples
Salerno
Amalfi
Palermo
SICILY
Syracuse
Carthage
Kairouan
MALTA
Tripoli
CALIPHATE
Novgorod
Klef
Dnieper R.
Khazars
Turks or Magyars
Danube R.
BULGARIA
Chersonesus
CONSTANTINOPLE
Sophia
Philippopolis
Hadrianople
Thessalonica
Nicomedia
BITHYNIA
Angora
Nicæa
Dorylæum
PHRYGIA
Philadelphia
Iconium
Trapezus (Trebizond)
Araxes R.
Edessa
Nineveh
Tigris R.
MESOPOTAMIA
Athens
RHODES
CRETE
CYPRUS
Antioch
Aleppo
Berytus
Sidon
Tyre
Ptolemais (Acre)
Damascus
Tiberias
Nazareth
Jaffa
Jerusalem
Ascalon
Pelusium
Cæsarea
Gaza
Alexandria
BAGDAD
Ctesiphon
Cufa
Euphrates
Medina
Mecca

The fame of his greatness certainly reached as far as the distant court of the Caliphs of Bagdad; for Haroun-al-Raschid sent him a curious water-clock, which, with its self-opening doors and moving figures, attested at once, as has been remarked, the friendship of the Caliph and the ingenuity of the Arabian artists.

But we must not allow our admiration for the great abilities and magnificent achievements of Charlemagne to blind our eyes to his many faults. He was a reformer, truly, but a despotic and selfishly ambitious one. The means he employed to effect his ends — which were in the main usually desirable — were often harsh and unscrupulous. Thus the conversion of the pagans was without doubt a very desirable reform; but the manner in which Charlemagne went about the work was very arbitrary and unreasonable. The sword is not the best means by which to convert a man. Again, the murder of his Saxon prisoners was a most atrocious crime, which will ever leave a dark stain upon the name of the great Frankish king. Neither was his domestic life unspotted, and this alone prevented his being placed on the regular Roman calendar of the saints.

The French form of the name under which the Frankish monarch has passed into history has fostered the misconception that he was a French king. But in fact Charlemagne was simply a Teutonic prince, sustaining exactly the same relation to the Latinized inhabitants of the Old Empire as was held by Theodoric, or Euric, or Clovis. "The coming to power of the Carolingians," writes Freeman, "was almost like a second German conquest of Gaul." "Charles [Charlemagne] above all things," Church says, "was a German. He was in language, in ideas, in policy, in tastes, in his favorite dwelling places, a Teutonic, not a Latin or Latinized king; . . . and his characteristic work was to lay the foundations of modern and civilized Germany, and indirectly, of the new commonwealth of nations, which was to rise in the west of Europe."

Respecting the general influence of Charlemagne's work, Alzog declares that "his untiring energy, displayed and felt in every

corner of his wide empire, laid the foundation of all that is noble and beautiful and useful in the history of the Middle Ages."

Division of the Empire; Treaty of Verdun (843). — Like the kingdom of Alexander and that of many another great conqueror, the mighty empire of Charlemagne fell to pieces soon after his death. "His sceptre was the bow of Ulysses which could not be drawn by any weaker hand."

The empire had been consolidated by four such men of ability, energy, and genius as seldom succeed one another in the same labor; but with Charlemagne the short-lived glory of the house of the Carolingians passed away forever.

The surname *Debonair*, the "good-natured," which was given to his son Lewis I., was rather expressive of contempt for his feeble virtues than of complacency in the amiability of his disposition. He was a zealous patron of the Church; but in him the vigorous piety of Charlemagne had degenerated into the nerveless devotion of the monk. He associated with himself in the government his four sons, Charles, Lewis, Pepin, and Lothar, whose quarrels kept the kingdom in constant turmoil, and made bitter the last days of their father.

Upon the death of Lewis I. fierce contention broke out afresh among the surviving princes,[1] and 100,000 lives were sacrificed in the unnatural strife. Finally, by the famous Treaty of Verdun (843), the empire was divided as follows: to Charles was given France; to Lewis, Germany; and to Lothar, Italy with a narrow wedge of land extending from Switzerland to the mouth of the Rhine, and with this also the Imperial title.

This treaty is celebrated, not only because it was the first great treaty among the European states, but also on account of its marking the divergence from one another, and in some sense the origin, of three of the great nations of modern Europe, — of France, Germany, and Italy.

[1] Pepin died two years before his father (in 838), and the part of the empire that had been given to him was divided between Charles and Lothar.

THE
WESTERN EMPIRE
As Divided at Verdun
843.
Lotlar
Lewis
Charles
NORTHUMBERLAND
MERCIA
EAST ANGLIA
WESSEX
R. Eider
Hamburg
Bremen
R. Elbe
Wends
R. Oder
Lechs
KSAXONY
WILZI
Köln
AACHEN
ANCIENT FRANCIA
Frankfurt
EASTERN FRANCIA
SORABI
Czechs
CHROBATIA
Mainz
Trier
Rheims
Verdun
Paris
Rouen
LAON
NEUSTRIA
Le Mans
BRITTANY
WESTERN FRANCIA
MIDDLE FRANCIA
Regensburg
Strassburg
R. Rhine
R. Loire
Angers
Besançon
BAVARIA
CARINTHIA
R. Danube
Geneva
Lyons
Aosta
Milan
Vienne
Bordeaux
AQUITAINE
BURGUNDY
ITALY
Treviso
Aquileia
Verona
CHROBATIA
SERBIA
Genoa
Ravenna
R. Garonne
GASCONY
Toulouse
SEPTIMANIA
CARLES
TUSCANY
EXARCHATE OF RAVENNA
PENTAPOLIS
SPANISH MARCH
Narbonne
EMIRATE OF CORDOVA
R. Ebro
Barcelona
CORSICA
ROME
BENEVENTUM
DUCHY OF SPOLETO
5
0
5
10
15
20
25
50
45

Conclusion. — After this dismemberment of the dominions of Charlemagne the annals of the different branches of the Carolingian family become intricate, wearisome, and uninstructive. A fate as dark and woeful as that which, according to Grecian story, overhung the house of Labdacus, seemed to brood over the house of Charlemagne. In all its different lines a strange and adverse destiny awaited the lineage of the great king. The tenth century witnessed the extinction of the family. "The old and the young, the ripe and the immature," says Palgrave, "were all swept away: some, according to the ordinary course of human life, but many more by strange diseases, by mean, trivial, or household accidents, by unexpected, and as one might say, unreasonable contingencies."

In France the Carolingians finally gave place to the Capetians (987), with which line of kings the history of France proper begins. By this time the Romano-Celtic element had completely triumphed over the Teutonic, had absorbed and assimilated it or thrown it off, — had averted what seemed inevitable in the days of the first Carolingians, namely, that the intruding German element would so impress itself upon the Latinized Gauls that their country would become simply an extension of Germany.

CHAPTER VII.

THE NORTHMEN.

I. Introductory.

The People and the Northern Lands. — Northmen, Norsemen, Scandinavians, are different names applied in a general way to the early inhabitants of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. For the reason that those making settlements in England came for the most part from Denmark, the term Danes is often used with the same wide application by the English writers.

These people were very near kin to those tribes — Angles, Saxons, Franks, Burgundians, and Goths — that spread themselves over the western provinces of the Roman Empire. They were Teutons in language, religion, habits, and spirit. We cannot be certain when they took possession of the northern peninsulas, but it is probable that they had entered those countries long before Cæsar invaded Gaul.

If we think it strange that any of the Teutonic tribes should have chosen homes in those dreary regions, where the mid-winter sun scarcely appears above the southern horizon and the land and water are locked in frost and ice for a large portion of the year, we must call to mind that these peoples when they entered Europe were still shepherds and hunters; and that of all the European countries the Scandinavian peninsula, rough with mountains and indented with numerous fiords, affords one of the best hunting and fishing districts of Europe — a region which even now invites each summer the sportsman from England and other lands. Besides, the country abounds in iron and copper, which metals these German warriors had learned to employ in

the manufacture of their arms; and this was an additional attraction to the barbarians.

The Northmen as Pirates and Colonizers. — For the first eight centuries of our era the Norsemen are hidden from our view in their remote northern home; but with the opening of the ninth century their black piratical crafts are to be seen creeping along all the coasts of Germany, Gaul, and the British Isles, and even venturing far up their inlets and creeks.

Every summer these dreaded sea-rovers made swift descents upon the exposed shores of these countries, plundered, burned, murdered; and then upon the approach of the stormy season, they returned to winter in the sheltered fiords of the northern peninsula. After a time the bold corsairs began to winter in the lands they had harried during the summer; and soon all the shores of the countries visited were dotted with their stations or settlements. With a foothold once secured, fresh bands came from the crowded lands of the north; the winter stations grew into permanent colonies; the surrounding country was gradually wrested from the natives; and in course of time the settlements coalesced into a real kingdom.

Thus Northern Gaul fell at last so completely into the hands of the Northmen as to take from them the name of *Normandy;* while Eastern England, crowded with settlers from Denmark and surrendered to Danish law, became known as the *Danelagh.* From Normandy, as a new base of operations, fresh colonies went out, and made conquests and settlements in England, Sicily, and Southern Italy. While these things were going on in Europe, other bands of Northmen were pushing out into the western seas and colonizing Iceland and Greenland, and probably visiting the shores of the American continent.

Commencing in the latter part of the eighth century, these marauding expeditions and colonizing enterprises did not cease until the eleventh century was far advanced. The consequences of this wonderful outpouring of the Scandinavian peoples were so important and lasting that the movement may well be compared,

as it has been, to the great migration of their German kinsmen in the fifth and sixth centuries. Europe is a second time inundated by the Teutonic barbarians.

The most noteworthy characteristic of these Northmen is the readiness with which they laid aside their own manners, habits, ideas, and institutions, and adopted those of the country in which they established themselves. "In Russia they became Russians; in France, Frenchmen; in England, Englishmen."

Causes of the Migration. — The causes which induced what we may call the Scandinavian Migration were, (1) the Norseman's love for wild adventure; (2) the overcrowding of population; (3) the establishment in Denmark and Norway of great kingdoms, the tyranny of whose rulers led many to seek in other lands that freedom which was denied them at home; and (4) the existence of a rule of primogeniture, which gave everything to the eldest son, leaving only the kingdom of the seas to the younger members of the family.

The last-mentioned cause gave leaders to the bands that went out, their chiefs usually being portionless sons of the ruling or royal families. Because of their royal birth these princes, just as soon as they headed an expedition, were given the title of King, and so very naturally came to be called Sea-Kings. The term Viking, from *vic*, meaning a fiord or arm of the sea, is more properly used to designate those piratical chieftains of humbler origin who could lay no claim to royal distinction.

Settlements in Scotland, Ireland, and the Western Isles. — As early as the beginning of the ninth century, a short time after the appearance of the Danes in England, the Northmen took possession of the Orkney and Shetland Islands, and of the Hebrides. Before a century had elapsed, the latter isles, in connection with the western coast of Scotland and the eastern shore of Ireland, formed a sort of Scandinavian maritime kingdom, the rulers of which often disputed with the Celtic chiefs of Scotland and Ireland the possession of their lands, just as the Danes disputed with the English the possession of England. These Northmen

played a most important part in the affairs of both Scotland and Ireland down to the thirteenth century.

Colonization of Iceland and Greenland. — The first Scandinavian colonists to Iceland were men fleeing from the tyranny of Harold Fairhair, king of Norway. They settled in the island about 874. In 1874 the Icelanders celebrated the Millennial anniversary of the settlement of their island, an event very like our Centennial of 1876. The exiles established in the dreary island a sort of republic, and made that northern land, centuries before Columbus pushed out into the western seas and discovered the New World, the home of Freedom.

Greenland was discovered by the Northmen in the year 981, and was colonized by them soon afterwards. Their settlements appear to have flourished for several centuries, and a number of churches and monasteries were built; but in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the colonists were swept away by pestilence and the attacks of the Esquimaux, and other enemies that came by way of the sea.

America was reached by the Northmen as early as the eleventh century: the Vinland of their traditions was probably some part of the New England coast. Whether these first visitors to the continent ever made any settlements in the new land is a disputed question. If they did, all certain traces of these had disappeared before the rediscovery of the continent by the navigators of the sixteenth century.[1]

The Saga Literature of Iceland. — We have intimated that the colonists of Iceland were men of quality and convictions, — choice spirits from among the Norwegians; men who exiled themselves from their native land because, like the Pilgrim Fathers,

[1] The story of the discovery of America by the Northmen was committed to writing in Iceland between the years 1387 and 1395; and as Columbus is known to have visited that island in 1477, it is conjectured by some that he may have there learned of the existence of a continent to the westward, and by these reports have been encouraged to persevere in the great undertaking of his life.

they preferred a life of hardship and exile with freedom, to one of ease and plenty with unworthy submission. The character of the settlers had its influence upon the history of the colony. Iceland became not only the hearth-place of liberty, but also the literary centre of the Scandinavian world. It was to the Norse race what the isle of Chios was to the early Greeks. There grew up a class of scalds or bards, who, before the introduction of writing, preserved and transmitted orally the sagas or legends of the Northern races.

About the year 1090 a Christian clergyman, Sæmund Sigfussen by name, — Iceland had by this time given up its pagan faith, — collected the poems then floating among the people, catching many or most of them probably from the lips of the scalds. Ballads of wild exploits they were, thrilling with the fierce energy of the bold Vikings. About two centuries after the compilation of the Elder or poetic Edda, as the collection of Sigfussen is called, a second, known as the Younger or prose Edda, was gathered by Snorro Sturleson (1178–1241), an Icelander of noble birth, called sometimes the "Northern Herodotus."

These poems and legends of the Northern nations, thus preserved to us amidst the snow and ice of the dreary island of the North Atlantic, are among the most interesting and important of the literary memorials that we possess of the early Teutonic peoples. They reflect faithfully the beliefs, manners, and customs of the Norsemen, and the wild adventurous spirit of their Sea-Kings.

The Norsemen in Russia. — While the Norwegians were sailing boldly out into the Atlantic and taking possession of the isles and coasts of the western seas, the Swedes were pushing their crafts across the Baltic and vexing all its shores. These corsairs at first directed their expeditions mainly against the Finnic and Slavonian tribes that dwelt upon the eastern shore of that sea, and exacted from them a tribute of furs and skins.

Gradually they extended their authority inland. About the middle of the ninth century we find the famous Scandinavian chief Ruric and his followers in possession of Kief and Novgorod.

Either by right of conquest or through the invitation of the contentious Slavonian clans, Ruric acquired, in the year 862, kingly dignity, and became the founder of the first royal line of Russia, the successive kings of which family gradually consolidated the monarchy which was destined to become one of the foremost powers of Europe.

The princes of this foreign Scandinavian dynasty held the throne of Russia for the space of more than seven hundred years. In a short time the intruders became assimilated to the native people, adopting their language, social arrangements, and religion. In a word, these Swedish conquerors became Russians, retaining, however, that adventurous spirit and restless energy which were the prominent traits of the Norse character.

The Varangians at Constantinople. — The Grand Princes of Russia, the title borne by the successors of Ruric, were very much annoyed by the needy and importunate immigrants from Scandinavia, who crowded the court of their fortunate kinsmen, in quest of office or employment. Finally, one of the Ruric princes, it is said, rid himself of these troublesome friends, by suggesting to them that they should sail down one of the rivers that flow into the Black Sea, and seek their fortunes in the service of the rich Emperors of Constantinople. They were easily persuaded to a course so in keeping with their own inclinations, and soon great fleets of the long ships of the Northmen might have been seen floating down with the current of the Dnieper towards the south.

These strong warriors of the North were welcomed by the Emperors of the Eastern Empire, and under the name of Varangians (corsairs) were enlisted into the Imperial service, and assigned the honorable duty of guarding the person of the Emperor.

Their position at the Byzantine court was the same as that of the Pretorians at Rome, or of the Janizaries in the modern state of the Turkish Sultans. In loyalty and devotion to the master in whose cause they had enlisted, they were, however, very unlike the turbulent and inconstant Pretorians or the insolent Janizaries. Never was a sovereign surrounded by a more faithful

guard. They were constantly by the side of their master, in the palace, in the streets, in the theater, and their tremendous battle-axes, a new and terrible weapon to the eyes of the people of the South, were ever ready to hew and smite, in defense of the royal life and of the throne entrusted to their keeping.

They rendered good service to the Eastern Emperors in their struggle with the Saracens, being headed sometimes by distinguished Scandinavian chiefs whom circumstances had driven into exile, or prospect of adventure had allured to the Mediterranean lands.

II. The Danes in England.

Their Ravages in the Island. — The Northmen — Danes, as called by the English writers — began to make descents upon the English coast about the beginning of the ninth century. These sea-rovers spread the greatest terror throughout the island; for they were not content with plunder, but being pagans, they took special delight in burning the churches and monasteries of the now Christian Anglo-Saxons, or English, as we shall hereafter call them. Nor were they restrained by any sentiment of pity; the blood of women, children, and priests was mingled often in indiscriminate slaughter. They also stirred up the embers of the old Anglo-Celtic war, and joining the barbarians of the west side of the island, who were known as Welshmen, they harassed the English all along the old fiercely contested frontier.

During the reign of Egbert, the union of the English tribes enabled them to offer a very effectual resistance to the incursions of the barbarians; but the division of the authority of Egbert at his death among his sons exposed the petty states to all the unrestrained ravages of their fierce enemies. In a short time fully one half of England was in the hands of the Danes, who had begun to make permanent settlements in the land. The wretched English were subjected to exactly the same treatment that they had inflicted upon the Celts. Just when it began to look as though they would be entirely annihilated or driven from the island by the

barbarous intruders, Alfred came to the throne of Wessex (871).

King Alfred and the Danes. — Alfred was the fourth and youngest son of Ethelwolf, being born in the year 849. While yet a mere child he accompanied his father to Rome, and was adopted by the Pope as his grandson. Perhaps this act was not without its influence upon the boy, for through all his maturer years he was the staunch friend and zealous patron of the Church. However this may be, we may speak positively of a mother's influence in forming the tastes and shaping the life of England's greatest king.[1] Ethelwolf had married a Frank princess, Judith by name, who seems to have possessed literary tastes, for she strove to awaken in her children a love for books. She is said to have excited emulation among them by offering a volume of English poems as a gift to the one who should be the first to learn to read the same. Alfred, who had a bright and active mind, won the prize. The art he had mastered in order to secure the treasure enabled him, as we shall see hereafter, to confer upon his people benefits which subjects rarely receive at the hands of their princes.

Alfred had just reached manhood — he was in his twenty-second year — when, by the event of his brother Ethelred's death in battle with the Danes, he was called, like the good Marcus Aurelius, to cast aside his books, and as king and head of his people to spend his days and nights in the camp, watching and fighting the invaders of his land.

The Danes already held a large portion of England. For six years the youthful king fought heroically at the head of his brave thanes; but each year the possessions of the English grew smaller and smaller, and finally Alfred and his few remaining followers were driven to take refuge in the woods and morasses.

It is to this period of Alfred's life, when he was a hunted fugitive, that two favorite tales respecting him belong, which, though they may be mere legends, are yet so in harmony with all we know of him, that we may well believe them to be true. The

[1] Judith, mentioned a little further on in the text, was the second wife of Ethelwolf and the stepmother of his children.

first story, which is too familiar to need repetition, represents Alfred, with thoughts busied with larger affairs, as an abstracted watcher of burning cakes in a peasant's hut, which had become his temporary refuge. The other legend relates how the king, disguised as a harper, entered the camp of Guthrum, the leader of the Danes, and by his tales and songs, — for Alfred is accredited with quite a talent for story-telling and music, — won the favor of the barbarians, and was allowed such liberties in their camp that he was enabled, during a three days' stay, to learn all about the strength of his enemies and their plans. Then returning to his companions, he aroused the English, and falling unexpectedly upon the Danes, inflicted upon them a severe defeat.

Whatever may be the truth as to this tradition, it is certain that after a time the affairs of the English began to brighten, and that Guthrum and his followers being surrounded and surprised by them, were forced to surrender. Hoping to make friends by clemency of those he had vanquished by arms, Alfred granted the most liberal terms to the barbarians, giving them lands in the northeastern part of England, which they were to hold as his faithful vassals. Guthrum and many of his warriors were baptized, and we may hope thereafter labored with becoming zeal in rebuilding the churches they had sacked and burned.

After the subjection and settlement of Guthrum and his followers, Alfred's little kingdom was comparatively free from the ravages of the Danes for a period of ten or fifteen years; which years of quiet Alfred employed in building a fleet, and in instituting measures of reform in his government.

But again the dreaded enemy renewed their forays, led now by the terrible Hastings. They were finally forced, however, to withdraw from the island and seek elsewhere spoils and settlements; and Alfred was permitted to pass his last years in quiet, with at least his supremacy acknowledged throughout almost all England. The great king died in the year 901, in the fifty-second year of his age.

Alfred's Works of Peace. — Eminent as were the services

which Alfred rendered his country in rescuing it from the hands of the uncivilized Danes after all seemed irretrievably lost, it still is rather upon other grounds that rests his title to the appellation of Great, and his claims upon the admiration and gratitude of his countrymen. Many of those institutions which distinguish the England of to-day from other nations, or which have aided in giving her that position of preëminence which she holds at the present time, owe their origin to this illustrious prince.

The fleet which he taught his countrymen to build was the beginning of that vast naval armament with which England now holds the supremacy of the sea; while the ancient laws of the realm, which he collected and revised, refraining, however, from adding many of his own, "because it to me," as he himself explains, "was unknown which of them would be liked by those coming after me," form the basis of English jurisprudence.

But beyond all things else must be extolled those literary labors and wise endowments of King Alfred by which he fostered learning and gave the first impulse to English literature. By the ravages of the pagan Danes the libraries of the monasteries and churches had been destroyed, and this rendered still denser the ignorance of that ignorant age. Alfred tells us that there was not a single person south of the Thames who could translate into English the Latin of his prayer-book. The king set himself zealously to work to improve this state of things. He established libraries, founded seminaries, and at Oxford started schools which in time grew into the great university which bears that name to-day. It was his design that every youth in the land should be taught to read and write.

But libraries, seminaries, and colleges he saw could be of little use to his people so long as all the books were written in an unknown language. So the king himself became a translator, and turned many Latin works into English, adding so many reflections and comments of his own that he fairly earned the title of author. In this way he translated Boethius's *Consolations of Philosophy*, Orosius's *History of the World*, and Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of England*.

With the exception of some short poems and the well-known Paraphrase of the Scripture by Cædmon, these were the first books that the subjects of Alfred had placed in their hands written in their own tongue. Here we have the beginnings of the prose literature of England. "The mighty roll of the prose books that fill her libraries," says Green, "begins with the translations of Alfred, and above all with the chronicle [1] of his reign."

His Character. — "So long as I have lived," wrote Alfred, "I have strived to live worthily, and to leave to all men that come after a remembrance of me in good deeds." It is not strange that the memory of a sovereign whose life was shaped by such a sentiment should be cherished with undying gratitude and affection by his people.

When we compare England's great king with the only other prominent ruler of those times in which he lived, — with Charlemagne, — then it is that we realize the elevation and moral grandeur of his character. Both the English and the Frankish king were indeed men of rare power and genius and influence, and upon both has the world justly conferred the title of Great. But Charlemagne was, in too great a measure, the representative of Cæsarism, of selfish, ambitious absolutism. He loved power for its own sake, or because it enabled him to carry out his own selfish plans. King Alfred was the representative of exactly the opposite of all this. He was, as Thomas Hughes says, the impersonation of the divine sentiment, "He that is chief among you shall be servant of all." And Green, speaking in the same strain, declares that never before King Alfred had the world "seen a king who lived solely for the good of his people. Never had it seen a ruler who set aside every personal aim to devote himself solely to the welfare of those whom he ruled . . . Alfred was the noblest as he

[1] The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle here alluded to was a minute and chronological record of events, probably begun in *systematic form* in Alfred's reign, and continued down to the year 1154. It was kept by the monks of different monasteries, and forms the most authentic account that we possess of the early English kings.

was the most complete embodiment of all that is great, all that is lovable, in the English temper." Aptly has he been called the Morning Star of Civilization.

The Danish Conquest of England. — For a full century following the death of Alfred, his successors were engaged in a constant struggle to hold in subjection the Danes already settled in the land, or to protect their domains from the plundering inroads of fresh bands of pirates from the northern peninsulas.

At last the sword of Alfred fell into the hands of the weak and inefficient Ethelred II. (979–1016), surnamed the Redeless, because he refused to listen to the *rede* or counsel of his nobles. Certainly the means which he employed against the corsairs could hardly have been more unadvised. He bought off the marauders, taxing his people heavily to raise the ransom money. It is easy to divine the outcome of such a policy. Happy would it have been for the English had their king possessed a little of the spirit of the old Roman who declared that Rome purchased her freedom not with gold, but with steel. Just as soon as the Danes had spent the money received, they of course returned and demanded more, upon threat of fire and sword.

Finally the expeditions became something more than a few shiploads of adventurers who could be satisfied with payments of gold. In the year 994 the kings of Denmark and Norway, Swend and Olof, joined their armies and fleets, determined upon the conquest of all England. Now for the first time the English had to face the organized forces of powerful kingdoms. Ethelred secured a short respite for his land from the ravages of the pagans by again buying them off; but soon the invaders were back, robbing, burning, and murdering. Horsing themselves with stolen animals, they rode through the land in every direction, seizing everything portable and destroying what could not be carried away. Never did the sorely harassed English have more urgent need to pray the petition of the Litany of those days, — "From the fury of the Northmen, Good Lord, deliver us."

Any effectual resistance to the invaders was prevented, not only

by the weak and cowardly character of the king, but by the lack of union among the different counties, for, as the Chronicle says, "no shire would so much as help other." At last Ethelred resolved upon a measure the most impolitic and cruel of his wretched reign. This was nothing less than the massacre of all the Danes settled in England. In extenuation of the proposed crime, it should be said that these people were constantly giving aid and comfort to their marauding kinsmen; and that just now there was spread abroad a report that they were plotting the death of the English king and the murder of the members of the Witan or Great Council, and the seizure of the land.

The Danes were set upon in all parts of the country on the same day (1002), and great numbers were slain. Among the killed was a sister of Swend, who vowed to avenge her death and the murder of his countrymen, by spreading desolation throughout the length and breadth of the accursed land. He made good his threat. For ten years England was the scene of a most unrelenting warfare. There is no need to tell again the old story. The open country was harried, the towns were sacked, the churches and monasteries robbed and burned. Each year the crops were harvested by the sea-rovers.

A fleet, the largest England had ever built, was gathered to meet the enemy on their own element; but the immense armament was lost, either through incapacity or treachery. Finally, in the year 1013, Swend himself came with an immense fleet and army, drove Ethelred out of the land to Normandy, and caused himself to be declared by the Witan King of England. The country yielded, and now for the first time a foreign king sat upon the throne of Egbert and Alfred.

Swend lived to reign over the subjugated island only a few months. He died the year following his conquest, abhorred by the English, who always spoke of him as the Tyrant, and persisted in believing that he was thrust through with a spear by the spirit of Edmund the Saint, whose tomb he had threatened to violate if a large sum of money were not paid him.

Swend's son Canute was chosen by the Danes in England as the successor of his father. As this prince was only nineteen years of age, his youth and inexperience encouraged the Witan to restore Ethelred to the throne, and to call upon the people to take up arms, for the recovery of their freedom.

England was thus divided between two kings. Canute was supported by the Danish part of the population and Ethelred by the English. Again the flames of war were kindled throughout the land. Denmark sent out hundreds of ship-loads of warriors. The old English spirit was stirred to its very depths. Even Ethelred displayed an alertness and energy which did much towards erasing the dishonor of previous years. He died in 1016, but his sturdy son Edmund Ironsides battled on with the hated Danes. Well did he deserve the surname he bears. Everything that energy and resolute bravery could do to save his fated land he did. With a worthy successor of the noble Alfred to lead them against their hated foes, the English rallied from one end of the land to the other, for a renewal of the desperate struggle. Within seven months Edmund fought six great battles. In the last, in the words of the Chronicle, "all England fought against Canute, but Canute had the victory."

Soon after this battle Edmund consented to a division of the kingdom between himself and the Danish king. This arrangement was very like that made between Alfred and Guthrum more than one hundred years before.

Scarcely had the affairs of the kingdom been thus composed, when Canute was made king of all England by the sudden death of Edmund (1016). With Edmund Ironsides passed away the bravest and most illustrious of the English kings since the days of Alfred.

The Reign of Canute (1016–1035). — The moment Canute exchanged the sword for the sceptre his character seemed to undergo an entire transformation. He laid aside the bearing and tone of a conqueror and assumed the role of a father administering the affairs of his family, as is well illustrated by the favorite anecdote of his reproof to his courtiers.

He seemed to think with the Greek poet Euripides, as Freeman says, that "unrighteousness might be practised in order to obtain a crown, but that righteousness should be practised in all other times and places." He thought more of England than of his own Denmark, and all through his reign manifested in ways very pleasing to the English his preference for this portion of his empire, which at its greatest extent embraced — besides England — Norway and Denmark, with a sort of overlordship of Sweden.

The character of Canute is shown by his familiar letter to his English subjects during his absence on a pilgrimage to Rome.

The epistle reads like a message from a father to his children. Canute tells his people all about the things he had seen, what had befallen him, how he had been treated by the Emperor and the Pope and the other great persons he had met, and how he had secured from the head of the Church great and special privileges for the Christians of England. And then as his heart seems to overflow with a sense of his blessings and the kindness of Providence to himself, he confesses his errors of the past, and promises that he will ever in the future rule justly and in the fear of God. And finally he says, "Above all things are men one God to love and worship, and one Christendom with one consent to hold, and Canute King to love with righttruthfulness."

Canute, as will be gathered from what has already been said, was a zealous Christian and bountiful patron of the Church. He seemed to feel that it was incumbent upon him to make atonement for all the cruel deeds of his pagan father, — for Swend was not a Christian, at least for any considerable period of time. Canute restored the churches and monuments ruined by the fury of the Danes, laid new foundations not only in England, but also in Denmark, and bestowed rich gifts upon religious institutions in foreign countries.

Restoration of the English Line (1042). — After a reign of eighteen years, a period of almost perfect peace and prosperity for England, Canute died in the year 1035. Straightway his empire, embracing four kingdoms, the most extensive realms over

which a single sceptre had been stretched since the times of Charlemagne, fell to pieces.

England was divided between Harold and Hardicanute, both cruel and miserable kings, unworthy sons and successors of their pious father. Their short and confused reigns present no event of interest or instruction. Upon the death without heirs of Hardicanute in 1042 — he had, two years before, on the death of Harold, been elected sole king by the Witan — the old English line was restored in the person of Edward, son of Ethelred and Emma, better known as the Confessor. The wretched reigns of the sons of Canute had caused the hearts of the English to turn with fresh loyalty to their own exiled princes. "Before the king buried was, all folk chose Edward to king at London."

Thus ended the Danish rule in England, after an existence of almost exactly one quarter of a century (1016–1042).

Results of the Danish Conquest. — The great benefit which resulted to England from the Danish conquest was the infusion of fresh blood into the veins of the English people, who through contact with the half-Romanized Celts, and especially through the enervating influence of a monastic Church, had lost much of that bold, masculine vigor which characterized their hardy ancestors. The number of Danes that settled in England was very large. A considerable part of the country became thoroughly Danish; London, as an old chronicler declares, became a Danish city. Being close kin to the English, the Danes added no new element to the population; but they invigorated and strengthened the old Teutonic stock, which was soon to stand in need of all its strength and vitality if it would preserve its distinctive character in spite of the disaster destined soon to befall the English nation. We allude to the conquest of England by William of Normandy, of which important event we shall come to speak in a later chapter.

III. Settlement of the Northmen in Gaul.

Rollo and Charles the Simple. — As early as the commencement of the ninth century the Northmen began to make piratical descents upon the coasts of Gaul. Though Charlemagne with his strong arm was able to protect his dominion from their forays during his own lifetime, his mind was filled with anxious forebodings for his successors. Tradition tells how the great king, catching sight one day from one of the southern ports of Gaul of some ships of the Northmen cruising in the Mediterranean, burst into tears as he reflected on the suffering that he foresaw the new foe would entail upon his country.

The record of the raids of the Northmen in Gaul, and of their final settlement in the north of the country, is simply a repetition of the tale of the Danish forays and settlement in England. Indeed, the story seems to repeat itself in the minutest details. At first the bands that came were mere pirates. Again and again did the Carolingian kings have resort to the device of the English rulers, and buy off the invaders, of course with the same final results. At last, in the year 912, Charles the Simple did exactly what Alfred the Great had done across the Channel only a very short time before. He granted to Rollo, the leader of the Northmen that had settled at Rouen, a considerable section of country in the north of Gaul, upon conditions of homage and conversion. This treaty was cemented by the marriage of the daughter of Charles to Rollo.

This Norse chieftain Rollo or Rolf has been made the hero of innumerable exploits. He was the typical Viking of the North, whose life was crowned with wild and daring adventure on sea and land. He was surnamed the Ganger or Walker, because he was obliged to go on foot, there being no horse large enough to bear his legs from the ground. His haughty spirit is illustrated by the anecdote of the way in which he paid homage to Charles. When told that he must kiss the foot of the king, he very

emphatically declared that he would do no such thing; but ordered one of his warriors to perform the ceremony. The rude barbarian, fancying but little the degrading service, instead of bending his own body, seized the royal foot and lifted it to his lips, thereby nearly overturning the king, and exciting the laughter of the surrounding barbarians. Charles, much displeased as he was, dared not resent the affront.

Transformation of the Northmen. — "As the Danes that settled in England became Englishmen, so did the Danes or Northmen that settled in France become Frenchmen." This transformation took place sooner in the latter country than in the former, for the reason that the Norse settlements in Gaul were more scattered than those in England, and consequently the strangers were brought into more intimate relation with the native inhabitants. Hence in a short time they had adopted the language, the manners, and the religion of the French, and had caught much of their vivacity and impulsiveness of spirit, without, however, any loss of their own native virtues. This transformation in manners and life we may imagine as being recorded in their transformed name — Northmen becoming softened into Norman.

CHAPTER VIII.

RISE OF THE PAPAL POWER.

Introduction. — In an early chapter of our book we told how Christianity as a system of beliefs and precepts took possession of the different nations and tribes of Europe. We propose in the present chapter to trace the series of circumstances whereby the Christian Church, a simple democratic society at the outset, was gradually changed into a great monarchy, with the Bishop of Rome as its head.

It must be borne in mind that the Bishops of Rome put forth a double claim, namely, that they were the supreme head of the Church, and also the rightful, divinely appointed suzerain of all temporal princes, the "earthly king of kings." Their claim to supremacy in all spiritual matters was very generally acknowledged throughout at least the West as early as the sixth century, while that as to supremacy in temporal affairs was not approximately established before about the eleventh or twelfth century. Their temporal power was shattered by the revolt of the kings and princes of Europe in the fourteenth century; and their spiritual authority was destroyed in the countries of Northern Europe by the revolt of the people in the sixteenth — by that great popular movement known as the Reformation, which separated one half of Christendom from the communion of the Roman Catholic Church.

The Organization of the Church. — The Christian Church seems to have been at first a simple association rather than an organization. Preëminence was conferred by character rather than by office. But very early in its history it became an organized body, with regular gradations of officers, such as presbyters,

bishops, metropolitans,[1] and patriarchs. In organizing itself the Church followed the model of the Empire, the ecclesiastical divisions conforming to those of the civil administration.

There were at first four regular patriarchates, that is, districts superintended by patriarchs. These centered in the great cities of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch. Jerusalem was also made an honorary patriarchate. We must bear in mind that the Roman patriarchs were also metropolitans and bishops, the functions of these lower offices as well as those of the higher position being exercised by them.

Primacy of the Bishop of Rome. — It is maintained by some that the patriarchs at first had equal and coördinate powers; that is, that no one of the patriarchs had preëminence or authority over the others. But others claim that the Bishop of Rome from the very first was regarded as above the others in dignity and authority, and as the divinely appointed head of the visible Church on earth, even as Christ is the spiritual head of the Church invisible.

However this may be, the Pontiffs of Rome began very early to *claim* supremacy over all other bishops and patriarchs. This claim of the Roman Pontiffs was based on several grounds, the chief of which was that the Church at Rome had been founded by St Peter himself, the first bishop of that capital, to whom Christ had given the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and had invested with superlative authority as a teacher and interpreter of the Word by the commission "Feed my Sheep; . . . feed my Lambs," thus giving into his charge the entire flock of the Church. This authority and preëminence conferred by the great Head of the Church upon Peter was held to be transmitted to his successors in the holy office.

By the beginning of the fifth century the Roman Bishops had very nearly made good their claim. At the opening of that century Innocent I. (402–417) was recognized by the Roman Emperor as the supreme head of the Church. But probably Gregory the Great, who held the papal chair from 590 to 604, was the earliest

[1] After the seventh century the term *archbishop* was more generally used in the West.

Roman Bishop to whom the title of Pope, in the modern sense of the word, should be applied.[1]

Advantage to the Roman Bishops of the Fall of the Empire.— The ambitions and claims of the Roman Bishops were greatly favored from the very first by the spell in which the world was held by the name and prestige of imperial Rome. Thence it had been accustomed to receive its commands in all temporal matters; how very natural, then, that thither it should turn for command and guidance in spiritual affairs. The Roman Bishops in thus occupying the geographical and political center of the world enjoyed a great advantage over all other bishops and patriarchs.

Nor was this advantage lost when misfortune befell the imperial city. Thus the removal by Constantine of the seat of government to the Bosphorus, instead of diminishing the power and dignity of the Roman Bishops, tended powerfully to promote their claims and authority. In the phrase of Dante, it "gave the Shepherd room." It left the Pontiff the foremost personage of Rome.

Again, when the barbarians came, there came another occasion for the Roman Bishops to increase their influence, and to raise themselves to a position of absolute supremacy throughout the West. Rome's extremity was their opportunity. Thus it will be recalled how Innocent I., through his intercession, saved the churches of Rome from the fate that befell the heathen temples when Rome was sacked by Alaric; and how mainly through the intercession of the pious Leo the Great the fierce Attila was persuaded to turn back and spare the imperial city. So when the Emperors, the natural defenders of the capital, were unable to protect it, the unarmed Pastor was able, through the awe and reverence inspired by his holy office, to render services that could not but result in bringing increased honor and dignity to the Roman See.

But if the misfortunes of Rome tended to the enhancement of

[1] Some consider the Papacy as having been inaugurated in 606, in which year the Emperor Phocas declared Boniface III. Universal Bishop.

the reputation and influence of the Roman Bishops, much more did the final downfall of the capital tend to the same end. Upon the surrender of the sovereignty of the West into the hands of the Emperor of the East, the Bishops of Rome became the most important persons in Western Europe, and being so far removed from the court at Constantinople gradually assumed almost imperial powers. They became the arbiters between the barbarian chiefs and the Italians, and to them were referred for decision the disputes arising between cities, states, and kings. It is easy to see how directly and powerfully these things tended to strengthen the authority and increase the influence of the Roman See.

The Missions of Rome. — Again, the early missionary zeal of the church of Rome made her the mother of many churches, all of whom looked up to her with affectionate and grateful loyalty. Thus the Angles and Saxons, won to the faith by the missionaries of Rome, conceived a deep veneration for the Holy See and became her most devoted children. To Rome it was that the Christian Britons made their most frequent pilgrimages, and thither they sent their offering of St. Peter's penny. And when the Saxons became missionaries to their pagan kinsmen of the continent, they transplanted into the heart of Germany these same feelings of filial attachment and love. The Anglo-Saxon St. Boniface, "the apostle of Germany," with whose labors we are already familiar, while winning the heathen of the German forests to a love for the Cross, inspired them also with a profound reverence for the Roman See. Boniface himself took a solemn oath of fealty to the Roman Pontiff, and the bishops of the German churches that arose through the efforts of this zealous apostle were required to promise a like obedience to Rome. And it was through the influence of the same devoted missionary that in the Council of Frankfort, held in 742, the bishops of Gaul and Germany resolved that the metropolitans or archbishops of the Gallic and German churches should receive the pallium from the hands of the Pope, in token of their subjection and allegiance to the Roman See.

Thus was Rome exalted in the eyes of the children of the

churches of the West, until Gregory II. (715–731) writing the Eastern Emperor, could say that to these people the very statue of the founder of the Roman church seemed "a god upon earth."

War of the Iconoclasts. — The dispute about the worship of images, known in church history as the "War of the Iconoclasts," which broke out in the eighth century between the Greek churches of the East and the Latin churches of the West, drew after it far-reaching consequences as respects the growing power of the Roman Pontiffs.

Even long before the seventh century, at which time the power of Mohammedanism arose, Christianity had lost very much of its early simplicity and purity. It had undergone a process of paganization. The churches both in the East and in the West were crowded with images or pictures of the apostles, saints, and martyrs, which to the ignorant classes at least were objects of adoration and worship. They were believed to possess miraculous virtues and powers. Every city and almost every church possessed its wonder-working image, the patron and protector of the place. It is easy to understand then the effect produced upon the minds of men, when in the seventh century the Cross everywhere throughout the East went down before the Crescent, and the images of apostles and saints were found powerless to protect even their own shrines. The feeling awakened among the Eastern Christians by these disasters was precisely the same as that aroused among the pagan inhabitants of the Roman Empire, when, amidst the calamities of the barbarian invasion, the ancient deities were found powerless to give protection to the cities and temples of which they had been thought the special guardians.

The Moslem conquerors, reproaching the Christians as idolaters, broke to pieces the images about the very altars, and yet no fire fell from heaven to punish the sacrilege. The Christians were filled with shame and confusion. A strong party arose, who, like the party of reform among the ancient Hebrews, declared that God had given the Church over into the hands of infidels because the Christians had departed from his true worship and fallen into gross

idolatry. These opposers of the use and worship of images took the name of Iconoclasts (image-breakers). They were the reformers of the East. At a great ecclesiastical council held at Constantinople in 754, it was decreed that "all visible symbols of Christ, except in the eucharist, were either blasphemous or heretical; that image-worship was a corruption of Christianity, and a revival of paganism; and that all such monuments of idolatry should be broken or erased."

Leo the Isaurian, who came to the throne of Constantinople in 717, was a most zealous Iconoclast. The Greek churches of the East having been cleared of images, the Emperor resolved to clear also the Latin churches of the West of these symbols of idolatry. To this end he issued a decree that they should not be used.

The Bishop of Rome not only opposed the execution of the edict, but by the ban of excommunication cut off the Emperor and all the iconoclastic churches of the East from communion with the true Catholic Church. The final outcome of the matter was the permanent separation, in the latter half of the eleventh century, of the churches of the East and those of the West.[1] The former became known as the Greek, Byzantine, or Eastern Church; the latter as the Latin, Roman, or Catholic Church.

The East was thus lost to the Roman See. But the loss was more than made good by fresh accessions of power in the West. In this quarrel with the Eastern Emperors the Roman Bishops cast about for an alliance with some powerful Western prince. First they made friends with the Lombards, whom they soon found to be dangerous protectors. Then they turned to the Franks. We have already told the story of the friendship of the Carolingian kings and the Roman Pontiffs, and of the favors they exchanged. Never did friends render themselves more serviceable to each

[1] By the decree of a synod held at Constantinople in 842 images were restored in the Eastern churches, the event being marked by a festival known as the Feast of Orthodoxy. But by this time other causes of alienation had arisen, and the breach between the two sections of Christendom could not now be closed.

other. The Popes made the descendants of the house of Pepin of Heristal kings and emperors; the grateful Frankish princes defended the Popes against all their enemies, imperial and barbarian, and dowering them with cities and provinces, laid the basis of their temporal sovereignty.

The Donation of Constantine and the False Decretals. — The ambitious pretentions of the Roman Pontiffs were just about this time greatly furthered by two of the most surprising and successful forgeries in all history. These famous documents are known as the Donation of Constantine and the False Decretals.

The object of the former was to support and justify the donation of Pepin and Charlemagne by evidence of a similar and earlier donation by the first imperial patron of the Church. It "tells how Constantine the Great, cured of his leprosy by the prayers of Sylvester, resolved, on the fourth day from baptism, to forsake the ancient seat for a new capital on the Bosphorus, lest the continuance of the secular government should cramp the freedom of the spiritual, and how he bestowed therewith upon the Pope and his successors the sovereignty over Italy and the countries of the West." [1]

The False Decretals, which appeared towards the end of the eighth century, were collections of alleged edicts and decisions of the early Popes and councils, which, granting their genuineness, proved that the Bishops of Rome in the first and second centuries exercised all that authority and extensive jurisdiction which were now being claimed by the Popes of the ninth century.

The documents were received by everybody as authentic, the Popes triumphantly, yet innocently, appealing to them in support of their largest claims. They are now acknowledged by all scholars, Catholic as well as Protestant, to have been forged; nevertheless they did their work as effectively as though genuine. It is difficult to believe,

[1] Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire*, p. 100.

What Constantine really did grant the Church was the right to acquire title to landed property and to receive bequests, — a right which she did not enjoy under the pagan Emperors. Diocletian confiscated what wealth the churches had gathered in his time.

what is notwithstanding a fact, that the great fabric of the mediæval Papacy rested very largely upon so unsubstantial a basis as these forged papers.

Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction: Appeals to Rome. — No periods are so favorable for the furtherance of schemes of usurpation or ambition as times of social confusion and anarchy. Just as the disruption of all order and authority through the overthrow of the Roman government in the West, provided an opportunity for the Bishops of Rome to extend vastly their authority; so did the disorders and violence of the feudal period that followed the break-up of the empire of Charlemagne, afford another chance to the Papal See, armed now with the authority of the False Donation and the False Decretals, for the further extension and consolidation of its influence and power. To the same end tended the rude nature of the jurisprudence of the barbarians, and the incapacity of the feudal courts, whereby was encouraged and justified the extension by the ecclesiastical tribunals of their jurisdiction; and then the gradual concentration, by the reduction to practice of the False Decretals, of all this authority in the Supreme Head of the Church, made the Apostolic See the court of last resort for all Western Christendom.

Charlemagne had recognized the principle, held from early times by the Church, that ecclesiastics should be amenable only to the ecclesiastical tribunals, by freeing the whole body of the clergy from the jurisdiction of the temporal courts, in criminal as well as civil cases. Gradually the bishops acquired the right to try all cases relating to marriage, trusts, perjury, simony, or concerning widows, orphans, or crusaders, on the ground that such cases had to do with religion. Even the right to try all criminal cases was claimed on the ground that all crime is sin, and hence can properly be dealt with only by the Church. Persons convicted by the ecclesiastical tribunals were subjected to penance, imprisoned in the monasteries, or handed over to the civil authorities.

Thus by the end of the twelfth century the Church had absorbed, in theory at least, the whole criminal administration of both the

laity and clergy.[1] The temporal princes, not perceiving whither this thing tended, at first favored this extension of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Thus, for a single illustration, in 857 Charles the Bald of France ordered that all thieves, murderers, and other criminals should be tried by the bishops, and upon conviction handed over to the counts for punishment.

Now the particular feature of this enormous extension of the jurisdiction of the Church tribunals which at present it especially concerns us to notice, is the establishment of the principle that all cases might be appealed or cited from the courts of the bishops and archbishops of the different European countries to the Papal See, which thus became the court of last resort in all cases affecting ecclesiastics or concerning religion. The Pope thus came to be regarded as the fountain of justice, and, in theory at least, the supreme judge of Christendom, while emperors and kings and all civil magistrates bore the sword simply as his ministers to carry into effect his sentences and decrees.

This principle of the subordination of the local tribunals of the Church to the court of Rome was not established, it should here be said, without a long and bitter contest between the Popes and the bishops, — a struggle very like that carried on during nearly the same centuries between the kings of Europe and their feudatories. But, as the final issue of the contest in the temporal realm was the subjection of the feudal aristocracy to the royal authority, and the concentration of all power in the hands of the kings; so likewise the outcome of the struggle in the spiritual realm was the subjection of the ecclesiastical aristocracy to the papal authority, and the centering of absolute power in the hands of the Roman Pontiff.

The Papacy and the Empire. — We must now speak of the relation of the Popes to the Emperors, and at least point out how in their struggle with them for supremacy the Roman Pontiffs acquired enhanced reputation and power.

About the middle of the tenth century Otto the Great of Ger-

[1] Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ch. VII.

many, like a second Charlemagne, restored once more the fallen Imperial power, which now became known as the Holy Roman Empire, the heads of which from this on were the German kings. Here now were two world-powers, the Empire and the Papacy, whose claims and ambitions were practically antagonistic and irreconcilable.

There were three different theories of the divinely constituted relation of the "World-King" and the "World-Priest." The first was that Pope and Emperor were each independently commissioned by God, the first to rule the spirits of men, the second to rule their bodies. Each reigning thus by original divine right, neither is set above the other, but both are to coöperate and to help each other. The special duty of the temporal power is to maintain order in the world and to be the protector of the Church. The Emperor bears the sword for the purpose of executing the decrees of the Church against all heretics and disturbers of its peace and unity. Thus this theory looked to a perfect and beautiful alliance between Church and State, a double sovereignty emblemized in the dual nature of Christ.

The second theory, the one held by the Imperial party, was that the Emperor was superior to the Pope. Arguments from Scripture and from the transactions of history were not wanting to support this view of the relation of the two world-powers. Thus Christ's payment of tribute money was cited as proof that he regarded the temporal power as superior to the spiritual; and again, his submission to the jurisdiction of the Roman tribunal was held to be a recognition on his part of the supremacy of the civil authority. Further, the gifts of Pepin and Charlemagne to the Roman See made the Popes, it was maintained, the vassals of the Emperors.

The third theory, the one held by the Papal party, maintained that the ordained relation of the two powers was the subordination of the temporal to the spiritual authority. This view was maintained by such texts of Scripture as these: "But he that is spiritual judgeth all things, yet he himself is judged of no man;"[1] "See, I have

[1] 1 Cor. II. : 15.

this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, and to destroy and to throw down, to build and to plant."[1] It was held also that the two swords of which Christ said "It is enough," were both given to St. Peter, signifying that he was girded with both civil and spiritual authority. The conception was further illustrated by such comparisons as the following. As God has set in the heavens two lights, the sun and the moon, so has he established on earth two powers, the spiritual and the temporal; but as the moon is inferior to the sun and receives its light from it, so is the Emperor inferior to the Pope and receives all power from him. Again, the two authorities were likened to the soul and the body; as the former rules over the latter, so is it ordered that the spiritual power shall rule over and subject the temporal. In opposition to the arguments of the Imperialists founded upon the gifts of Pepin and Charlemagne, was quoted the donation of Constantine, and instanced the fact that Charlemagne actually received the Imperial crown from the hands of the Pope.

The first theory was the impracticable dream of lofty souls who forgot that men are human. Christendom was virtually divided into two hostile camps, the members of which were respectively supporters of the Imperial and the Papal theory. The most interesting and instructive chapters of mediæval history after the tenth century are those that record the struggles between Pope and Emperor, springing from their efforts to reduce to practice and fact these irreconcilable theories. The story of this memorable strife cannot be told here, but in a following chapter, when we come to tell of the culmination and decline of the temporal power of the Popes, we shall say something of it.[2]

[1] Jer. 1 : 10.

[2] For a most admirable presentation of this whole subject, consult Bryce's *The Holy Roman Empire.*

SECOND PERIOD. — THE AGE OF REVIVAL.

(FROM THE OPENING OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY TO THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY COLUMBUS IN 1492.)

CHAPTER I.

FEUDALISM AND CHIVALRY.

I. Feudalism.

Feudalism defined. — Feudalism is the name given to a special form of society and government, based upon a peculiar tenure of land, which prevailed in Europe during the latter half of the Middle Ages, attaining, however, its most perfect development in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries.

The three most essential features of the system were: 1. The beneficiary[1] nature of property in land; 2. The existence of a close personal bond between the grantor of an estate and the receiver of it; 3. The rights of sovereignty which the holder of an estate had over those living upon it.

An estate of this nature — it might embrace a few acres or an entire kingdom — was called a *fief* or *feud*, whence the term Feudalism. The person granting a fief was called the *suzerain*, *liege*, or *lord*; the one receiving it, his *vassal*, *liegeman*, or *retainer*.

A person receiving a large fief might parcel it out in tracts to others on terms similar to those on which he himself had received it. This regranting of feudal lands was known as *subinfeudation*. The process of subinfeudation might be carried on to almost any degree. Practically it was seldom carried beyond the fifth or sixth stage.

[1] Meaning technically a dependent and conditional title.

The Ideal System. — The few definitions given above will render intelligible the following explanation of the theory of the Feudal System. We take the theory first for the reason that the theory of the system is infinitely simpler than the thing itself. In fact, Feudalism, as we find it in actual practice, was one of the most complex institutions that the mediæval ages produced.

In theory, all the soil of the country was held by the king as a fief from God (in practice, the king's title was his good sword), granted on conditions of fealty to right and justice. Should the king be unjust or wicked, he forfeited the fief, and it might be taken from him and given to another. According to papal theorists it was the Pope who, as God's vicar on earth, had the right to pronounce judgment against a king, depose him, and put another in his place.

In the same way as the king received his fief from God, so he might grant it out in parcels to his chief men, they, in return for it, promising, in general, to be faithful to him as their lord, and to serve and aid him. Should these men, now vassals, be in any way untrue to their engagement, they forfeited their fiefs, and these might be resumed by their suzerain and bestowed upon others.

In like manner these immediate vassals of the king or suzerain might parcel out their domains in smaller tracts to others, on the same conditions as those upon which they had themselves received theirs; and so on down through any number of stages.

We have thus far dealt only with the soil of a country. We must next notice what disposition was made of the people under this system.

The king in receiving his fief was intrusted with sovereignty over all persons living upon it: he became their commander, their lawmaker, and their judge — in a word, their absolute and irresponsible ruler. Then, when he parcelled out his fief among his great men, he invested them, within the limits of the fiefs granted, with all his own sovereign rights. Each vassal became a virtual sovereign in his own domain. And when these great vassals divided their fiefs and granted them to others, they in turn invested their vassals

with those powers of sovereignty with which they themselves had been clothed. Thus every holder of a fief becomes "monarch of all he surveys."

To illustrate the workings of the system, we will suppose the king or suzerain to be in need of an army. He calls upon his own immediate vassals for aid; these in turn call upon their vassals; and so the order runs down through the various stages of the hierarchy. Each lord commands only his own vassals. The retainers in the lowest rank rally around their respective lords, who, with their bands, gather about their lords, and so on up through the rising tiers of the hierarchy, until the immediate vassals of the suzerain or lord paramount present themselves before him with their graduated trains of followers. The array constitutes a feudal army, — a splendidly organized body in theory, but in fact an extremely poor instrument for warfare.

Such was the ideal feudal state. It is needless to say that the ideal was never perfectly realized. The system simply made more or less distant approaches to it in the several European countries. But this general idea which we have tried to give of the theory of the system will help to an understanding of it as we find it in actual existence.

Roman and Teutonic Elements in the System. — Like many another institution that grew up on the conquered soil of the Empire, Feudalism was of a composite character; that is, it contained both Roman and Teutonic elements. The very name itself is, according to some, a compound of the Latin *fides*, trust, and the Teutonic *od*, an estate in land. This is very doubtful; but whatever may have been the origin of the word, the thing it represents was certainly compounded of classical and barbarian elements. The warp was Teutonic, but the woof was Roman. The spirit of the institution was barbarian, but the form was classical. We might illustrate the idea we are trying to convey, by referring to the mediæval papal church. It, while Hebrew in spirit, was Roman in form. It had shaped itself upon the model of the Empire, and was thoroughly imperial in its organization. Thus

was it with Feudalism. Beneath the Roman garb it assumed, beat a German life.

Just what ideas and customs among the Teutons, and what principles and practices among the Romans, constituted the germs out of which Feudalism was actually developed, it would be very difficult to say. In some countries, as in England and Scandinavia, there grew up a form of feudal society which was almost entirely uninfluenced by Roman institutions; while in France a very different and much more perfect feudal system was developed, whose forms were determined largely by Gallo-Roman influences.

We will now in three distinct paragraphs say a word about the probable origin of those three prominent features of the system which have already been mentioned, — namely, the *fief*, the *patronage*, and the *sovereignty*.

The Origin of Fiefs. — In the sixth century probably the greater part of the soil of the different countries of Europe was held by what was called an allodial or freehold tenure. The landed proprietor owned his domain absolutely, held it just as a man among us holds his estate. He enjoyed it free from any rent or service due to a superior, save of course public taxes and duties. But by the beginning of the eleventh century probably the largest part of the land was held by a beneficiary or feudal tenure. We must now see how this great change came about.

The fief grew out of the *beneficium*, a form of estate well known among the Romans.[1] When the barbarians overran the soil of the Empire, they appropriated, as we have seen, a good part of it to their own use. The king or leader of the invading tribe naturally had allotted to him a large share. Following his custom of bestowing gifts of arms and other articles upon his companions, he granted to his followers and friends parcels of his domains, upon the simple condition of faithfulness. At first these estates were bestowed simply for life, and were called by the Latin name of benefices, but in the course of time they became hereditary, and then they began to be called fiefs or feuds. They took this latter

[1] Under the name, however, of *emphyteusis*.

name about the ninth century. As the royal lands were very extensive these were a very important source of feudal estates.

Another and still more important source of fiefs was usurpation. Under the later Carolingians the counts, dukes, marquises, and other royal officers, who were at first simply appointed magistrates, succeeded, by taking advantage of the weakness of their sovereigns, in making their offices hereditary, and then in having their duchies, counties, and provinces regarded as fiefs granted to them by the king. In this way the countries originally embraced within the limits of the Empire of Charlemagne became broken up into a considerable number of enormous fiefs, the heads of which, bearing the names of count, duke, marquis, and so on, became the great vassals of the crown.

Another way in which fiefs arose was through the owners of allodial estates voluntarily surrendering the same into the hands of some powerful lord, and then receiving them back as benefices or fiefs. We shall see, a little further on, how the confusion and anarchy of the ninth and tenth centuries caused multitudes of allodial proprietors thus to turn their freeholds into fiefs, that they might thereby come within the Feudal System and enjoy its advantages and protection.

Origin of the Feudal Patronage. — We named the close personal tie uniting the lord and his vassal as the second of the essential features of the Feudal System. Some have traced this to the Teutons, and think it the same tie as that which bound the companion to his chief. Others have pronounced it identical with the tie that at Rome bound the client to his patron. Still others have traced it to the Celtic or Gallic custom of commendation, whereby a person subjected himself to a more powerful lord for the sake of his patronage and protection. All these things indeed are very much alike, and any one might have served as the germ out of which feudal patronage, the special relation of lord and vassal, was developed. But as a matter of fact it seems to have been, particularly in France, the *commendation* out of which the thing sprang.

Now in time this peculiar personal relation, characterized on the part of the vassal by pledges of fealty, service, and aid, and on the part of the lord by promise of counsel and protection, came to be united with the benefice, with which at first it had nothing to do. The union of these two ties completed the feudal tenure.

Origin of the Feudal Sovereignty. — It still remains to speak of the feudal sovereignty. How did the possessor of a beneficiary estate or fief acquire the rights of a sovereign over those living upon it, — the right to legislate and to judge, to coin money, and to wage war? How did these privileges and authorities which at first resided in the king come to be distributed among the landholders? In two ways chiefly, — by the king's voluntary surrender of his rights and powers, and by usurpation.

Thus the Merovingian and Carolingian rulers very frequently conferred upon churches, monasteries, and important personages a portion of the royal power. This was done by what were known as *grants of immunity*. Thus a monastery, for instance, would, by such a grant, be freed from royal control, and given the rights of sovereignty over all classes of persons living upon its lands. In this way the royal authority was much scattered and weakened.

A still more important source of feudal sovereignty was the usurpation of the kingly power by the royal officers. Under the later Carolingians these magistrates, as we have already seen, succeeded in making their offices hereditary, and thus metamorphosed themselves into petty sovereigns, only nominally dependent upon their king. They became powerful vassals, while their sovereign became a suzerain, a shadow-king. By such usurpations the kingdoms into which the Empire of Charlemagne was at first broken became still further subdivided into numerous petty feudal principalities, and the royal power was distributed down through the ranks of a more or less perfectly graduated civil hierarchy.

The Ceremony of Homage. — A fief was conferred by a very solemn and peculiar ceremony called homage. The person about to become a vassal, kneeling with uncovered head, placed his hands in those of his future lord, and solemnly vowed to be hence-

forth his man,[1] and to serve him faithfully even with his life. This part of the ceremony, sealed with a kiss, was what properly constituted the ceremony of homage. It was accompanied by an oath of fealty, and the whole was concluded by the act of investiture, whereby the lord put his vassal in actual possession of the land, or by placing in his hand a clod of earth or a twig, symbolized the delivery to him of the estate for which he had just now done homage and sworn fealty.

The Relations of Lord and Vassal. — In general terms the duty of the vassal was service; that of the lord, protection. The most honorable service required of the vassal, and the one most willingly rendered in a martial age, was military aid. The liegeman must always be ready to follow his lord upon his military expeditions; but the time of service for one year was usually not more than forty days. He must defend his lord in battle; if he should be unhorsed, must give him his own animal; and, if he should be made a prisoner, must offer himself as a hostage for his release.

There were other incidents of a financial nature attaching to a fief, which grew up gradually and did not become a part of the system much before the eleventh century. These were known as *reliefs, fines upon alienation, escheats*, and *aids*. A Relief was the name given to the sum of money which an heir upon coming into possession of a fief must pay to the lord of the same. This was sometimes a large amount, say the entire revenue of the estate for a year or more. A Fine upon Alienation was a sum of money paid to the lord by a vassal for permission to alienate his fief, that is, to substitute another tenant in his place. By Escheat was meant the falling back of the fief into the hands of the lord through failure of heirs. If the fief lapsed through disloyalty or other misdemeanor on the part of the vassal, this was known as *forfeiture*. Aids were sums of money which the lord had a right to demand, in order to defray the expense of knighting his eldest son, of marrying his eldest daughter, or for ransoming his own person in case of captivity.

[1] Latin *homo*, whence "homage."

The chief return that the lord was bound to make to the vassal as a compensation for these various services, was counsel and protection — by no means a small return in an age of turmoil and insecurity.

Development of the Feudal System. — Although the germ of Feudalism may be found in the society of the sixth century, still the system did not develop so as to exhibit its characteristic features before the ninth.

After the death of Charlemagne and the partition of his great empire among his feeble successors, it seemed as though the world were again falling back into chaos. The bonds of society seemed entirely broken. The age was like the anarchical period of the Judges in the history of Israel, when every man did that which was right in his own eyes, only now every man did that which suited his caprice or ambition. The strong oppressed the weak; the nobles became highway-robbers and marauders.

It was this distracted state of things that, during the ninth and tenth centuries, caused the rapid development of the Feudal System. It was the only form of social organization, the only form of government that it was practicable to establish and maintain in that rude, transitional age. All classes of society, therefore, hastened to enter the system, in order to secure the protection which it alone could afford.

Kings, princes, and wealthy persons who had large landed possessions which they had never parceled out as fiefs, were now led to do so, that their estates might be held by tenants bound to protect them by all the sacred obligations of homage and fealty. Thus sovereigns and princes became suzerains and feudal lords. Again, the smaller proprietors who held their estates by allodial tenure voluntarily surrendered them into the hands of some neighboring lord, and then received them back again from him as fiefs, that they might claim protection as vassals. They deemed this better than being robbed of their property altogether. Thus it came that almost all the allodial lands of France, Germany, Italy,

and Northern Spain were, during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, converted into feudal estates or fiefs.

Moreover, for like reasons and in like manner, churches, monasteries, and cities became members of the Feudal System. They granted out their vast possessions as fiefs, and thus became suzerains and lords. Bishops and abbots became the heads of great bands of retainers, and led military expeditions like temporal chiefs. On the other hand, these same monasteries and towns, as a means of security and protection, did homage to some powerful lord, and thus came in vassalage to him. Sometimes the bishops and the heads of religious houses, instead of paying military service, bound themselves to perform a certain number of masses for the lord or his family.

In this way were Church and State, all classes of society from the wealthiest suzerain to the humblest tenant, bound together by feudal ties. Everything was impressed with the stamp of feudalism.

Classes of Feudal Society. — Besides the nobility or the landed class, who in theory though not always in fact were of gentle blood, there were under the Feudal System three other classes, namely, *freemen*, *serfs* or *villeins*, and *slaves*. These lower classes made up the great bulk of the population of a feudal state. The freemen were the inhabitants of chartered towns, and in some countries the yeomanry or small farmers, a limited number of whom held their lands by allodial tenure, while the larger part held by a free tenure analogous to the fief. The serfs or villeins were the laborers who cultivated the ground. The peculiarity of their condition was that they were not allowed to move from the estate where they lived, and when the land was sold they passed with it just like any fixture.[1] The slaves constituted a still lower

[1] There was in some countries a difference between serfs and villeins, the condition of the former being almost that of a slave, while that of the latter was not so degraded. Speaking of serfs, an old writer says: "These are not all of one condition, for some are so subject to their lord, that he may take all they have, alive or dead, and imprison them, whenever he pleases, being

class made up of captives in war or of persons condemned to bondage as a penalty for crime. These chattel slaves, however, almost disappeared before the thirteenth century, being converted into the lowest order of serfs, which was a step toward freedom.

Castles of the Nobles. — The lawless and violent character of the times during which Feudalism prevailed is well shown by the nature of the residences which the nobles built for themselves. These were strong stone fortresses, usually perched upon some rocky eminence, and defended by moats and towers. From his stronghold the robber lord sallied forth with his retainers on expeditions of plunder or revenge, and thus kept the country all around his petty domain in a state of constant dread and alarm.

France, Germany, Italy, Northern Spain, England, and Scotland, in which countries the Feudal System became most thoroughly developed, fairly bristled with these fortified residences of the nobility. Strong walls seemed the only protection against the universal violence of the age. And not only had each lord to protect himself against the attacks of neighboring chiefs, but also against those of foreign foes, such as the Hungarians and the Northmen; for as there was no central authority to give protection to all, each petty lord was forced to look for safety to his own castle walls.

One of the most striking and picturesque features of the scenery of many districts in Europe at the present time is the ivy-mantled towers and walls of these feudal castles, now falling into ruins.

Sports of the Nobles; Hunting and Hawking. — When not engaged in military enterprises, the nobles occupied their time in hunting and hawking. We have learned from their own inscriptions and sculptures how favorite a royal sport was hunting among the Egyptians, Assyrians, and other Eastern peoples. Our Teutonic ancestors held the diversion in even greater esteem. "With

accountable to none but God; while others are treated more gently, from whom the lord can take nothing but customary payments, though at their death all they have escheats to him."

the northern barbarians," writes Hallam, "it was rather a predominant appetite than an amusement; it was their pride and their ornament, the theme of their songs, the object of their laws, and the business of their lives." It was the forest laws of the Norman conquerors of England, designed for the protection of the game in the royal preserves, which, perhaps more than anything else, caused these foreign rulers to be so hated by the English.

Abbots and bishops entered upon the chase with as great zest as the lay nobles. Even the prohibitions of Church councils against the clergy's indulging in such worldly amusements were wholly ineffectual. The monks of a certain monastery sought of Charlemagne permission to engage in the pastime on the ground "that the flesh of the animals was a great delicacy for the sick of their convent, and that the skins were useful in binding the books of their library." We are also told how the Archbishop of York, about 1320, "hunted with a pack of hounds from parish to parish." More than a hundred years before this a Church council had forbidden ecclesiastics to engage in the chase while making such clerical visits, from which it would seem that the habit among the clergy had become a very confirmed one indeed.

Hawking grew into a perfect passion among all classes, even ladies participating in the sport. In the celebrated tapestries and upon all the monuments of the feudal age, the greyhound and the falcon, the dog lying at the feet of his master, and the bird perched upon his wrist, are, after the knightly sword and armor, the most common emblems of nobility.

Causes of the Decay of Feudalism. — As Feudalism was several centuries in coming to maturity, so was it also a number of centuries in dying. It was, as we have already said, at its height, that is, its principles and forms dominated society most completely, during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. Even before the close of the thirteenth century it had, in some countries, begun to decay.

Chief among the various causes which undermined and at length overthrew Feudalism, were the hostility to the system of the kings

and the common people, the Crusades, the revolt of the cities, and the introduction of fire-arms in the art of war.

The Feudal System was hated and opposed by both the royal power and the people. In fact it was never regarded with much favor by any class save the nobles and barons, who enjoyed its advantages at the expense of all the other orders of society. Kings opposed it and sought to break it down, because it left them only the semblance of power. The people always hated it for the reason that under it they were regarded of less value than the game in the lord's hunting-park. The record of the struggles of the people or commons for recognition in society, and a participation in the privileges of the haughty feudal aristocracy, — struggles which remind us of the contest between the plebeians and patricians in ancient Rome, — form the most interesting and instructive portions of mediæval and even later history.

The Crusades or Holy Wars that agitated all Europe during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries did much to weaken the power of the nobles; for in order to raise money for their expeditions, they frequently sold or mortgaged their estates, and in this way power and influence passed into the hands of the kings or the wealthy merchants of the cities. Many of the great nobles also perished in battle with the Infidels, and their lands escheated to their suzerain, whose domains were thus augmented.

The growth of the towns also tended to the same end. As they increased in wealth and influence, they became able to resist the exactions and tyranny of the lord in whose fief they happened to be, and eventually were able to secede, as it were, from his authority, and to make of themselves little republics.

Again, improvements and changes in the mode of warfare, especially those resulting from the use of gunpowder, hastened the downfall of Feudalism, by rendering the yeoman foot-soldier equal to the armor-clad knight. "It made all men of the same height," as Carlyle neatly puts it. The people with muskets in their hands could assert and make good their rights. And the castle, the body of Feudalism, that in which it lived and moved and had its being,

now became a useless thing. Its walls might bid defiance to the mounted, steel-clad baron and his retainers, but they could offer little protection against the balls of well-trained artillery.

Extinction of Feudalism in Different Countries. — Different events and circumstances marked the decline and extinction of Feudalism in the various countries of Europe.

In England it was the contention for the crown, known as the Wars of the Roses (1455–1485), in which many of the nobility were ruined in estate or killed, that gave the death-blow to the institution there. The ruin of the system in France may be dated from the establishment of a regular standing army by Charles VII. (in 1448). The rubbish of the institution, however, was not cleared away in this country until the Great Revolution of 1789. In Spain the feudal aristocracy received their death blow at the hands of Ferdinand and Isabella, in the latter part of the fifteenth century.

Thus we see that, at about the same time in all these countries, power passed out of the hands of the nobles into those of the kings. Feudalism gave place to Monarchy. The rights and powers of sovereignty which during the ninth and tenth centuries were distributed among the members of the feudal hierarchy, are now reclaimed and absorbed by Royalty.

But it is to be noted that though Feudalism as a system of government now disappears, it still continues to exist as a social organization. The nobles lose their power and authority as rulers and magistrates, as petty sovereigns, but retain generally their titles, privileges, and social distinctions.

Defects of the Feudal System. — Feudalism was perhaps the best form of social organization that it was possible to maintain in Europe during the mediæval period; yet it had many and serious defects, which rendered it very far from being a perfect social or political system. Among its chief faults may be pointed out the two following. First, it rendered impossible the formation of strong national governments. Every country was divided and subdivided into a vast number of practically independent prin-

cipalities. Thus, in the tenth century France was partitioned among nearly two hundred overlords, all exercising equal and coördinate powers of sovereignty. The enormous estates of these great lords were again divided into about 70,000 smaller fiefs.

In theory, as we have seen, the holders of these petty estates were bound to serve and obey their overlords, and these great nobles were in turn the sworn vassals of the French king. But many of these lords were richer and stronger than the king himself, and if they chose to cast off their allegiance to him, he found it impossible to reduce them to obedience. In a word, France, — and the same was true of all other countries in which the Feudal System prevailed, — instead of being a nation with a sovereign at its head with authority and power to compel obedience throughout his dominions, was simply a very loose league of more than a hundred sovereign states, held together by ties that could be broken almost with impunity. The king's time was chiefly occupied in ineffectual efforts to reduce his haughty and refractory nobles to proper submission, and in interposing feebly to compose their endless quarrels with one another. It is easy to conceive the disorder and wretchedness produced by this state of things.

A second evil of the institution was its exclusiveness. It was, in theory, only the person of noble birth that could become the holder of a fief. So society was divided into classes separated by lines which, though not impassable, were yet very rigid, with a proud and oppressive aristocracy at its head. It was only as the lower classes in the different countries gradually wrested from the feudal nobility their special and unfair privileges, that a better form of society arose, and civilization began to make more rapid progress.

Good Results of the System. — The most noteworthy of the good results springing from the Feudal System was the development among its privileged members of that individualism, that love of personal independence, which we have seen to be a marked trait of the Teutonic character. Turbulent, violent, and refractory as was the feudal aristocracy of Europe, it performed the grand

service of keeping alive during the later mediæval period the spirit of liberty. It prevented Royalty from becoming as despotic as it would otherwise have become. Thus in England, for instance, the feudal lords held such tyrannical rulers as King John in check, until such time as the yeoman and the burgher were bold enough and strong enough alone to resist their despotically inclined sovereigns. In France, where, unfortunately, the power of the feudal nobles was broken too soon, — before the common people, the Third Estate, were prepared to take up the struggle for liberty, — the result was the growth of that autocratic, despotic Royalty which led the French people to the Revolution and the Reign of Terror.

Another of the good effects of Feudalism was the impulse it gave to certain forms of polite literature. Just as learning and philosophy were fostered by the seclusion of the cloister, so were poetry and romance fostered by the open and joyous hospitalities of the baronial hall. The castle door was always open to the wandering singer and story-teller, and it was amidst the scenes of festivity within that the ballads and romances of mediæval minstrelsy and literature had their birth. "It is to the feudal times," says Guizot, "that we trace back the earliest literary monuments of England, France, and Germany, the earliest intellectual enjoyments of modern Europe."

Another great service which Feudalism rendered to civilization was the development within the baronial castle of those ideas and sentiments — among others, a nice sense of honor and an exalted consideration for the female sex — which found their noblest expression in Chivalry, of which institution and its good effects upon the social life of Europe we shall now proceed to speak.

II. Chivalry.

Chivalry defined: Origin of the Institution. — Chivalry has been aptly defined as the "Flower of Feudalism." It was a military institution or order, the members of which, called *knights*,

were pledged to the protection of the Church, and to the defense of the weak and the oppressed.

Although the germs of the system may be found in society before the age of Charlemagne, Chivalry did not assume its distinctive character until the eleventh century, and died out during the fifteenth. It thus lasted about five centuries, rising to its height at the period of the Crusades, and passing away with the system that gave it birth.

There were three things in the feudal society of Western Europe which conspired to produce and nourish Chivalry. First, that regard for woman which Tacitus tells us distinguished the Germans of his day; secondly, that love for feats of arms and adventure which was an inextinguishable passion of the Teutonic heart; and thirdly, those sentiments of compassion and sympathy for the oppressed and the unfortunate which Christianity had powerfully tended to awaken and stimulate. Especially was the influence of the Church felt in giving shape and character to the institution, and in directing the adventures of its members after it had once become fairly established.

Its Universality: the Church and Chivalry. — Chivalry seems to have had France for its cradle. That country at least was its true home. There it was that it exhibited its most complete and romantic development. Yet its influence was felt everywhere and in everything. It colored all the events and enterprises of the latter half of the Middle Ages. The literature of the age is instinct with its spirit. The Crusades of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were simply great chivalric enterprises. Feudalism is transformed into Chivalry, that is in so far as a decree of the Church that it should thus transform itself could effect that result; for in the year 1095 the Council of Clermont, which assembly formally inaugurated the First Crusade, decreed that every person of noble birth, on attaining twelve years of age, should take a solemn oath before the bishop of his diocese "to defend to the uttermost the oppressed, the widow, and orphans; that women of noble birth, both married and single, should enjoy his special

care; and that nothing should be wanting in him to rendering traveling safe, and to destroy the evils of tyranny."

This ecclesiastical order illustrates in what way the Church fostered the institution, while at the same time it shows how hard it was even for the commissioned servants of him who was the friend and companion of the lowly and the poor to entertain any other idea than the prevailing one of that age, that persons of gentle birth were the only ones worthy of much consideration even at the hands of a Christian knight.

Training of the Knight. — When Chivalry had once become established, all the sons of the nobility, save such as were to enter the holy orders of the Church, were set apart and disciplined for its service. The sons of the poorer nobles were usually placed in the family of some superior lord of renown and wealth, whose castle became a sort of school, where they were trained in the duties and exercises of knighthood.

This education began at the early age of seven, the youth bearing the name of page or varlet until he attained the age of fourteen, when he acquired the title of squire or esquire. The lord and his knights trained the boys in all manly and martial duties, while the ladies of the castle instructed them in the duties of religion and love, and in all knightly etiquette. The duties of the page were usually confined to the castle, though sometimes he accompanied his lord to the field. The esquire always attended in battle the knight to whom he was attached, carrying his arms, holding his horse, and in case of need engaging in the fight.

At the age of twenty-one the squire became a knight, being then introduced to the order of knighthood by a peculiar and impressive service.

The Ceremony of Knighting. — The candidate for knighthood prepared himself for the ceremony which admitted him to the order, by prayer, confession, and fasting. Almost every part of the ceremony was typical. Thus after bathing, indicative of purity, he was conducted to a bed, which emblemized the heavenly rest awaiting him. Arising, he was clothed in a white tunic,

emblem of the purity that should mark his life; over this was placed a red garment, symbol of the blood he must be ready to shed for God and the ladies; and over all was cast a black robe, emblem of death, which he must expect at last. — MILL.

After a long fast and vigil, he listened to a lengthy sermon on his duties as a knight. Then kneeling, as in the feudal ceremony of homage, before the lord conducting the services, he vowed to defend religion and the ladies, to succor the distressed, and ever to be faithful to his companion knights. His arms were now given to him, and his sword was girded on, when the lord striking him with the flat of his sword on the shoulders or the neck, said, "In the name of God, of St. Michael, and of St. George, I dub thee knight: be brave, bold, and loyal."

The Tournament. — The tournament was the favorite amusement of the age of Chivalry. It was a mimic battle between two companies of noble knights, armed usually with pointless swords or blunted lances. In the universal esteem in which the participants were held, it reminds us of the Sacred Games of the Greeks; while in the fierce and sanguinary character it sometimes assumed, especially before brought fully under the spirit of Chivalry, it recalls the gladiatorial combats of the Roman amphitheatre.

The prince or baron giving the festival made proclamation of the event through all the country, brave and distinguished knights being invited even from distant lands to grace the occasion with their presence and an exhibition of their skill and prowess.

As a rule, only knights known to fame and of approved valor were allowed to take part in the contest, although sometimes a stranger knight was permitted to enter the lists without having first divulged his name. Like the contestant in the Olympic games, the aspirant for the honors of the tournament must be unstained by crime; he must never have offended a lady, never have violated his word, or never have taken unfair advantage of an enemy in battle.

The lists — a level space marked off by a rope or railing, and surrounded with galleries for spectators — were gay with banners

and tapestries, and the heraldic emblems of the contending knights. The rich trappings of the steeds, and the magnificent apparel of the assembled princes and nobles with their attendant trains, made up a spectacle of rare gaiety and splendor. The expenditures of all concerned in the festival were enormous, and often ruinous. An old writer asserts that "gold and silver were no more spared than though they had rained out of the clouds, or been skimmed from the sea."

When the moment arrived for the opening of the ceremony, heralds proclaimed the rules of the contest, whereupon the combatants advanced into the lists, each young knight displaying upon his helmet or breast the device of the mistress of his affections. At the given signal the opposing parties of knights, with couched lances, rode fiercely at each other, amidst such cries as "Loyalty to the ladies," "Fair eyes behold you, valiant knights." Victory was accorded to him who unhorsed his antagonist, or broke in a proper manner the greatest number of lances. The rewards to the victor consisted of jewels, gifts of armor, or horses decked with knightly trappings, and, more esteemed than all else, the praises and favor of his lady-love.

The tournament continued to be a favorite diversion even after the spirit of Chivalry began to decline in Europe. One thing that tended to bring the amusement into disfavor was the fatal accidents that frequently marred the knightly encounter. In 1559 Henry II. of France was killed by a splintered lance while participating in a tournament, and this event did much towards effecting a virtual abolition of the rude sport. But the amusement, like the national games of the ancient Greeks and Romans, had too strong a hold upon the affections and imagination of the age to become obsolete at once. "The world long clung with fondness to these splendid and graceful shows which had thrown light and elegance over the warriors and dames of yore."

The Joust[1] differed from the tournament in being an encounter

[1] "If the combatants were allowed to use sharp weapons, and to put forth all their force and skill against one another, this was the *joute à l'outrance*,

between two knights only, and in being attended with less ceremony.

Character of the Knight. — Chivalric loyalty to the mistress of his supreme affection was the first article in the creed of the true knight. "He who was faithful and true to his lady," says Hallam, "was held sure of salvation in the theology of castles, though not of Christians." He must also be gentle, brave, courteous, truthful, pure, generous, hospitable, faithful to his engagements, and ever ready to risk life and limbs in the cause of religion and in the defense of his companions at arms.

But these were the virtues and qualifications of the ideal knight. It is needless to say that, though there were many who illustrated all these virtues in their blameless lives and romantic enterprises, there were too many who were knights only in profession. "An errant knight," as an old writer puns, with too much truth, "was an arrant knave." Another writer says, "Deeds that would disgrace a thief, and acts of cruelty that would have disgusted a Hellenic tyrant or a Roman emperor, were common things with knights of the highest lineage."

But cruelty, treachery, untruthfulness, ingratitude, cowardice, baseness, and crime of every sort were opposed to the true spirit of Chivalry; and the knight who was convicted of such faults was punished by expulsion from the holy order of knighthood, by what was known as the ceremony of degradation. The spurs of the offending knight were struck off from his heels with a heavy cleaver, his sword was broken, and his horse's tail cut off. Then the disgraced knight was dressed in a burial robe, and the usual funeral ceremonies were performed over him, signifying that he was "dead to the honors of knighthood."

Decline of Chivalry. — The fifteenth century was the evening of Chivalry. The decline of the system resulted from the opera-

and was of frequent enough occurrence." — Cutts's *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages*, p. 412. "The combat at outrance was, in fact, a duel, and only differed from the trial by battle [see above, p. 56] in being voluntary, while the other was enforced by law." — James's *History of Chivalry*, p. 46.

tion of the same causes that effected the overthrow of Feudalism. The changes in the mode of warfare which helped to do away with the feudal baron and his mail-clad retainers likewise tended to destroy knight-errantry. And then as civilization advanced, new feelings and sentiments began to claim the attention, and to work upon the imagination of men. Persons ambitious of distinction began to seek it in other ways than by adventures of chivalry. Voyages of maritime discovery, and commercial enterprise, were more profitable, at least, than bootless expeditions among enchanted castles. Governments, too, became more regular, and the increased order and security of society rendered less needful the services of the gallant knight in behalf of distressed maidens.

In a word, the extravagant performances of the knight-errant carried into a practical and commercial age — an age very different from that which gave birth to Chivalry — became fantastic and ridiculous; and when, finally, in the sixteenth century, the genial Spanish satirist Cervantes wrote his famous *Don Quixote*, in which work he leads his hero-knight into all sorts of absurd adventures, such as running a tilt against a windmill, which his excited imagination had pictured to be a monstrous giant flourishing his arms with some wicked intent, everybody, struck with the infinite absurdity of the thing, fell a-laughing; and amidst the fitting accompaniment of smiles and broad pleasantries the knight-errant took his departure from the world.[1]

Influence of Chivalry. — "For the mind," James affirms, "Chivalry did little; for the heart, it did everything." Doubtless we must qualify the latter part of this statement. While it is true that Chivalry, as we shall in a moment maintain, did much for the heart, its influences upon it were not altogether good. The system had many vices, chief among which were its aristocratic, exclusive tendencies. Dr. Arnold, indignant among other things at the

[1] That is, from the world of romantic literature; for the satire of Cervantes was aimed at the extravagances of the romancers of his times. (Recall Spenser's *The Faery Queene.*) There were not many *real* knights-errant when Cervantes wrote.

knights' forgetfulness or disregard of the equal brotherhood of men, exclaims bitterly, "If I were called upon to name what spirit of evil predominately deserved the name of Antichrist, I should name the Spirit of Chivalry." And another indignant writer declares that "it is not probable that the knights supposed they could be guilty of injustice to the lower classes." These were regarded with indifference or contempt, and considered as destitute of any claims upon those of noble birth as were beasts of burden or the game of the chase. It is always the young and beautiful lady of *gentle* birth whose wrongs the valiant knight is risking his life to avenge, always the smiles of the queen of love and beauty for which he is splintering his lance in the fierce tournament. The fostering of this aristocratic spirit was one of the most serious faults of Chivalry. Yet we must bear in mind that we should charge the fault to the age rather than to the knight.

But to speak of the beneficial, refining influences of Chivalry, we should say that it undoubtedly contributed powerfully to lift that sentiment of respect for the gentler sex that characterized all the Northern nations, into that reverence for womanhood which forms the distinguishing characteristic of the present age, and contrasts it with all preceding phases of civilization.

Again, Chivalry did much towards producing that type of manhood among us — a model type, distinguished by the virtues of fidelity, courtesy, humanity, liberality, and justice — which we rightly think to surpass any ever formed under the influences of antiquity. Just as Christianity gave to the world an ideal manhood which it was to strive to realize, so did Chivalry hold up an ideal to which men were to conform their lives. Men, indeed, have never perfectly realized either the ideal of Christianity or that of Chivalry; but the influence which these two ideals has had in shaping and giving character to the lives of men cannot be over-estimated. Together, through the enthusiasm and effort awakened for their realization, they have produced a new type of manhood, which we indicate by the phrase "a knightly and Christian character."

CHAPTER II.

THE NORMANS.

I. The Normans at Home and in Italy.

Introductory. — The history of the Normans — the name, it will be recalled, of the transformed Scandinavians who settled in Northern Gaul — is simply a continuation of the story of the Northmen. And nothing could better illustrate the difference between the period we have left behind and the one upon which we have entered, nothing could more strikingly exhibit the gradual transformation that has crept over the face and spirit of European society, than the transformation which time and favoring influences have wrought in these men. When first we met them in the ninth century they were pagans; now they are Christians. Then they were rough, wild, danger-loving corsairs; now they are become the most cultured, polished, and chivalrous people in Europe. But the restless, careless, daring spirit that drove the Norse sea-kings forth upon the waves in quest of adventure and booty, still stirs in the breasts of their descendants. As has been said, they were simply changed from heathen Vikings, delighting in the wild life of sea-rover and pirate, into Christian knights, eager for pilgrimages and crusades.

It is these men, uniting in their character the strength, independence, and daring of the Scandinavian with the vivacity, imagination, and culture of the Romano-Gaul, that we are now to follow, as from their seats in France they go forth to make fresh conquests, — to build up a kingdom in the Mediterranean lands, and to set a line of Norman kings upon the English throne. Later, in following the fortunes of the Crusaders, we shall meet them on the battlefields of Palestine, there winning renown as the most valiant knights of Christendom.

The Dukes of Normandy. — Under Rollo (see p. 134) and his immediate successors — William Longsword (927–943), Richard the Fearless (943–996), and Richard the Good (996–1027) — the power of the Normans in France became gradually consolidated. The country of Normandy grew more populous, both through the natural increase of the population at home and the arrival of fresh bands of Scandinavians from the northern countries. Finally, after more than one hundred years had passed, years for the most part of uneventful yet steady growth and development, the old Norse spirit of adventure revived, and Southern Europe and England became the scene of the daring and brilliant exploits of the Norman warriors.

The Normans in Italy. — In the year 1018 some Norman chiefs sailed southward, and landing in Spain, endeavored to wrest from the Moors lands for themselves in that peninsula, but were unsuccessful in their enterprise. About the same time, however, other Norman bands succeeded in gaining a foothold in the south of Italy, where they established a sort of republic, which ultimately included the island of Sicily. The fourth president of the commonwealth was the famous Robert Guiscard (d. 1085), a character only less celebrated than the renowned William the Conqueror, of whom we are to speak presently. His entire career was one series of daring and chivalrous exploits, which spread the renown of the Norman name throughout the Mediterranean lands.

This Norman state, converted finally into a kingdom, lasted until late in the twelfth century (1194). It reminds us of the Moorish kingdom of Spain, which it resembled in many respects. The rule of the Normans in Italy, like that of the Arab-Moors in Spain, gave the subjugated country its most prosperous era. The government was ably and equitably administered, and all classes, Greeks, Italians, Saracens, and Normans, dwelt alongside one another in the most fraternal manner. Education was encouraged, and the schools and colleges of the Normans, like those of the Saracens in the neighboring peninsula, became celebrated throughout Europe.

II. The Norman Conquest of England.

Events Leading up to the Conquest. — The conquest of England by the Normans was the most important of their enterprises, and one followed by consequences of the greatest magnitude not only to the conquered people, but indirectly to the world.

In the year 1035 the duke of the Normans, known as Robert the Magnificent, the fourth in succession from Rollo, died in Asia Minor, while on his way home from a romantic pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and his son William, called the Bastard, the destined conqueror of England, became the Duke of Normandy. William was at this time only seven years of age.

Before setting out on his pilgrimage, Robert had persuaded the Norman nobles to swear fealty to his son in case he himself should not return; but the oath of the proud lords was not strong enough to bind their allegiance to the boy of disgraceful birth. For twelve years the duchy was torn with contentions between the young duke and his rebellious vassals. But the valor, genius, and good fortune of William finally triumphed over all opposition and difficulties, and he succeeded in establishing his undisputed authority throughout Normandy. The cruelty with which he punished those of his enemies that had especially awakened his resentment, indicated the stern and unrelenting character of the man whom destiny had selected to play the most important part in the history of the eleventh century.

We must now notice the situation of affairs in England. In the year 1066 died Edward the Confessor, in whose person, it will be recalled, the old English line was restored after the Danish usurpation, and immediately the Witan, in accordance with the dying wish of the king, chose Harold, Earl of the West Saxons, son of the famous Godwin, and the best and strongest man in all England, to be his successor.

When the news of the action of the Witan and of Harold's acceptance of the English crown was carried across the channel to William, he was really or feignedly transported with rage. He

declared that Edward, who was his cousin, had during his lifetime promised the throne to him, and that Harold had assented to this, and by solemn oath engaged to sustain him. He now demanded of Harold that he surrender to him the usurped throne, threatening the immediate invasion of the island in case he refused. King Harold answered the demand by expelling from the country the Normans who had followed Edward into the kingdom, and by collecting fleets and armies for the defense of his dominions.

Meanwhile Duke William was making every preparation to carry out his threat, and to consummate his long-cherished project of the conquest of England. He stirred up all the embers of the old Norman hatred of the English race; enlisted the sympathies of Europe in his behalf by a skillful presentation of his side of the dispute; and even succeeded in securing from the Pope, Alexander II., his blessing upon the enterprise, and the gift of a consecrated banner. The Pope assisted William in his undertaking, in hopes of being in turn aided by him to secure increased power over the English churches. At length everything was ready for a descent upon the English coast.

Battle of Stamford Bridge (1066).—While Harold was watching the southern coasts against the Normans, a terrible foe appeared in the north, led by Tostig, the traitor brother of the English king, and Harold Hardrada, King of Norway. The latter had been brought up at the Swedish court in Russia, had afterwards commanded the famous Varangian guard of the Emperor of Constantinople, had fought for the faith against the Saracens in the Mediterranean, and now was aspiring to build up in the North such an empire as that over which Canute had reigned. To effect the conquest of England he had collected an immense fleet from the ports of Scandinavia, from Flanders, Scotland, Iceland, and the Orkneys, and having descended upon the northern shore of England, was now sacking and burning the coast towns. The English army in that quarter, attempting to withstand the invaders, was cut to pieces; and the important city of York fell into the hands of the Northmen.

As soon as news of this disaster was borne to King Harold in the

south, he instantly marched northward with his army, and at Stamford Bridge met the invaders, and there gained a decisive victory over them. The Norwegian king ended his wild and adventurous life upon the fatal field.

The Battle of Hastings (1066).—The brilliant victory at Stamford Bridge delivered England from a most threatening danger. But Harold and his brave men were now called to face a still more formidable enemy. The festivities that followed the victory were not yet ended when a messenger from the south brought to Harold intelligence of the landing of the Normans. Hurrying southward with his army, Harold came face to face with the forces of William at Senlac, a short distance from the port of Hastings, which latter place gave name to the battle that almost immediately followed.

The night preceding the battle was spent by the English soldiers in feasting and carousing round their camp-fires, while the Normans passed it in prayer and devotion, in preparation for the encounter of the morrow. The English were elated over their recent victory; yet at the same time that victory had thinned their ranks, and the forced marches that had followed had taxed their powers of endurance to the utmost. They were, moreover, unnerved by the knowledge that the blessing of the Pope had been given, not to them, but to the enemy in their front.

With the morning the battle opened — the battle that was to determine the fate of England. It was begun by a horseman riding out from the Norman lines and advancing alone toward the English army, tossing up his sword and skillfully catching it as it fell, and singing all the while the stirring battle-song of Charlemagne and Roland. The English watched with astonishment this exhibition of "careless dexterity," and if they did not contrast the vivacity and nimbleness of the Norman foe with their own heavy and clumsy manners, others at least have not failed to do so for them.

The battle once joined, the conflict was long and terrific. The day finally went against the English. Harold fell, pierced through the eye by an arrow; and William was master of the field (1066).

The Completion of the Conquest. — William now marched upon London, and at Westminster, on Christmas Day, 1066, was crowned and anointed king of England; but he was yet far from being such in fact. The most formidable resistance made to the Conqueror was in the North, where the population was composed chiefly of Danes, who were aided by their kinsmen from Denmark. To protect himself on this side, William finally ravaged all the country between the Humber and the Tees, converting it into an uninhabitable desert. More than a quarter of a century afterwards, the desolated district was marked by untilled fields and the charred ruins of hamlets and towns. One hundred thousand people, deprived of food and shelter, perished miserably during the unusually severe winter following the cruel act. Thousands of others fled the country, and entered the service of foreign princes. Many found their way to Constantinople, where they enlisted in the Varangian Guard, and helped fight the battles of the Emperors of the East.

The Distribution of the Land. — Almost the first act of William after he had established his power in England was to fulfil his promise to the nobles who had aided him in his enterprise, by distributing among them the unredeemed[1] estates of the English who had fought at Hastings in defense of their king and country. Large as was the number of these confiscated estates, there would have been a lack of land to satisfy all, had not subsequent uprisings against the authority of William afforded him an opportunity to confiscate almost all the soil of England as forfeited by treason.[2]

Profiting by the lesson taught by the wretched condition of France, which country was kept in a state of constant turmoil by a host of feudal chiefs and lords many of whom were almost or

[1] "When the lands of all those who had fought for Harold were confiscated, those who were willing to acknowledge William were allowed to redeem theirs, either paying money at once or giving hostages for the payment." — STUBBS, *Const. Hist.*, I. 258.

[2] "The actual amount of dispossession was, no doubt, greatest in the higher ranks; the smaller owners may, to a large extent, have remained in a mediatised position [*i.e.*, as sub-tenants] on their estates." — *Ibid*, I. 260.

quite as powerful as the king himself, William took care that in the distribution no feudatory should receive an entire shire, save in two or three exceptional cases. To the great lord to whom he must needs give a large fief, he granted, not a continuous tract of land, but several estates or manors scattered in all parts of the country, in order that there might be no dangerous concentration of property or power in the hands of the vassal. He also denied to his feudatories the right of coining money and making laws; and by other wise restrictions upon their power, subordinating, for instance, all the baronial courts to the jurisdiction of the royal judges, he saved England from those endless contentions and petty wars that were distracting almost every other country of Europe.

In a word, he gave England a strong central government. This was one of the great blessings conferred upon the country by the Norman conquest; for hitherto everything had been too local and fragmentary, some of the powerful Saxon barons, as for instance Godwin, frequently exercising as much power as the king himself.

To overawe the dispossessed people, William now built and garrisoned fortresses or towers in all the principal cities of the realm. His nobles also erected strong castles upon their lands, so that the whole country fairly bristled with these fortified private residences. With the towns dominated by the great fortresses, and the open country watched over by the barons secure in their thick-walled castles, the Normans, though vastly inferior in numbers to the conquered Saxons, were able to hold them in perfect subjection.

Domesday Book. — One of the most celebrated acts of the Conqueror was the making of Domesday Book. This famous book contained a description and valuation of all the lands of England, — excepting those of some counties, mostly in the north, that were either unconquered or unsettled; an enumeration of the cattle and sheep; and statements of the income of every man. It was intended, in a word, to be a perfect survey and census of the entire kingdom. In this book the present lords of England may see their ancestral estates traced out as the boundaries ran in the

times of the Conqueror. The old lines, in many cases, have suffered but little change.

The commissioners who went through the land to collect the needed information for the work were often threatened by the people, who resented this "prying into their affairs," and looked upon the whole thing as simply another move preparatory to fresh taxation. But notwithstanding the bitter feelings with which the English viewed the preparation of the work, it was certainly a wise and necessary measure, and probably was prompted by the best of motives. "It was no tyranny, but the work of a great organization, the essential preliminary and accompaniment of a strong government."

The Curfew and the Forest Laws. — Among the regulations introduced into England by the Conqueror was the peculiar one known as the Curfew-bell. This law required that, upon the ringing of the church bell at nightfall, every person should be at home, and that the fires should be buried[1] and the lights extinguished.

Two reasons have been assigned for this ordinance: the one supposes that its object was to prevent the people's assembling by night to plan or execute treasonable undertakings; the other represents it simply as a safeguard against fire. The law was certainly in force in Normandy before the Conquest; indeed, according to Palgrave, it was a universal custom of police throughout the whole of mediæval Europe.

Less justifiable and infinitely more odious to the people were the Forest Laws of the Normans. The Normans were excessively fond of the chase. William had for the sport a perfect passion. An old chronicler declares that "he loved the tall deer as if he were their father." Extensive tracts of country were turned into forests by the destruction of the farm-houses and villages. More than fifty hamlets, and numerous churches, are said to have been burnt in the creation of what was known as the New Forest.[2]

[1] Hence the term Curfew, from *couvrir*, to cover, and *feu*, fire.

[2] The term *forest* as applied to these hunting-parks does not necessarily mean a continuous wooded tract, but simply untilled ground left to grow up to weeds and shrubs that might afford a covert to game.

The game in these forests was protected by severe laws. To kill a deer was a greater crime than to kill a man. Several members of the Conqueror's family were killed while hunting in these royal preserves, and the people declared that these misfortunes were the judgment of Heaven upon the cruelty of their founder.

Close of William's Reign. — All the last years of the Conqueror's life were filled with trouble and sorrow. Especially after the execution of Waltheof, the last prominent leader of the Saxons, whom he put to death on account of complicity in a plot against the Normans, did everything seem to turn against William. "His bow was broken, and his sword was blunted." The most trying thing, perhaps, was the misconduct of his oldest son Robert, who attempted to secure the government of Normandy, claiming that his father had promised it to him in case his enterprise against England proved successful. Robert was joined in his revolt by many discontented nobles, and aided by the French king, who had always viewed with great jealousy the growing power of the Norman Duke. A reconciliation was at last effected between father and son.

In the year 1087 the Conqueror was engaged in his last quarrel. The French king Philip had aroused the fierce anger of William by an unseemly remark about his person. In revenge for the jest, William made war upon the king and burnt the town of Mantes. As he was riding over the smoking ruins of the place, his horse stepped upon a hot brand, shied suddenly, and threw William heavily upon the bow of his saddle, whereby he received a hurt of which he died in a few days. Before his death he made known his will as to his three sons: Robert's unfilial conduct was forgotten, and he was given Normandy; William was given England; while Henry received 5000 pounds of silver.

The Norman Successors of the Conqueror. — For nearly three quarters of a century after the death of William the Conqueror, England was ruled by Norman kings. Three names span this long period, — William II., known as Rufus or the Red (1087–

1100); Henry I., surnamed Beauclerc or the "good scholar" (1100–1135); and Stephen of Blois (1135–1154), a grandson of the Conqueror.

Notwithstanding the many oppressive laws and cruel acts that marked the reigns of the sons of the great Duke, — William and Henry, — England flourished under their rule: commerce and the various industries were steadily progressing, and the Normans and English, forgetting their enmities, were gradually blending into a single people.

But upon the death of Henry a dispute as to the succession arose between his daughter Matilda and Stephen of Blois. For several years the realm was wasted by civil war. Eventually, through the mediation of the bishops of the Church, a covenant was made between the contending parties, whereby it was agreed that Stephen should hold the crown undisturbed during his life, but that at his death it should go to the son of Matilda. The year following this arrangement Stephen died, and the crown was placed, according to the treaty, upon the head of Henry of Anjou, who thus became the founder of the dynasty of the Angevins or Plantagenets (1154).

Advantages to England of the Norman Conquest. — The most important and noteworthy result of the Conquest was the establishment in the island of a strong centralized government. England now became a real kingdom, — what she had hardly been in more than semblance before. A second result of the Conquest was the founding of a new feudal aristocracy. The Saxon thane was displaced by the Norman baron. A third result was the bringing of England into more intimate relations with the nations of continental Europe, by which means her advance in art, science, and general culture was greatly promoted.

CHAPTER III.

THE CRUSADES (1096–1273).

I. Introductory: Causes of the Crusades.

General Statement. — The Crusades were great military expeditions undertaken by the Christian nations of Europe for the purpose of rescuing from the hands of the Mohammedans the holy places of Palestine. They were eight in number, the first four being sometimes called the Principal Crusades, and the remaining four the Minor Crusades. Besides these there were a Children's Crusade, and several other expeditions, which, being insignificant in numbers or results, are not enumerated.

We will tell first of the causes that gave birth to these remarkable enterprises; then narrate with some degree of particularity the most important events which characterized the First Crusade, passing more lightly over the incidents of the succeeding ones, as these in all essential features were simply repetitions of the first movement: and then we shall close our brief survey by a glance at the causes which brought the movements to an end, and at the good and evil results which flowed from them.

Holy Places and Pilgrimages. — In all ages men have been led by curiosity, sentiment, or religion to make pilgrimages to spots which retain the memory of remarkable occurrences, or have been consecrated by human suffering or heroism. Especially has the religious sentiment of every people made the birthplaces or tombs of their prophets, saints, and martyrs places of veneration and pilgrimage. Benáres, Mecca, and Jerusalem attest the universality and strength of the sentiment among Hindus, Mohammedans, and Christians alike.

Among the early Christians it was thought a pious and meritorious act to undertake a journey to some sacred place. Prayers,

it was believed, were more efficacious when offered on consecrated ground. Tears of penitence shed above the grave of saint or martyr could wash away the stain of the blackest sin. Especially was it thought that a pilgrimage to the land that had been trod by the feet of the Saviour of the world, to the Holy City that had witnessed his martyrdom, was a peculiarly pious undertaking, and one which secured for the pilgrim the special favor and blessing of Heaven.

Pilgrims began to make visits to the Holy Land from the countries of Western Europe as soon as Christianity had taken possession of this part of the Roman Empire. At first the journey was so difficult and dangerous that it was undertaken by comparatively few. Before the conversion of the Hungarians and other tribes that held the countries between Germany and the Bosphorus, the pilgrim usually made his way to some Mediterranean port, and sought a chance passage on board some vessel engaged in the Eastern trade.

It was a great event in a community when a person announced his intention of making the holy pilgrimage. He was conducted by a great company of his friends and neighbors out of his native town, and with the benediction of the priest, and the gift of a staff and wallet, was sent forward on his pious journey.

Arriving at the Holy City, the devotee prayed and wept upon every spot pointed out by tradition as the scene of the miracles or sufferings of the Saviour. Lastly, he bathed in the sacred waters of the Jordan, and from that spot brought back with him a branch of palm, which was laid upon the altar of his native church as a token of the accomplishment of his pilgrimage. From this last circumstance one who had made a journey to the Holy Land, in distinction from a person who had made a pilgrimage to some other place, was called a *palmer*.

Upon his return the palmer became a person of mark and consideration. Homage was paid him by all classes, special privileges were granted him, and a certain sanctity seemed to have attached itself to his person and his acts.

Not only was it meritorious to make pilgrimages, but almost equally meritorious was it to give aid and comfort to the pilgrim and further him on his journey. Hence the wealthy were led to build and endow inns and hospitals all along the routes leading to the various shrines of the Church, especially along the ways to the Holy Land, for the lodgment and entertainment of those making pilgrimages. These hostelries opened their doors to the pilgrim upon every dangerous mountain pass, and in every desert region through which his journey might lead him.

Toward the close of the tenth century the almost universal belief, founded upon certain passages in the Scriptures, that the world was soon coming to an end, and that Christ was to reappear at Jerusalem, caused the number of pilgrims to the Holy Land greatly to increase. Instead of solitary travelers, vast companies might now be seen crowding all the roads leading to Jerusalem. There were in these bands men whose hands were stained with the blackest crimes, but who believed that the past could be buried in oblivion by the penance of the pious pilgrimage; knights and princes who, now that the temporal things of the world were so soon to pass away, sought a part in the more enduring glories of the approaching kingdom of God; and pious bishops and archbishops, zealous monks and anchorites, whose spirits were kindled with the holy enthusiasm of lives of prayer and rapt meditation.

Causes of the Crusades. — We are now in a position to understand the Crusades. The crusader, as has been said, was simply an armed pilgrim. We want now to see what it was that converted the pilgrim into the warrior — what caused him to exchange the wallet and the staff for the buckler and the sword.

From the time of Constantine on to the Arabian conquest, the holy places were in the hands of the Christians themselves. The Saracen Caliphs for the four centuries and more that they held possession of Palestine, pursued usually — though some of the Fatimite rulers of Egypt were most cruel persecutors of the Christians — an enlightened policy towards the pilgrims, even encouraging pilgrimages as a source of revenue. Haroun-al-Raschid gave the

keys of the Holy Sepulchre to Charlemagne, which illustrates the desire of that enlightened prince to cultivate friendly relations with the Christians of the West.

But in the eleventh century a great change came over affairs in the East. The Sultans of the Seljukian Turks, a prominent Tartar tribe, zealous proselytes of Islam, had gradually extended their authority, until towards the close of this century they had built up a kingdom that stretched from the confines of China to the Hellespont. Asia Minor, which had been only ravaged by the Saracens, was conquered by these Tartars, and the city of Nice, almost opposite Constantinople, was made the capital of the new barbarian empire (1092). Almost all the Asiatic possessions of the Caliphs were wrested from them, and the authority of the race that but a few centuries before had seemed on the point of becoming supreme throughout the world, was once more virtually confined to the Arabian peninsula.

The Christians were not long in realizing that power had fallen into new hands. They were insulted and persecuted in every way. The aged patriarch of Jerusalem is said to have been subjected to every indignity, and the churches of the Christians in some cases to have been destroyed or desecrated. Pilgrims still continued to flock to the holy places, but the tales of their woes and sufferings attested with what danger the undertaking was now attended.

The Christians of Europe were wrought to indignation by these accounts of the insults heaped upon the holy places, and were moved to tears by the recitals of the personal sufferings of the pilgrims themselves. If it were a meritorious thing to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, much more would it be a pious act to rescue the sacred spot from the profanation of infidels. This was the conviction that changed the pilgrim into a warrior, — this the sentiment that for two centuries and more stirred the Christian world to its profoundest depths, and cast the population of Europe in wave after wave upon Asia.

Although this religious feeling was the principal cause of the Crusades, there were other concurring causes which must not be

overlooked. Thus there was what Guizot calls the social incitement — the restless, adventurous spirit of the Teutonic peoples of Europe, who had not as yet outgrown their barbarian instincts. The feudal knights and lords, just now animated by the rising spirit of chivalry, were very ready to enlist in an undertaking so consonant with their martial feelings and their new vows of knighthood.

But besides these two causes — religious zeal, and the love of war and adventure — there were others not so creditable to human nature. Thus, some of the Italian cities entered into the undertakings from commercial or political motives; many knights, princes, and even kings headed the expeditions with the view of establishing kingdoms in the East from lands wrested from the infidels; while vast multitudes of the baser sort joined them in order to secure immunity from debt and crime; for, as we shall see, the person and property of the crusader were taken under the special protection of the Church.

Yet notwithstanding that so many unworthy motives animated vast numbers of those engaging in the Crusades, we shall not be wrong in thinking that it was the conviction that the enterprise of rescuing the sacred places was a holy one which was the main motive power, in the absence of which all the other causes enumerated would have proved wholly inadequate either to set in motion or to keep in motion these remarkable and long-continued expeditions.

The Preaching of Peter the Hermit.[1] — One inciting cause of

[1] In the present issue, this paragraph, together with several of those immediately following, has been rewritten, in order to embody in the text the results of the most recent criticism of the original authorities for the history of the Crusades. For valuable suggestions in this connection, the author is under special indebtedness to Professor Dana C. Munro, of the University of Pennsylvania. Professor Munro's pamphlets entitled respectively "Urban and the Crusaders" and "Letters of the Crusaders from the Holy Land," in *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History* (published by the Department of History of the University of Pennsylvania), are most excellent helps in the study of the period in question.

the First Crusade was the preaching of Peter the Hermit, a native of Amiens in France. This monk became in later times the subject of a legend, which tells how, moved by devout longings, he made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; how there the unwonted religious zeal kindled in his soul by a life of fasts, austerities and lonely vigils, was warmed into a glowing fervor by a view of the places and scenes consecrated by the sufferings and death of the Son of God; how his sympathy and indignation were equally stirred by the sight of the cruelties to which the native and pilgrim Christians were subjected by the Mohammedan conquerors; and how his holy resentment burned to revenge the profanation of the sacred places by these insolent unbelievers. It represents him as mingling his tears with those of the venerable Simeon, the patriarch of Jerusalem; and as the aged bishop laments the calamities of the Holy City, and shows how vain it is to look for succor from the Emperor of Constantinople, — himself a prisoner in his own capital, — the ardor of the zealot is represented as flaming up in the soul of the hermit, as he vows to arouse the warriors of the West to avenge the wrongs of their brethren in the East. The account then shows us the monk, armed with letters from the patriarch to the Christians of Europe, hastening to Rome, and there, at the feet of Pope Urban II., begging to be commissioned to preach a crusade for the deliverance of the Holy City. The pope is represented as commending warmly the zeal of the hermit, and, with promises of aid, sending him forth to stir up the people to engage in the holy undertaking. The legend now exhibits the monk as going everywhere, and addressing in the streets and in the open fields the crowds that press about him. All are moved with indignation, as the impassioned speaker recites the sufferings of their brethren at the hands of the infidels, or pictures the profanation of the holy places, polluted by the presence and insults of the unbelievers. The people look upon the monk, clothed in the coarse raiment of an anchorite, as a messenger from heaven, and even venerate the ass upon which he rides. His wild and fervid eloquence is

represented as alternately melting his auditors to tears, or lifting them into transports of enthusiasm.

Such, in essential features, is the tradition which has come down to us in the history of William of Tyre, a chronicler who wrote towards the close of the 12th century, of the Hermit of Amiens. The first part of this account is now discredited, and it seems quite certain that the monk's alleged pilgrimage to Jerusalem is a pure embellishment of the tale by later romancers. That the preaching of the monk, however, was of a most extraordinary character and produced a deep impression upon the popular mind, is beyond doubt. But the real originator of the First Crusade was Pope Urban, and not the hermit as the legend represents. It would appear also that the preaching of the monk took place after instead of before the great council of Clermont, spoken of in the next paragraph, and was probably confined to France.

The Councils of Piacenza and Clermont.—While the religious feelings of the Christians of the West were growing tenser day by day, the Turks in the East were making constant advances, until at last they were threatening Constantinople itself. The Emperor Alexius Comnenus sent urgent letters to the Pope, asking for aid against the infidels, representing that, unless help were extended immediately, the capital with all its holy relics must soon fall into the hands of the barbarians.

Urban called a great council of the Church at Piacenza in Italy to consider the appeal (1095). It was a vast and enthusiastic assembly, for the religious feelings of Christendom had already been deeply moved. But threatening as were the dangers that impended above the sister Church in the East, still so many other and discordant interests were represented by the different commissioners to the council, that it was impossible to concert any measures looking towards the deliverance of the Eastern Church, or the recovery of Jerusalem.

Later in the same year a new council was convened at Clermont in France, Urban purposely fixing the place of meeting among the warm-tempered and martial Franks. Archbishops and bishops,

nobles, princes, and embassadors from all parts of Europe crowded to the council. The town of Clermont could not hold the immense multitudes, which overflowed all the surrounding fields.

After the council had considered some minor matters the question which was agitating all hearts was brought before it. The pope himself was one of the chief speakers. He was possessed of the gift of eloquence, so that the man, the cause, and the occasion all contributed to the achievement of one of the greatest triumphs of human oratory. Urban pictured the humiliation and misery of the provinces of Asia; the profanation of the places made sacred by the presence and footsteps of the Son of God; and then he detailed the conquests of the Turks, until now, with all Asia Minor in their possession, they were threatening Europe from the shores of the Hellespont.

Then addressing the Franks, in whose devotion and martial spirit he placed his chief reliance, the eloquent pontiff exclaimed: "Nation, beloved of God, it is in your courage that the Christian Church has placed its hope; it is because I am well acquainted with your piety and your bravery, that I have crossed the Alps, and am come to preach the word of God in these countries. You have not forgotten that the land you inhabit has been invaded by the Saracens, and that but for the exploits of Charles Martel and Charlemagne, France would have received the laws of Mohammed. Recall, without ceasing, to your minds the danger and glory of your fathers; led by heroes whose names should never die, they delivered your country, they saved the West from shameful slavery. More noble triumphs await you, under the guidance of the God of armies: you will deliver Europe and Asia; you will save the city of Jesus Christ, — that Jerusalem which was chosen by the Lord, and from whence the Law is come to us."[1]

Here the enthusiasm of the vast assembly burst through every restraint. With one voice they cried, *Dieu le volt! Dieu le volt!*

[1] Michaud's *History of the Crusades*, Vol. I. p. 49. We may not suppose that the chronicler has preserved for us the exact words of the speaker.

"It is the will of God! It is the will of God!" "These words are indeed the inspiration of the Holy Spirit," exclaimed Urban. "They shall be your battle-cry as you go forth to the holy war." He then uplifted a cross, and added, "This is the symbol of your salvation; wear it upon your breasts or shoulders, as a pledge of your sacred engagement."

Thousands immediately affixed the cross to their garments,[1] and with solemn vows engaged to fight, and, if need be, shed their blood, in defense of the Holy Sepulchre. The fifteenth day of August of the following year was set for the departure of the expedition.

Thus was inaugurated by popular acclamation, and with the blessing of the Holy See, the First Crusade, and thus was set in motion those mighty movements which were destined to keep the population of all Europe stirred to its profoundest depths for more than two centuries.

II. The First Crusade (1096–1099).

Mustering of the Crusaders.—Through the lands of the West now rang the cry, "He who will not take up his cross and come with me, is not worthy of me." The peoples of France and Southern Italy especially were deeply stirred by the appeal, but even the population of so isolated a country as Scandinavia did not remain unmoved.

The contagion of enthusiasm seized all classes. No order or condition of life was exempt; for while the religious feelings of the age had been specially appealed to, all the various sentiments of ambition, chivalry, love of license, had also been skilfully enlisted on the side of the undertaking. The council of Clermont had declared Europe to be in a state of peace, and pronounced anathemas against any one who should invade the possessions of a prince engaged in the holy war. By further edict of Pope Urban, every one assuming the badge of the crusader was by

[1] Hence the name Crusade given to the Holy Wars, from Old French *crois*, cross.

that act, provided it had been prompted by the true spirit of self-sacrifice, absolved from all his sins, of whatever nature.

Under such inducements princes and nobles, bishops and priests, monks and anchorites, saints and sinners, rich and poor, hastened to enroll themselves beneath the consecrated banner. "Europe," says Michaud graphically, though with some exaggeration, "appeared to be a land of exile, which every one was eager to quit." Certainly never before had so much of Western Christendom been stirred by so strange an enthusiasm; nor have all the centuries since the close of the Crusades witnessed anything parallel to it.

With the public imagination so inflamed, prodigies of course were not wanting to further heighten the flame of ardor and confirm the resolution of the faithful. Signs were seen in the heavens, — gathering armies and flying hosts of men; on earth, the graves were opened, and saints and martyrs appeared among the living.

During all the winter of 1095–6 the stir of preparation might have been seen on every hand. Those who had assumed the Cross were busy finding purchasers for their property, which was often sold for the merest fraction of its real value. To the various towns appointed as rallying places the crusaders hastened singly and in bands, on horse and on foot. In the motley throngs that crowded the places of rendezvous were to be seen every manner of dress and of arms, — the habit of the monk and the stole of the bishop, the battle-ax of the mailed knight and the pike of the common soldier. But the same delirium of enthusiasm animated every breast, and the vast camps resounded day and night with the chants and songs of the Christian hosts.

The Vanguard. — Before the regular armies of the crusaders were ready to move, those who had gathered about Peter the Hermit, becoming impatient of delay, urged him to place himself at their head and lead them at once to the Holy Land. Blinded to the commonest dictates of prudence by his fanatic zeal, he assumed the leadership of the mixed multitudes, and, followed by a throng of about 80,000 persons, among whom were many women

and children, set out for Constantinople by the overland route through Germany and Hungary. In order that means of subsistence might be more easily secured, the army was divided into two bands, one of which was led by an "impecunious knight," called Walter the Penniless, and the other by the Hermit in person. It is asserted that in both companies there were only eight mounted warriors.

All through Germany the crusaders were kindly received, and their wants freely supplied. But as soon as they entered the territories of the Hungarians and Bulgarians their troubles began. These people had been converted to Christianity, but they did not share in the zeal that animated their brethren of the West of Europe. Not receiving all the provisions that their needs required, the crusaders under Walter resorted to violence to relieve their wants. Naturally the semi-Christian barbarians flew to arms, and avenged themselves by a slaughter of more than a hundred of the marauders. Taught by this chastisement to respect more carefully the rights of a martial people, the pilgrims journeyed on without any more serious losses than such as naturally resulted from the hardships and casualties of so arduous a march, and were at last gladdened by the sight of the towers of Constantinople.

The division led by Peter was far more unfortunate. The zealous Hermit could preach a Crusade, but his imprudent zeal disqualified him for leading one. Coming upon some of the mutilated bodies of the followers of Walter, he ordered a general massacre of the inhabitants of the town at whose gates the bodies were exposed. From this on the march of the crusaders was harassed by the incensed natives. Thousands of them fell in battle, and thousands more perished miserably of hunger and exposure. Upon entering the territory of Thrace, the despondent crusaders were met by messengers from Alexius, Emperor of the East, who bore messages of encouragement and friendship. Finally, haggard and in rags, they arrived beneath the walls of the capital, and there with tears of joy embraced their brethren of the army of Walter, who had been awaiting their coming.

Almost daily, as the united armies lay in front of Constantinople, their number was swollen by the arrival of fresh bands, who had followed in their footsteps. These new companies, made up of thieves, adventurers, and fanatics of all sorts, had set out on their journey without leaders or provisions, firmly believing that He whose cause they had undertaken would lead them as He led the Israelites of old, and feed them with manna from heaven. The excesses of these marauders in the countries through which they passed caused their ranks to be mercilessly thinned by the outraged natives, who looked upon them as brigands. The Hermit's army was further augmented by adventurers from the various cities of Southern Europe, who made their way to Constantinople by water.

By these various additions the motley crowd — it cannot properly be called an army — under the command of the Hermit came to number about one hundred thousand men. Discipline among them was unknown; and they soon began to commit depredations and outrages in the suburbs of the capital. Alexius became alarmed, and began to think, not without reason, that he had more to fear from the friends he had summoned to his aid than from his enemies the Turks.

To rid himself of his troublesome friends he provided boats, and helped to ferry them across the Bosphorus. Once in Asia, the crusaders gave full rein to their barbarian appetites and instincts, and pillaged and outraged indiscriminately friend and foe. Refusing to listen to the advice of either Peter or Walter, they demanded that the former should lead them against the city of Nice, which place, as we have already learned, had been made the capital of the Turkish dynasty. While upon the march to the city, they were surprised by the Turks, and all of the vast host were slaughtered, save a few thousand who found an asylum within the walls of an old castle.[1]

[1] Peter was not in the battle. It seems that, finding he possessed no control over the fanatical rabble he had gathered, he returned to Constantinople. There "he declaimed against their indocility and pride, and beheld in them

Thus perished the forlorn hope of the First Crusade. Three hundred thousand men had set out from the West; probably two thirds of these perished before reaching Constantinople; the only memorial to be seen in after years of those that crossed the Bosphorus was a great pyramid of bones on the plains of Nice, — "a deplorable monument to point out to other crusaders the road to the Holy Land."

March of the Main Body. — While the fanatical multitudes that followed Peter and Walter were rushing madly forward to their own destruction, and by their excesses not only exasperating the Hungarians and Bulgarians, and prejudicing the Greeks of the Eastern Empire against the entire crusading movement, but also exciting the contempt of their enemies, the Turks, there were gathering in the West disciplined armies composed of men worthy to be champions of the holy cause they had espoused. They were commanded by knights of heroic and chivalrous spirit, who were soon to teach the Turks that the true warriors of the West were very different men from those they had so recently and contemptuously slaughtered on the plains of Bithynia.

Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lorraine; his brothers, Baldwin and Eustace; Robert II., Duke of Normandy; Raymond of Toulouse; Bohemond, Prince of Taranto; and his nephew Tancred, "the mirror of knighthood," were the most noted of the leaders of the different divisions of the army. The expedition numbered about 300,000 men, of whom many were full-mailed knights.

The zeal and devotion of the Christian people of Western Europe were wonderfully exhibited in the sacrifices made in raising and equipping this splendid army for the execution of their pious undertaking. Wealthy nobles had exchanged their paternal estates for the equipment of themselves and their followers. Robert of Normandy had mortgaged his domains to his brother William, king of England. The contributions of charity had helped to fit out those too poor to meet the expense of their arms.

nothing but brigands, whom God had deemed unworthy to contemplate or adore the tomb of his Son." — MICHAUD.

As the country through which they were to pass could not afford provisions or forage for the whole body of crusaders, it was arranged that they should march in divisions by different routes, and re-assemble at Constantinople. Godfrey of Bouillon, at the head of one division, marched directly through Germany and Hungary. Raymond of Toulouse led another band by a more southerly route through Dalmatia. Other companies crossed the Alps, and embarked with the warriors of Italy from the various ports of the peninsula. The incidents of the march or voyage of the various bands were varied and often romantic, but still more frequently gloomy and harassing. All these matters we must pass now, and content ourselves with watching the remustering of the various companies in front of the gates of Constantinople.

Alexius had had his fears awakened by the marauding bands of the Hermit. These fears now mounted into real alarm when he learned the immense number of the armies that had appointed his capital as their rendezvous. He wanted help, but not so much. He had neither wished nor thought that his defenders would come in such enormous crowds as to endanger his empire.

While striving to conceal his fears, the Emperor secretly did everything in his power to impede and annoy the march of his deliverers. Upon the arrival of the crusaders at Constantinople, he tried to persuade their leaders to swear fealty to him as their overlord. This they at first refused to do; but finally, by means of flattery and bribes, he induced all the princes save Tancred to pay him homage. But the homage thus paid was rather in form than spirit, for the hardy warriors of the West held the effeminate Greeks in ill-concealed contempt. Alexius did all in his power to hasten the crusaders' passage of the Bosphorus, and breathed freely only after his deliverers were all on the opposite side of the straits.

The Capture of Nice (1097).—The army of Latin warriors that mustered on the plains of Bithynia was the most formidable host that Europe had ever sent against Asia,—such an army, indeed, as all the centuries since have never seen precipitated by the West

upon the East. Besides the full-mailed mounted warriors and the regular foot-soldiers, there was a large number of women and children composing the families of the chiefs, and a great multitude of servants and attendants, which swelled the aggregate to enormous figures. Gibbon, even with the vast armaments of Xerxes in mind, is inclined to believe that "a larger number has never been contained within the lines of a single camp." One cannot help contrasting the meagre achievements of this vast host with the splendid results effected by Alexander with the little band of 35,000 with which he crossed the Hellespont fourteen hundred years before.

The crusaders advanced across the plains of Bithynia, which were whitened with the bones of their brethren who had preceded them, to the siege of the Turkish capital, Nice. Not only was the city defended by heavy walls and a strong garrison, but a supporting army of 100,000 barbarians lay in its immediate neighborhood.

In their encounter with these outside forces, as well as in their assaults upon the walls of the city itself, the crusaders exhibited all that intrepid valor that has given such an heroic and even romantic cast to the records of the Holy Wars. But it must be added that they also displayed a ferocity of spirit but little in keeping with the nature of their pious undertaking. Having slain a thousand Turks, the Christians cut off their heads, and by means of their catapults hurled them over the ramparts into the city. The Turks retaliated by stripping the prisoners in their hands, and shooting them from their engines into the Christian camp.

Finally, as soon as it became evident that the capital could withstand the assaults of the besiegers but a few days longer, Alexius sent secret emissaries into the city to persuade the Turkish garrison to surrender to the Greeks rather than to the Latins, assuring them protection against the violence of his rough allies. They did this; and just at the moment when the crusaders were about to make a final assault upon the city, and were anticipating the license of its sack and pillage, the imperial flag was raised

upon its walls. The Latins were naturally enraged at the duplicity and ingratitude of the Emperor. "They had beaten the fruit from the tree, but it had fallen into the hands of Alexius." Bound by the oaths of fealty which they had just taken, the chiefs, however, could do nothing to revenge the meanness of their recently acknowledged suzerain.

We shall need to bear in mind the mutual distrust and hatred engendered between the Latins and the Greeks by the lawless acts of the followers of Peter the Hermit, and by the selfish and treacherous conduct of Alexius, in order to understand certain events to which our attention will soon be called.

March across Asia Minor. — From the city of Nice the crusaders, marching in two divisions on account of scarcity of food and forage, set out for Syria. They were harassed by the Turks, who, at a place called Dorylæum, in Phrygia, fell upon and nearly overwhelmed one of the columns before the other could render assistance. But the prowess of the Christian knights at last achieved a complete victory over the Turkish hordes.

After this defeat the barbarians did not risk another encounter, but resorted to desolating the country in front of the Latin army. So thoroughly was the work done, that the crusaders marched for five hundred miles through a land deserted alike by friend and foe, and which yielded scarcely anything for themselves or their animals. Almost all their horses died, and their own ranks were terribly thinned. The line of their march between Nice and Antioch, in Northern Syria, was marked by the bones of nearly one half the mighty host that had mustered on the plains of Bithynia.

The Capture of Antioch. — Arriving at Antioch, at this time one of the most populous cities of the East, the crusaders at once invested the place. After a siege of seven months, the city was treacherously surrendered into their hands by a Greek traitor who had gained the confidence of the Turkish commander, and been given the defense of an important portion of the walls (1098).

The Pious Fraud. — Scarcely were the Christians in possession of the city, before they were themselves besieged by an immense

army, two hundred thousand strong, gathered from almost all the Moslem countries of Asia. They were quite soon reduced to the very last extremity of starvation and despair. Ready to die, they cursed God for deserting them, when they had given up all for his holy cause: "If thou art still an all-powerful God," they cried piteously, "what has become of thy justice? Are we not thy children, are we not thy soldiers? . . . If thou abandon those who fight for thee, who will dare henceforth to range themselves under thy sacred banners?" — MICHAUD.

A pious fraud was all that delivered the city from the power of the Mussulman host. A priest, Barthelemy by name, gave out that it had been revealed to him that, buried beneath the altar of one of the churches, would be found the lance that pierced the side of the Saviour, which would give the Christians certain victory over their enemies. Upon search, the spear-head was found, and instantly, at sight of the holy relic, an uncontrollable enthusiasm thrilled the breasts of the crusaders. They seized their arms, and with the holy lance at their head as their standard, rushed from the gates of the city, and falling upon the enemy with a fury nothing could withstand, scattered the enormous host with terrific slaughter.

The camp of the infidels, which became a spoil, exhibited furniture and apparel of such magnificence as the rude Frankish warriors had never seen before. Among the spoils was the tent of the prince of Mosul, glittering with costly gems. It was made to represent a city with walls and towers, and was capable of holding two thousand people. This famous trophy was sent to Italy as a specimen of the magnificence and luxury of the East.

The Ordeal of Barthelemy. — Having purified the churches of Antioch, — for they had been profaned by having been used as mosques by the Turks, — and reëstablished the worship of the Cross in that city, where the proselytes of the faith had first been called Christians, the crusaders, animated with new zeal by the marvelous victory granted to their arms through the special favor, as they believed, of Heaven, demanded to be led at once to the

capture of Jerusalem. The terror and panic which their defeat had inspired in the Mussulmans would have rendered the city at this moment an easy prize.

But, unfortunately, many of the Christian leaders were influenced by selfish and ambitious motives, and, neglectful of their vows, allowed almost a year to pass while they were engaged in undertakings against the different cities around, with the object of making conquests that would enable them to set up little feudal kingdoms for themselves.

Meanwhile, various differences among the body of crusaders resulted in the formation of bitter factions. Thus the miracles and visions constantly reported by the more superstitious and credulous were discredited and denied by others, either from jealousy or because they thought it a shame that such deceptions should be tolerated. Barthelemy was accused of falsehood in the matter of the holy lance. He proposed to submit to the judgment of fire. Accordingly two great fires were built upon the plain, so close together that the flames mingled. When all was ready, the priests advanced, bearing the holy relic. A brother priest then read the usual appeal: "If this man has seen Jesus Christ face to face, and if the apostle Andrew did reveal the divine lance to him, may he pass safe and sound through the flames; but if, on the contrary, he is guilty of falsehood, may he be burnt, together with the lance which he bears in his hand."

Then Barthelemy, after solemnly declaring that all he had told was true, rushed between the flames. He passed through, but was so badly burned that he lived only a little while after the ordeal. This judgment of Heaven was considered by most as a final settlement of the dispute, and thereafter the holy spear ceased to be reverenced.

We have taken space to narrate the history of this miraculous lance, because, better than anything else, it illustrates the superstitions, the credulity, and the customs of the men who were engaged in the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre.

The Capture of Jerusalem. — Whilst the crusaders were wasting

their time in Northern Syria, the Egyptian Caliph, taking advantage of the panic which the victory of the Christians had produced among the Turks, had recaptured Jerusalem. When the Latin warriors, finally mindful of their vows, recommenced their march for the Holy City, he sent an embassy to them, proposing that they join their forces in a united war against the Turks. The crusaders replied that their oaths bound them to deliver the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of all infidels, Saracens as well as Turks, and to establish in the birthplace of their religion a Christian sovereignty; and in reply to his promises that all unarmed Christians should have free access to the holy places, they recalled to the mind of the Caliph that one of the rulers (Hákem) of his own house had even surpassed the Turks in the atrocities perpetrated upon Christian pilgrims.

So the army of deliverers pressed on towards Jerusalem. As they neared the object of all their toils and sufferings, every discord was hushed in their ranks, and the enthusiasm that had animated them in the first days of their enterprise again inflamed every heart. Scarcely would they take needed repose, but frequently continued their march through the night. Finally, in the first light of a June morning, 1099, as their columns gained the brow of a hill, the walls and towers of the Holy City burst upon their view. A perfect delirium of joy seized the crusaders. The cry "Jerusalem! Jerusalem!" ran through their ranks. They embraced one another with tears of joy, and even embraced and kissed the ground on which they stood. As they pressed on, they took off their shoes, and marched with uncovered head and bare feet, singing the words of the prophet: "Jerusalem, lift up thine eyes, and behold the liberator who comes to break thy chains."

The Saracens had taken every precaution to secure the city against attack. A strong army of forty thousand men had been thrown within its walls. Its defences had been strengthened, and all the surrounding country laid waste, even the springs of water having been poisoned, that there might be nothing for the subsistence of a besieging army. But the Christians at once advanced,

and laid siege to the place. Timber needed for the construction of assaulting engines was brought from a distance of twenty or thirty miles. A Genoese fleet which at this moment landed at Jaffa furnished additional material and instruments, besides skilled workmen.

The first assault made by the Christians was repulsed. But the appearance of a mysterious horseman on the Mount of Olives led the crusaders to believe that St. George had come to lead them to victory; and with a reckless enthusiasm that struck dismay into the hearts of the Moslems, the Christians again threw themselves against the walls of the city. Nothing could withstand their terrific onset. The ramparts were swept of their defenders, and the city was in the hands of the crusaders (1099).

A terrible slaughter of the infidels now took place. In the very midst of the massacre the example of one of their leaders caused the crusaders to pause in their terrible work, to weep and pray at the Holy Sepulchre. This transport of pious enthusiasm over, they were again seized with the delirium of mad vengeance and slaughter. For seven days the carnage went on, at the end of which time scarcely any of the Moslem faith were left alive. The Christians took possession of the houses and property of the infidels, each soldier having a right to that which he had first seized and placed his mark upon. The poorest crusader suddenly found himself a householder and surrounded with luxury.

Thus was Jerusalem in the course of a few days converted from a Moslem capital into a Christian city, with a population of Latin warriors gathered from the most remote countries of the West.[1]

[1] In the narrative of William of Tyre, Peter the Hermit is here once more brought to our notice. He entered Jerusalem with the army of deliverers. It was five years since, according to the legend, he had left the native Christians of the city with the promise that he would arouse for their succor the warriors of the West. They now saw the remarkable fulfilment of that vow; and are represented as falling, with tears of joy and gratitude, at the feet of the holy hermit, and praising God for the wonderful things He had wrought through his instrumentality.

Never before had a city been delivered from the hands of its enemies by such a miracle of religious enthusiasm — through such incredible exploits, such vast sacrifices, such terrible sufferings and losses.

Founding of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. — No sooner was Jerusalem in the hands of the crusaders than they set themselves to the task of organizing a government for the city and country they had conquered. In this matter they displayed such deliberation and wisdom as we should hardly expect in them, after the exhibition that we have witnessed of their fanaticism and imprudent zeal.

The government which they established was a sort of feudal league, known as the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. At its head was placed Godfrey of Bouillon, the most valiant and devoted of the crusader knights. The prince refused the title and vestments of royalty, declaring that he would never wear a crown of gold in the city where his Lord and Master had worn a crown of thorns. The only title he would accept was that of "Defender of the Holy Sepulchre."

This little Latin kingdom, established by such labors and sacrifices, embraced about a score of cities scattered throughout a region whose limits would very nearly coincide with the boundaries of ancient Palestine. As a reward for their valor, Tancred and others of the chiefs of the crusaders received the government of different towns and castles. Many, also, of the Latin ecclesiastics who had accompanied the army were recompensed for their sufferings and devotion, at the expense of the Greek priests.

The fortunes of this little Latin kingdom will appear as we proceed with the recital of the Holy Wars.

Close of the First Crusade. — Scarcely had the crusaders organized the government of this little principality before they were informed of the advance of an immense army, collected from almost every part of the Mohammedan world, to avenge the slaughter of their brethren in the taking of Jerusalem. Without awaiting their near approach, the Christians, who now could muster

not more than twenty thousand effective soldiers, marched out of the city, and met the Moslem host on the plains of Ascalon. Here again was performed the miracle of faith and enthusiasm. By the furious charge of that little handful of Christian knights, the Mohammedan hosts were scattered like chaff before the wind.

This victory of Ascalon, which was perhaps the most wonderful achievement of the Latin warriors, marks the last great battle of the First Crusade. Many of the crusaders, considering their vows to deliver the Holy City as fulfilled, now set out on their return to their homes; some making their way back by sea, and some by land. Godfrey, Tancred, and a few hundred other knights, were all that stayed behind to maintain the conquests that had been made, and to act as guardians of the Holy Sepulchre. Tradition says that Peter the Hermit was among those who returned, and that retiring to the solitude of a monastery in France, he there ended his days, faithful to his religious vows.

The arrival of the returning crusaders in their native countries, and their stories of the lands they had seen, of the exploits they had performed, of rich fiefs won in a day by knightly valor, again stirred all the West with the same delirium of enthusiasm that had thrilled it at the preaching of the Hermit. And now were repeated the scenes that marked the beginning of the Crusade. Great multitudes flocked to the standard of the Cross, and without proper organization or leadership, pushed across Europe to Constantinople. From that capital they set out in three bands on their march across Asia Minor. Each of these was in turn almost annihilated by the Turks, and of the 200,000 estimated to have made up the companies, only a few thousand ever found their way back to Europe. This ill-starred expedition marks the end of the First Crusade. It is estimated that during its progress the West lost more than one million of its warriors.

III. The Second Crusade (1147–1149).

Condition of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. — There was an interval of about half a century between the First and the

Second Crusade, which latter was inspired by the threatened destruction of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

After the return of the main body of the crusaders, the position of Godfrey and his companion knights was a very critical one. Upon every side the little Christian state was pressed by watchful and vindictive Moslem foes. Under Godfrey and his successors, Baldwin I. and Baldwin II., the crusader knights were constantly busied in defending the cities of their domains against the attacks of the Saracens and Turks, or in reducing to obedience the places still held by the enemy. Tiberias, Cæsarea, Ptolemais, Ascalon, Berytus, Sidon, Tyre, and many other places were wrenched from the Mohammedans, and the limits of the Christian kingdom thus extended in every direction.

With their zeal inflamed by daily visions and miracles, the Frankish knights performed prodigies of valor that seem to belong rather to the recitals of romance than to the sober narrations of history. "Armed," as an old writer says, "by faith within and steel without," they seemed to bear charmed lives. Constantly they were engaged in battle with the Turks and Arabs, flying by day and by night to the defence of the opposite frontiers of the little kingdom. A few hundred Franks often scattered tens of thousands of the enemy; the mail-clad knights, indeed, scarcely ever failing, no matter what the odds, to bear down and override everything that opposed itself to the fury of their onset.

Origin of the Three Military and Religious Orders. — It was about this time that the three great religious military orders, known as the Hospitalers, the Templars, and the Teutonic Knights, were formed.

The Hospitalers, or Knights of St. John, took their name from the fact that the organization was first formed among the monks of the Hospital of St. John, at Jerusalem; while the Templars, or Knights of the Temple, were so called on account of one of the buildings of the brotherhood occupying the site of Solomon's Temple. The objects of both orders were the care of the sick and wounded crusaders, the entertainment of Christian pilgrims,

the guarding of the holy places, and ceaseless battling for the Cross. In the case of the Hospitalers, it was monks who added to their ordinary monastic vows those of Knighthood; and in the case of the Templars, it was knights who added to their military vows those of religion.

These fraternities soon acquired a military fame that was spread throughout the Christian world. They were joined by many of the most illustrious knights of the West, and through the gifts of the pious acquired great wealth, and became possessed of numerous foundations in Europe as well as in Asia.

A little later (in 1189) the order of the Teutonic Knights had its origin in a charitable association of philanthropic Germans, the immediate object of which was the relief of the sick and wounded German warriors in the trenches before Acre, which place the Christians were then besieging. The members of the society were soon raised by the German Emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, to the order of Knighthood, and then the fraternity began its remarkable military career as the champion of Christianity, first against the infidels of Asia, and afterwards against the pagans of Northern Europe.

The Fall of Edessa. — After the death of Godfrey and the first two Baldwins, the little Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem was weakened by dissensions among the knights and barons, and its assailants became more successful in their attacks upon it. Finally, in the year 1146, the city of Edessa was taken by the Turks, and the entire population slaughtered, or sold into slavery. This city had always been looked upon as the bulwark of the Latin Kingdom on the side towards Mesopotamia. Its fall not only carried terror and dismay through all the cities of Palestine, but threw the entire West into a state of the greatest apprehension and alarm, lest the little Christian state, established at such cost of tears and suffering, should be completely overwhelmed, and all the holy places should again fall into the hands of the infidels.

Preaching of St. Bernard. — The scenes that marked the opening of the First Crusade were now repeated in all the countries of

the West. St. Bernard, an eloquent monk, was the second Peter the Hermit, who went everywhere, arousing the warriors of the Cross to the defense of the birthplace of their religion. The contagion of the holy enthusiasm seized not alone barons, knights, and the common people, which classes alone participated in the First Crusade, but kings and emperors were now infected with the sacred frenzy. Conrad III., Emperor of Germany, was persuaded to leave the affairs of his distracted empire in the hands of God, and consecrate himself to the defense of the sepulchre of Christ. Louis VII., king of France, was led to undertake the crusade through remorse for an act of great cruelty that he had perpetrated upon some of his revolted subjects.

The deed which so preyed upon the mind of Louis was the burning of thirteen hundred people in a church, whither they had fled for refuge. St. Bernard had awakened the conscience and fears of the guilty king, by threatening him with the curse of the Church and all the terrors of Hell. The call for aid coming at just this time from the Christians of the East, the king resolved to lead an expedition to their relief, hoping thus to wipe the stain of his awful guilt from his soul.

The expenses of the new crusade were met by the gifts of the pious, by the testaments of the dying, — who often left their entire estates to be devoted to the prosecution of the Holy Wars, — by the robbery of the Jews, by the enormous contributions of the churches and various religious houses, and by taxes levied upon all classes. Many of the barons and knights, following the example of the first crusaders, sold or mortgaged their lands to raise money to equip themselves and their vassals.

Treachery of the Greek Emperor. — In the spring of 1147, Louis, attended by his queen Eleanor and many other gentle ladies equipped as knights, set out at the head of an army of 100,000 for Constantinople, where he was to join the German Emperor and the other army of crusaders. The throne of the Eastern Empire was at this time held by Manuel Comnenus, a grandson of Alexius I. This prince possessed the same selfish

and treacherous disposition that characterized his ancestor, and was animated by a similar fear and hatred of the Latins. While supplying the crusaders with provisions with one hand, he was, with the other, casting every obstacle in the way of their march. So indignant were the Latin warriors at the perfidy of the hypocritical Emperor, that some of the Frankish chiefs proposed that they should take possession of Constantinople, and make it the seat of a Latin empire. It seemed to these martial princes a burning shame that the weak and cowardly Greeks should be permitted to obstruct the passage to the Holy Land of the warriors who were marching to the rescue of those sacred places which these degenerate Christians had shamefully allowed to fall into the hands of the infidels.

The counsels, however, of the more moderate princes, who exhorted their companions not to turn against their own brethren those arms that they had assumed to fight the unbelievers, at length prevailed; and the crusaders, suppressing their indignation, crossed the Bosphorus into Asia Minor. They here pursued their march in two divisions, the Germans taking one route and the French another. The former were misled and betrayed by their Greek guides, and either died miserably of famine, or were cut to pieces by the swords of the Turks. Conrad and the merest handful of his followers escaped, the disheartened Emperor returning to Constantinople.

The French division shared quite as hard a fate. While entangled among the mountains of Phrygia, they were attacked by the Turks, and great multitudes were slain. The inhabitants of the Greek cities refused to open their gates to the survivors, and without pity saw them die of starvation and exposure beneath their walls. Louis, fortunately securing some vessels at the port of Attalia, succeeded in reaching Antioch with a small remnant of his army. Hence he proceeded to Palestine, where he was joined by the Emperor. The siege of Damascus, which was now undertaken, proved unsuccessful, and the Second Crusade ended with this futile enterprise.

IV. The Third Crusade (1189–1192).

Capture of Jerusalem by Saladin. — The Third Crusade was caused by the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin, the Sultan of Egypt, whose authority was at this time recognized by many of the Mussulman states of Asia. This event occurred in the year 1187. The intelligence of the disaster caused the greatest consternation and grief throughout Christendom.

Three of the great sovereigns of Europe, Frederick Barbarossa of Germany, Philip Augustus of France, and Richard I. of England, assumed the Cross, and set out, each at the head of a large army, for the recovery of the Holy City.

The English king, Richard, afterwards given the title of *Cœur de Lion*, the "Lion-hearted," in memory of his heroic exploits in Palestine, was the central figure among the Christian knights of this crusade. He raised money for the enterprise by the persecution and robbery of the Jews; by the imposition of an unusual tax upon all classes; and by the sale of offices, dignities, and the royal lands. When some one expostulated with him on the means employed to raise money, he declared that "he would sell the city of London, if he could find a purchaser."

The Siege of Acre. — The German army, attempting the overland route, after meeting with the usual troubles in Europe from the perfidy of the Greeks, was consumed in Asia Minor by the hardships of the march and the swords of the Turks. The Emperor Frederick, according to the most probable accounts, was drowned while crossing a swollen stream, and the most of the survivors of his army, disheartened by the loss of their leader, returned to Germany. Only a few thousand ever saw the Holy Land. The English and French kings — the first sovereigns of these two countries who had joined their arms in a common cause — embarked their troops from the southern ports of France, and, after delays in the islands of Sicily and Cyprus, finally mustered their forces beneath the walls of Acre, which city the Christians were then besieging. It is estimated that 600,000 men were en-

gaged in the investment of the place. After one of the longest and most costly sieges they ever carried on in Asia, the crusaders at last forced the place to capitulate, in spite of all the efforts of Saladin to render the garrison relief.

Richard and Philip. — The arrogant and perfidious conduct of Richard led to an open quarrel between him and Philip. The latter determined to retire from the war rather than continue the enterprise in connection with so haughty and ungenerous a rival. Accordingly he returned to France. Such is the account of the matter as given by the French writers, while the English chroniclers declare that Philip's action was prompted solely by his jealousy of the superior military ability of the English king.

Richard and Saladin. — The knightly adventures and chivalrous exploits which mark the career of Richard in the Holy Land, after the retirement of Philip from the field, read like a romance. Nor was the chief of the Mohammedans, the renowned Saladin, lacking in any of those knightly virtues with which the writers of the time invested the character of the English hero. About these two names gather very many of those tales of chivalric valor and honor with which the chroniclers of the crusades so liberally embellished this period of history.

Thus it is told that these two champions of the opposing faiths each held in such estimation the prowess and character of the other, that they frequently exchanged the most generous courtesies and knightly compliments. One was often a guest in the tent of the other. At one time when Richard was sick with a fever, Saladin, knowing that he was poorly supplied with delicacies, sent him a gift of the choicest fruits of the land. And on another occasion, Richard's horse having been killed in battle, the Sultan caused a fine Arabian steed to be led to the Christian camp as a present for his rival.

Richard's Captivity. — For two years did Richard the Lion-hearted contend in almost daily combat with his generous antagonist for the possession of the tomb of Christ. But the Christian hero was destined never to bow his knee at the shrine for the control

of which he so valiantly battled. He finally concluded a truce of three years and eight months with Saladin, which provided that the Christians during that period should have free access to the holy places, and remain in undisturbed possession of the coast from Jaffa to Tyre.

Refusing even to look upon the city which he could not win with his sword, Richard now set out for home. But while traversing Germany in disguise, he was discovered and arrested by Leopold of Austria, for Richard had made the Duke, as well as many other princes, his implacable enemy by his imperious and overbearing disposition. Eventually he was given into the hands of Henry VI., the German Emperor, who was also Richard's enemy on account of some ill-treatment received at his hands. Henry cast his prisoner into a dungeon, and notwithstanding the outcry of all Europe that the champion of Christianity should suffer such treatment at the hands of a brother prince, refused to release him without an enormous ransom.

The English people, such was their hatred of John, the brother of Richard, who during his absence had virtually usurped the throne, and so great their admiration for the hero whose prowess had reflected such lustre upon English knighthood, set themselves to raise the sum demanded, even stripping the churches of their plate to make up the amount; and the lion-hearted crusader was at last set free, and finally reached England, where he was received with acclamations and unbounded joy.[1]

[1] There is a story of somewhat doubtful authenticity which tells how Richard's place of imprisonment was discovered by a friend called Blondel, who traveled as a troubadour through Germany, seeking information as to where Richard was confined. Being told that a captive of rank was kept in a certain castle, he stationed himself beneath the window of the tower, and sang one of the couplets of a song composed by Richard and himself. Immediately Richard made response by singing the second couplet, and thus revealed himself to his friend.

V. The Fourth Crusade[1] (1202–1204).

The Crusaders bargain with the Venetians. — None of the Crusades after the Third effected much in the Holy Land; either their force was spent before reaching it, or they were diverted from their purpose by different objects and ambitions. Among the most noted leaders of the Fourth Crusade was Baldwin IV., Count of Flanders, and Boniface II., Marquis of Montferrat, to which latter prince was assigned the chief command. It was determined to proceed by sea, and a contract was accordingly made with the Venetians for vessels and supplies for the voyage. But unfortunately the crusaders had promised to pay a larger sum than they were able to raise, and even after the nobles had generously given up their plate and ornaments, they still lacked a large amount.

The Venetians now proposed in lieu of money to accept the aid of the crusaders in punishing the recent revolt of the city of Zara in Dalmatia, upon the eastern shore of the Adriatic. The crusaders consented, being very ready to pay a debt by the loan of their swords. The Pope was very much angered that they should thus turn aside from the object of the expedition, and threatened them with all the thunders of the Church, but without effect. They rendered the proposed assistance, and thus discharged their obligation to the Venetians.

Capture of Constantinople by the Latins. — An event which happened just at this time at Constantinople turned the faces of the crusaders towards that city instead of Jerusalem. A revolt had placed a usurper upon the Byzantine throne. The rightful claimant, Alexius, besought the aid of the Frankish warriors to regain the sceptre. As the champion of the unfortunate and wronged, the Christian knights listened favorably to the appeals of Alexius.

[1] During the years 1195–1198 Henry VI. of Germany headed an army of German crusaders, which, before leading it to Palestine, he first employed in the conquest of Naples, and there sowed the seeds of future discord between that country and Germany. This expedition is sometimes reckoned as the fourth crusade, and thus the number increased to nine.

His promises to aid them in the conquest of Jerusalem were also of great weight with them. The Venetians, in consideration of a share of the conquests that might be made, also joined their forces to those of the crusaders. The armament, consisting of over three hundred ships, bearing about forty thousand warriors, rounded the southern point of Greece, threaded the Ægean archipelago, and finally cast anchor within sight of Constantinople. The city was taken by storm, and Alexius was invested with the Imperial authority.

Scarcely was Alexius seated upon the throne, before the turbulent Greeks engaged in a revolt which resulted in his death. The crusaders, who seem by this time to have quite forgotten the object for which they had originally set out, now resolved to take possession of the capital, and set a Latin prince on the throne of Constantine. The determination was carried out. Constantinople was taken a second time by storm, and sacked, and Baldwin was crowned Emperor of the East.

Thus were the apprehensions of the Alexius who reigned at the time of the First Crusade realized; and thus did the Latins avenge themselves for a long succession of betrayals and atrocities on the part of the Greeks. A large portion of the provinces and cities of the Byzantine Empire that had not yet been torn away from it by the barbarians of Asia or Europe were now parcelled out among the Frankish knights, three eighths of the Empire, however, being reserved as the share of the Republic of Venice.

The Latin Empire thus established lasted only a little over half a century (1204–1261). The Greeks, at the end of this period, succeeded in regaining the throne, which they then held until the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453.

VI. The Children's Crusade (1212).

During the interval between the Fourth and Fifth Crusades, the epidemical fanaticism that had so long agitated Europe seized upon the children, resulting in what is known as the Children's Crusade.

Nothing better illustrates the spirit of the times than this singular movement.

The preacher of this crusade was a child about twelve years of age, a peasant lad, named Stephen of Cloyes, from his birthplace near Orleans. The boy, who had a bright mind and a singularly sensitive spirit, appears to have been strangely stirred by what he heard and saw about him, — by the stories of the returned crusaders, the appeals of the preachers of a new crusade, and the mournful processions of the Church, symbolizing the captivity of Jerusalem. He brooded over these things until, like Joan of Arc, he was ready to see visions and hear voices. While in this frame of mind, he was visited by a priest, who represented that he was Jesus Christ, and commanded him to lead a crusade of children to the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre; assuring him that the victory which, on account of their pride and sins, had been withheld from the kings and princes who had hitherto engaged in the Holy Wars, would be granted to the children. To them would be given the honor of rescuing the sacred tomb from the hands of the infidels.

The child, fully believing that the stranger was a messenger from heaven, straightway set about the accomplishment of his commission. Repairing to the tomb of St. Denis, near Paris, a noted place of pilgrimage, he began to preach a children's crusade. In great amaze the pilgrims to the shrine crowded about the child preacher, listened with the greatest credulity to the story that he told of the appearance to him of the angel, and of the commission he had received, and became satisfied that God had indeed called the child.

A sort of frenzy now quickly overspread France and Germany, the children being the chief subjects of the contagion. Everywhere minor prophets, as they were called, sprang up, and imitated the preaching of Stephen. The children became wild with excitement. To the places appointed for rendezvous — Vendôme in France and Cologne in Germany — they flocked in vast crowds from all quarters. The greater number came from the homes of

the peasantry, but many were also drawn from the castles of the nobles. Nothing could restrain them or thwart their purpose. "Even bolts and bars," says the chronicler, "could not hold them."

The movement excited the most diverse views. Some declared that it was inspired by the Holy Spirit, and quoted such Scriptural texts as these to justify the enthusiasm: "A child shall lead them;" "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast ordained praise." The calling of the boy Samuel was also cited as a parallel case. Others, however, were quite as confident that the whole thing was the work of the Devil.

So while some attempted to restrain the children, others encouraged them in their mad enterprise. Philip Augustus, king of France, tried in a feeble way to put a stop to the insane movement; but it was a dangerous thing in those superstitious times for one to oppose a crusade, no matter what might be its character.

The great majority of those who collected at the rallying-places were boys under twelve years of age. But there were also many girls, besides a considerable number of fanatical monks and designing priests, as well as old men and women. "Men of gray hairs and of tottering steps," says the historian of the movement, "were seized with the contagion, and in their second childhood imitated the ardor and credulity of that which had long since passed away."

The German children, that had gathered to the number of about 40,000 at Cologne, under the leadership of a boy named Nicholas, were the first to move. They divided into two bodies. One division, 20,000 strong, marching up the Rhine, through a country then wild and inhospitable, approached the Alps beneath the pass of Mount Cenis. Before they sighted the mountains, one half of their number had died, or fallen out by the way. Beneath the toil and exposure of the passage of the Alps many more of the children perished. The remnant of the little crusaders at length emerged from the mountains upon the plains of

Italy. The inhabitants of those plains had witnessed many a strange apparition of Gallic, Punic, Teutonic, and Hunnic hosts, but never before had they seen defiling from the gorges of the Alps an army of such warriors as these.

The children directed their course to Genoa, firmly believing, as the preachers of the crusade had assured them, that the great drought which was then afflicting Europe was intended to dry up the Mediterranean, and that they would either find a passage to Jerusalem thus prepared, or God would miraculously open a way for them, as he did for the Children of Israel at the Red Sea.

The morning after their arrival in the city, the children hastened to the shore, confidently expecting to find a way through the sea ready for them. As they looked in vain for the opening in the waves, discouragement settled over their spirits, and they awoke to the fact that they had been deceived.

Some now returned home; others sought situations in the city; while a few, more resolute than the rest, pushed on to Pisa and Rome. From the former port a few sailed for the Holy Land. "Such of these," says Michaud, "as reached Ptolemais [Acre] must have created terror as well as astonishment, by making the Christians of the East believe that Europe had no longer any government or laws, no longer any prudent men, either in the courts of princes, or those of the Church."

Those reaching Rome were kindly received by the Pope, who persuaded them to give up their enterprise and return to their homes, impressing upon their minds, however, that they could not be released from the vows they had made, which they must fulfil when they became men.

The second division of German children, 20,000 in number, crossed the Alps by the St. Gothard pass, and marched along the eastern coast of Italy to Brundusium, scanning the sea eagerly at every port for the miraculous pathway. From Brundusium 2,000 or 3,000 of the little crusaders sailed away into oblivion. Not a word ever came back from them.

The French children — about 30,000 in number — that had gath-

ered about the prophet Stephen, at Vendôme, set out from that place for Marseilles. Stephen, whose head seemed to have been turned by the success which attended his preaching, rode in great state in a chariot, attended by an escort of young nobles, who paid him the reverence and homage due a superior and sacred being. The march across France was a most fatiguing one, and the prophet had much trouble in keeping up the spirits of his followers. They had no idea of the distance of the Holy Land, and seeming to forget that the sea lay between them and it, whenever a city came in sight would ask eagerly whether it were not Jerusalem.

Arriving at Marseilles, the children were bitterly disappointed that the sea did not open and give them a passage to Palestine. The greater part, discouraged and undeceived, now returned home; but 5,000 or 6,000, accepting gladly the seemingly generous offer of two merchants of the city, who proposed to take them to the Holy Land free of charge, crowded into seven small ships, and sailed out of the port of Marseilles.

For eighteen years not a word was heard of the little crusaders, and they were mourned as dead. Then there appeared in Europe an aged priest, who stated that he was one of the company that embarked from Marseilles, and told how the children had been betrayed by the traders, and sold as slaves in Alexandria and other Mohammedan slave-markets. A part of them, however, had been spared this fate, having perished in the shipwreck of two of the vessels that bore them from Marseilles.

This remarkable spectacle of the children's crusade affords the most striking exhibition possible of the ignorance, superstition, and fanaticism that characterized the period. Yet we cannot but reverence the holy enthusiasm of an age that could make such sacrifices of innocence and helplessness in obedience to what was believed to be the will of God.

The children's expedition marked at once the culmination and the decline of the crusading movement. The fanatic zeal that inspired the first crusaders was already dying out. "These children," said the Pope, referring to the young crusaders, "reproach

us with having fallen asleep, whilst they were flying to the assistance of the Holy Land."[1]

VII. Close of the Crusades: Their Results.

The Minor Crusades. — The last four expeditions — the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth — undertaken by the Christians of Europe against the infidels of the East, may be conveniently grouped as the Minor Crusades. They were marked by a less fervid and holy enthusiasm than characterized the first movements, and exhibit among those taking part in them the greatest variety of objects and ambitions.

The Fifth Crusade (1216–1220) was organized and led by the kings of Hungary and Cyprus, who were aided by the Christian princes of Syria. Its strength was wasted in Egypt, and it resulted in nothing.

The Sixth Crusade (1227–1229), headed by Frederick II. of Germany, was more successful. The Emperor succeeded in securing from the Saracens the restoration of Jerusalem, together with several other cities of Palestine. After having crowned himself head of the little Latin Kingdom, he returned to Europe.

The Seventh Crusade (1249–1254) was under the lead of Louis IX. of France, surnamed the Saint. It was undertaken in fulfilment of a vow made by the king during a serious illness when he despaired of recovery through ordinary means. By appeals to their pride and to their chivalrous and religious feelings, Louis succeeded in enlisting a great number of his vassal nobles in the enterprise.

Landing in Egypt, the French forces met with a disastrous defeat at the hands of the Saracens, and the king, with a large part of his army, was taken prisoner. Purchasing the release of himself and his companions with an enormous ransom, Louis made

[1] There is some variation in the different accounts that we have of the above movement. We have followed, in part, Michaud, but more closely Gray, in his work entitled the "Children's Crusade."

his way to Palestine, where for four years he devoted himself to strengthening the defenses of the places held by the Christian knights, and to infusing spirit and regularity into the administration of the government of the little State.

The Eighth Crusade (1270–1272) was incited by the fresh misfortunes that, towards the close of the thirteenth century, befell the Christian kingdom in Palestine. Unfortunately dissensions had arisen there among the Christians themselves, and the Hospitalers and the Templars had turned their arms against each other. Whilst the Christians were thus wasting their strength in unseemly quarrels, Syria was invaded by the Mamelukes of Egypt. One after another the Christian places fell into their hands, until Antioch, in the north, was finally taken and sacked, amidst a horrible slaughter of its inhabitants.

It was this terrible calamity which moved Europe to organize its last crusade. The two principal leaders of the expedition were Louis IX. of France and Prince Edward of England, afterwards Edward I. Louis directed his forces against the Moors about Tunis, in North Africa. Here the king died of a plague which broke out in his camp. Nothing was effected by this division of the expedition. The division led by the English prince was, however, more fortunate, Edward succeeding in capturing Nazareth, and compelling the Sultan of Egypt to agree to a treaty favorable to the Christians (1272).

End of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. — After the Eighth Crusade there were several other expeditions undertaken for the relief of the Christians in Palestine, but these movements were so feeble in numbers and spirit, and so unimportant in results, that they are not usually enumerated. The flame of the Crusades had burned itself out, and the fate of the little Christian kingdom in Asia, isolated from Europe, and surrounded on all sides by bitter enemies, became each day more and more apparent. The Christians were confined to the narrowest strip of beach, being crowded, in fact, within the walls of the four cities of Tripoli, Berytus, Tyre, and Acre. Finally the last of these places fell before the attacks

of an army of 200,000 Turks, and with this event the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem came to an end (1291). The second great combat between Mohammedanism and Christianity was over, and "silence reigned along the shore that had so long resounded with the world's debate."

The knights of the religious military orders that had originated in Palestine during the heroic age of the Crusades retired mournfully from the land which all their prodigies of valor had been unable to protect from the profanation of the infidel, and sought elsewhere new seats for their fraternities, whence they might still sally forth to battle with the enemies of the Cross.

The Hospitalers retreated first to the island of Cyprus, but afterwards established themselves in the island of Rhodes, where for more than two centuries the valiant and devoted members of the order were the strongest bulwark of Christian Europe against the advance in that quarter of the Moslem power towards the West. Driven at last from this island by the Turks, they eventually retired to the island of Malta, which they received through the favor of Charles V. (1530). In their gallant defense of this rock against their old enemy the Turks, they gained not only fresh fame, but a new name, becoming known as the Knights of Malta. Upon this island the order lived on till the French Revolution, "the last relic of the age of the Crusaders and of Chivalry."

The Teutonic Knights found a new seat for their order in Northern Europe, where members of the fraternity were already laying the foundations of the power of Prussia. They continued long the zealous champions of the Cross against the pagan tribes of that barbarous region. After the fourteenth century the power of the order rapidly declined, and it was finally dissolved by Napoleon, in 1809, the residence of its Grand Master being at that time in Suabia.

The story of the Templar Knights is short and tragic. At the time of the loss of Palestine the order had innumerable houses and estates in all parts of Europe. The fraternity was especially powerful in France. There it excited the jealousy and cupidity of

Philip the Fair, who suppressed the order throughout his kingdom in 1307, confiscating its property, and putting many of its chiefs to death. Five years later, the order was formally abolished by a papal bull, issued by Clement V. The charges against the knights, which were made the pretext for these persecutions, were heresy and immorality.

Why the Crusades ceased. — We have said that the main cause which set the Crusades in motion was religious enthusiasm. Their cessation is due principally to the dying out of this holy zeal.

Even long before the last of the Crusades the views of the Western Christians respecting them had materially changed; they no longer believed in them. As it would be utterly impossible to awaken to-day any enthusiasm among the European nations for such undertakings, so by the opening of the fourteenth century it had become very difficult to get the people to take much interest in the matter. The illusion of superstition was broken; the people had begun to see the folly, if not the wickedness, of such enterprises. This change in feeling was a result of the general advance of the peoples of Europe in knowledge and culture, and the growth among them of a more tolerant spirit, due very largely, as we shall see when we come to speak of the effects of the Crusades, to these very movements themselves.

And then the barbarian love of martial adventure, — which we gave as a powerful auxiliary cause of the Crusades, — as mediæval society was slowly transformed by those feelings and sentiments that distinguish modern society, was superseded by the industrial and commercial spirit. The ambitious and aspiring began to think it wiser to make fortunes through trade, manufacture, and maritime enterprise than to squander them in costly expeditions for the recovery of holy places.

Evils of the Crusades. — The Crusades kept all Europe in a tumult for two centuries, and directly or indirectly cost Christendom several millions of lives (from 2,000,000 to 6,000,000 according to different estimates), besides incalculable expenditures in

treasure and suffering. They were, moreover, attended by all the disorder, license, and crime with which war is always accompanied.

Again, they aroused a persecuting spirit, and "taught the Church to assault, with military force, whole sects and districts, to slaughter by wholesale, instead of in detail." This is illustrated by the Albigensian wars (1208–1249), in which crusade the Church set herself deliberately to the work of exterminating with fire and sword an entire people, — men, women, and children.

The Crusades also contributed to increase — much to the disadvantage of the people of Europe — the power and wealth of the Church. Thus the prominent part which the Popes took in the enterprises naturally fostered their authority and influence, by placing in their hands, as it were, the armies and resources of Christendom, and accustoming the people to look to them as guides and leaders. As to the wealth of the churches and monasteries, this was augmented enormously by the sale to them, for a mere fraction of their actual value, of the estates of those preparing for the expeditions or by the out and out gift of the lands of such in return for prayers and pious benedictions. Often, too, religious houses were made the guardians of the property of crusaders during their absence, which death left in the hands of these fraternities. Again, thousands, returning broken in spirits and in health, sought an asylum in cloistral retreats, and endowed the establishments they entered with all their worldly goods. Besides all this, the stream of the ordinary gifts of piety was swollen by the extraordinary fervor of religious enthusiasm which characterized the period, into prodigious proportions. Thus were augmented the power of the Papacy and the riches of the Church, which led, as we shall see, to much evil, — to tyranny, to strife, to corruption.

Good Results of the Crusades. — Yet notwithstanding the fact that the Crusades were carried on with such losses and sacrifices, and attended by so many evils, they were productive indirectly of so much and lasting good that they form a most important factor in the history of the progress of civilization. To show this to be so, we will speak briefly of their influence upon the political, the

social, the intellectual, and the material progress and development of the European nations.

First, as to the political effect of the Crusades. They helped to break down the power of the feudal aristocracy, and give prominence to the kings and people. Many of the nobles who set out on the expeditions never returned, and their estates, through failure of heirs, escheated to the crown; while many more wasted their fortunes in meeting the expenses of their undertaking. Thus the nobility were greatly weakened in numbers and influence, and the power and patronage of the kings correspondingly increased. At the same time, the cities also gained many political advantages at the expense of the crusading barons and princes. Ready money in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was largely in the hands of the burgher class, and in return for the contributions and loans they made to their overlords or suzerains, they received charters conferring special and valuable privileges. Thus, while power and wealth were slipping out of the hands of the nobility, the cities and towns were growing in political importance, and making great gains in the matter of municipal freedom. And under this head of the political effects of the Crusades, it might be said that they broke the tide of Turkish Moslem conquest, and thus postponed the fall of the Eastern Empire, or at least of the capital Constantinople, for three centuries and more. This gave the young Christian civilization of Germany time sufficient to consolidate its strength to roll back the returning tide of Mohammedan invasion when it broke upon Europe in the fifteenth century.

The effects of the Crusades upon the social life of the Western nations were marked and important. Giving opportunity for romantic adventure, they were one of the principal fostering influences of Chivalry, aiding powerfully in the development of that institution of knighthood which, whatever may have been the absurdities and follies into which its members at last fell, was the home in which were nourished, as we have seen, many of the best and most exalted sentiments and feelings of modern society. And under this head must be placed the general refining influence that

contact with the more cultured nations of the East had upon the semi-barbarous people of the West. The rude Frankish warriors looked with astonishment upon the luxury of the Greeks, and especially upon the magnificence displayed by the Saracen chiefs, whom they had imagined as barbarous in manners as infidel in faith.

The influence of the Crusades upon the intellectual development of Europe can hardly be overestimated. Above all, they liberalized the minds of the crusaders. At the commencement of the expeditions the Christians entertained sentiments of the bitterest hate and intolerance towards the Moslem infidels, whom they verily thought to be the "Children of Hell"; but before the close of the Crusades we find that they have come to hold very different views respecting their antagonists. During the Third Crusade the Saracen chiefs were frequent guests at Richard's table, and the Christian knights were recipients of the same courtesy in the tent of the chivalrous Saladin. In a word, the voyages, observations, and experiences of the crusaders had just that effect in correcting their false notions, and in liberalizing their narrow and intolerant ideas, that wide travel and close contact with different peoples and races never fail of producing upon even the dullest and most bigoted person. Furthermore, the knowledge of geography,[1] and of the science and learning of the East, gained by the crusaders through their expeditions, greatly stimulated the Latin intellect, and helped to awaken in Western Europe that mental activity which resulted finally in the great intellectual outburst known as the Revival of Learning.

Among the effects of the Holy Wars upon the material development of Europe must be mentioned the spur they gave to the commercial enterprise of the merchants of the West, especially the

[1] "If I were asked," says Sismondi, as quoted by Stillé, "what was the knowledge acquired during the Middle Ages which did most to quicken and develop the intelligence of that time, I should say, without the slightest hesitation, the knowledge of geography acquired by the pilgrims to the Holy Land."

citizens of the Italian cities. During this period, Venice, Pisa, and Genoa acquired great wealth and reputation through the fostering of their trade by the needs of the crusaders, and the opening up of the East. The Mediterranean was whitened with the sails of their transport ships, which were constantly plying between the various ports of Europe and the towns of the Syrian coast. Also, various arts, manufactures, and inventions before unknown in Europe, were introduced from Asia. This enrichment of the civilization of the West with the "spoils of the East" we may allow to be emblemized by the famous bronze horses that the crusaders carried off from Constantinople, and set up before St. Mark's Cathedral in Venice.

Lastly, the incentive given to geographical discovery led various travelers, such as the celebrated Italian Marco Polo and the scarcely less famous Englishman Sir John Mandeville, to explore the most remote countries of Asia. Nor did the matter end here. Even that spirit of maritime enterprise and adventure which rendered illustrious the fifteenth century, inspiring the voyages of Columbus, Vasco da Gama, and Magellan, may be traced back to that lively interest in geographical matters, that curiosity respecting the remote regions of the earth, awakened by the expeditions of the crusaders.

CHAPTER IV.

SUPREMACY OF THE PAPACY: DECLINE OF ITS TEMPORAL POWER.

Introductory. — In a previous chapter we traced the gradual rise of the Papacy, and stated the several theories respecting its relation to temporal rulers. It will be recalled that the "papal party" maintained the absolute supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal power. They would effect a perfect union of Church and State, not on the basis of mutual co-operation, but on that of the complete subordination of the State to the Church. In the present chapter, we propose to tell how near the Papacy came to realizing this magnificent dream, and of the long struggle between it and the secular rulers of Europe, resulting in the final triumph and emancipation of the temporal power.

Pope Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) and his System. — The reduction to practice of the splendid theory of the papal party, and the virtual establishment for a time of a spiritual theocracy over the European nations, was due more than aught else to the fortunate succession in the Apostolic See of great men, all animated by a steady and single purpose, "who each contributed a stone to that wondrous edifice which thus grew from age to age, till it seemed that its top was to reach even unto heaven."

The most eminent of these artificers of the papal fortunes was Pope Gregory VII., perhaps better known as Hildebrand, the most noteworthy character after Charlemagne that the Middle Ages produced. Hildebrand was the son of a humble carpenter of Soana, in Tuscany. In the year 1049 he was called from the cloisters of a French monastery to Rome, there to become the maker and adviser of Popes, and finally to be himself elevated to the pontifical throne, which he held from 1073 to 1085. Being a man of

great force of character and magnificent breadth of view, he did much towards establishing the universal spiritual and temporal sovereignty of the Holy See. He vehemently rejected the idea that the temporal power was superior to the spiritual, or that the two were equal and co-ordinate, assuming that their divinely ordained relation was the supremacy of the Church over the State. The Pope, as the vicegerent of God on earth, was the supreme arbiter in human affairs, and to him all powers should be subordinated.

In carrying out his scheme of exalting the Papal See above all prelates and princes, Gregory, as soon as he became Pope, set about two important reforms, — the enforcement of celibacy among the secular clergy, and the suppression of simony. By the first measure he aimed to effect not only a much needed moral reform, but, by separating the clergy from all the attachments of home and neighborhood and country, to render them the dependent janizaries of the Church, with no interests to promote save those of the Holy See.

The second reform, the correction of simony, had for its ultimate object the freeing of the lands and offices of the Church from the control of temporal lords and princes, and the bringing of them more completely into the hands of the Roman Bishop.

The evil of simony[1] had grown up in the Church in the following way: As the feudal system took possession of European society, the Church, like individuals and cities, assumed feudal relations. Thus, as we have already seen, abbots and bishops, as the heads of monasteries and churches, for the sake of protection, became the vassals of powerful barons or princes. When once a prelate had rendered homage for his estates or temporalities, as they were called, these became thenceforth a permanent fief of the overlord, and upon the death of the holder could be re-bestowed by the lord upon whomsoever he chose. These Church estates and positions that thus came within the gift of the temporal princes were, of

[1] By simony is meant the purchase of an office in the Church, the name of the offence coming from Simon Magus, who offered Peter money for the gift of curing diseases.

course, eagerly sought after by the clergy, and often large sums were paid for them, the patrons conferring them upon the highest bidder. So long as a considerable portion of the clergy sustained this vassal relation to the feudal lords, the Papal See could not hope to exercise any great authority over them.

To remedy the evil Gregory issued a decree that no priest, abbot, bishop, archbishop, or other officer of the Church should do homage to a temporal lord, but that he should receive the ring and staff, the symbols of investiture, from the hands of the Pope alone. Any one who should dare disobey the decree was threatened with the anathemas of the Church.

Such was the bold measure by which the audacious Pontiff proposed to wrest out of the hands of the feudal lords and princes the vast patronage and immense revenues resulting from the relation they had gradually come to sustain to a large portion of the lands and riches of the Church. To realize the magnitude of the proposed revolution, we must bear in mind that the Church at this time was in possession of probably one half of the lands of Europe.

Excommunications and Interdicts. — The principal instruments relied upon by Gregory for the carrying out of his scheme were the spiritual thunders of the Church, — Excommunication and Interdict.

The first was directed against individuals. The person excommunicated was cut off from all relations with his fellow-men. If a king, his subjects were released from their oath of allegiance. Any one providing the accused with food or shelter incurred the wrath of the Church. Living, the excommunicated person was to be shunned and abhorred as though tainted with an infectious disease; and dead, he was to be refused the ordinary rites of burial.

The Interdict was directed against a city, province, or kingdom. Throughout the region under this ban, the churches were closed; no bell could be rung, no marriage celebrated, no burial ceremony performed. The rites of baptism and extreme unction alone could be administered.

It is difficult for those who have come to regard the thunders of the Church as harmless, to realize the effect of these anathemas upon a superstitious age. They rarely failed during the eleventh and twelfth centuries of bringing the most contumacious offender to a speedy and abject confession. This will appear in the following paragraph.

Gregory VII. and Henry IV. of Germany. — The decree of Gregory respecting the relation of the clergy to the feudal lords created a perfect storm of opposition, not only among the temporal princes and sovereigns of Europe, but also among the clergy themselves. The dispute thus begun distracted Europe for centuries.

Gregory experienced the most formidable opposition to his scheme in Germany. The Emperor Henry IV. refused to recognize his decree, and even called a council of the clergy of Germany and deposed him. Gregory in turn gathered a council at Rome, and deposed and excommunicated the Emperor. This encouraged a revolt on the part of some of Henry's discontented subjects. He was shunned as a man accursed by heaven. His authority seemed to have slipped entirely out of his hands, and his kingdom was on the point of going to pieces. In this wretched state of his affairs there was but one thing for him to do, — to go to Gregory, and humbly sue for pardon and re-instatement in the favor of the Church.

Henry sought the haughty Pontiff at Canossa among the Apennines. But Gregory refused to admit the penitent to his presence. It was winter, and for three successive days the king, clothed in sackcloth, stood with bare feet in the snow of the court-yard of the palace, waiting for permission to kneel at the feet of the Pontiff and receive forgiveness.

This was the strangest scene that the world had ever witnessed, — the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, the successor of the Cæsars and of Charlemagne, a rejected penitent at the door of the Roman Pontiff.

On the fourth day the penitent king was admitted to the pres-

ence of Gregory, who re-instated him in favor — to the extent of removing the sentence of excommunication (1077).

Henry afterwards avenged his humiliation. He raised an army, invaded Italy, and drove Gregory into exile at Salerno, where he died. His last words were, "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, and therefore I die in exile" (1085).

But the quarrel did not end here. It was taken up by the successors of Gregory, and Henry was again excommunicated. After maintaining a long struggle with the power of the Church, and with his own sons, who were incited to rebel against him, he finally died of a broken heart (1106). For five years his body was denied burial; but at last the ban of the Church was removed, and it was laid to rest with royal honors.

The Popes and the Hohenstaufen Emperors. — In the twelfth century began the long and fierce contention — lasting more than a hundred years — between the Papal See and the Emperors of the proud House of Hohenstaufen.[1] It was simply the continuation and culmination of the struggle begun long before to decide which should be supreme, the "world-priest" or the "world-king." The outcome was the final triumph of the Roman Bishops and the utter ruin of the Hohenstaufen.

The Papacy at its Height. — The authority of the Popes was at its height during the thirteenth century. The beginning of this period of Papal splendor is marked by the accession to the pontifical throne of Innocent III. (1198–1216), the greatest of the Popes after Gregory VII. Under him was very nearly made good the Papal claim that all earthly sovereigns were merely vassals of the Roman Pontiff. Almost all the kings and princes of Europe swore fealty to him as their overlord. "Rome was once more the mistress of the world."

Pope Innocent III. and Philip Augustus of France. — One of Innocent's most signal triumphs in his contest with the kings of

[1] The first king of the Hohenstaufen (or Swabian) dynasty was Conrad III. (1138–1152); the last was Conrad IV., who died 1254. The most noted Emperors of the line were Frederick I. (Barbarossa) and Frederick II.

Europe was gained over Philip Augustus (1180–1223) of France. That king having put away his wife, Innocent commanded him to take her back, and forced him to submission by means of an interdict. "This submission of such a prince," says Hallam, "not feebly superstitious like his predecessor Robert, nor vexed with seditions, like the Emperor Henry IV., but brave, firm, and victorious, is perhaps the proudest trophy in the scutcheon of Rome."

Pope Innocent III. and King John of England. — Innocent's quarrel with King John (1199–1216) of England will afford another illustration of the arrogance with which the Pontiff dealt with the sovereigns of Europe. The See of Canterbury falling vacant, John ordered the monks who had the right of election to give the place to a favorite of his, John de Gray, Bishop of Norwich. They obeyed; but the Pope immediately declared the election void, and caused the vacancy to be filled with one of his own friends, Stephen Langton. John declared that the Pope's archbishop should never enter England as primate, and proceeded to confiscate the estates of the See. Innocent III. now laid all England under an interdict, excommunicated John, and incited the French king, Philip Augustus, to undertake a crusade against the contumacious rebel.

The outcome of the matter was that John, like the German Emperor before him, was compelled to yield to the power of the Church. He gave back the lands he had confiscated, acknowledged Langton to be the rightful primate of England, and even went so far as to give England to the Pope as a perpetual fief. In token of his vassalage he agreed to pay to the Papal See the annual sum of 1000 marks. This tribute money was actually paid, though with very great irregularity, until the seventeenth year of the reign of Edward I. (1289).

The Mendicants, or Begging Friars. — The authority of the immediate successors of Innocent III. was powerfully supported by the monastic orders of the Dominicans and Franciscans, established early in the thirteenth century. They were named

after their respective founders, St. Dominic (1170–1221) and St. Francis (1182–1226). The principles on which these fraternities were established were very different from those which had shaped all previous monastic institutions. Until now the monk had sought cloistral solitude in order to escape from the world, and through penance and prayer and contemplation to work out his own salvation. In the new orders, the monk was to give himself wholly to the work of securing the salvation of others.

Again, the orders were also as *orders* to renounce all earthly possessions, and, "espousing Poverty as a bride," to rely entirely for support upon the alms of the pious. Hitherto, while the individual members of a monastic order must affect extreme poverty, the house or fraternity might possess any amount of communal wealth.

The new fraternities grew and spread with marvelous rapidity, and in less than a generation they quite overshadowed all of the old monastic orders of the Church. The Popes conferred many and special privileges upon them, and they in turn became for a time — although from their ranks at last were to arise men who should shake the power of the Papal throne itself — the staunchest friends and supporters of the Roman See. They formed what has been called the militia of the Popes. They were to the Papacy of the thirteenth century what the later order of the Jesuits was to the Roman Church of the seventeenth.[1]

[1] The Begging Friars soon forgot, or rather evaded, their vows of poverty, and grew to be the richest orders of the Church. (They sought to satisfy their vows by allowing the Pope to hold the title of their property, while they simply enjoyed the income from it.) With wealth, vices of all sorts crept into their ranks. The indolence of the Friars, their licentiousness, and their way of begging alms and of watching for legacies for their houses at the bedside of the dying, rendered them the pest and byword of society. A writer who lived not more than half a century after the death of St. Francis declares that "the sight of a begging friar in the distance was more dreaded than that of a robber." The fearful evil of mendicancy in Italy may doubtless be properly attributed, in a large measure, to the sanctification of the thing by the Begging Friars. — See Trench, *Mediæval Church History*, Lecture XVI.

Revolt of the Temporal Princes. — Having noticed some of the most prominent circumstances and incidents that marked the gradual advance of the Bishops of Rome to almost universal political and ecclesiastical sovereignty, we will now direct attention to some of the chief events that marked the decline of their temporal power, and prepared the way for the rejection, at a later date, by a large part of Christendom, of their spiritual claims and pretensions.

It was perhaps the very vastness of the Papal authority that, more than anything else, contributed to its insecurity and foreshadowed disaster. As has been aptly said, only omnipotence directed by omniscience could hope to wield safely such tremendous and varied powers. The new Papal Rome, like the old Pagan Rome, had reached out too far and grasped too much. In weak hands the unwieldy double sceptre trembled and was useless.

This is illustrated by the events which distinguish the close of the thirteenth and the opening of the fourteenth century. The pontifical throne being then occupied by weaker prelates than those who had held it during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the temporal princes in almost all the countries of Europe were encouraged to attempt to regain their lost independence. France, Germany, and England successively revolted, and denied the right of the Pope to interfere in their political or governmental affairs.

But it must be borne in mind that the leaders of this revolt against the secular dominion of the Papacy did not think of challenging the claims of the Popes to recognition as the supreme head of the Church, and the rightful arbiters in all spiritual matters. At the very time that they were striving to emancipate themselves from Papal control in temporal matters, they were lending the Church all their strength to punish heresy and schism. Thus the Albigenses in Southern France, the Lollards in England, and the Hussites in Bohemia were extirpated or punished by the sword of the civil power, wielded in obedience to the commands of the Roman See.

Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair. — It was during the pon-

tificate of Boniface VIII. (1294–1303), — an incredibly arrogant, audacious, and injudicious person, — that the temporal authority of the Papacy fell into contempt, and began rapidly to decline. His quarrel with Philip the Fair of France is quite as familiar, and certainly as instructive respecting the temper of the times in which it occurred, as is that between Gregory VII. and Henry IV. of Germany.

Philip having presumed to tax the clergy of France, and to do some other things displeasing to Boniface, the Pope is said to have addressed the king in substance as follows: "Boniface the Pope to Philip the Fair, greetings. . . . Know thou, O Supreme Prince, that thou art subject to us in all things." Philip's reply was unnecessarily rude. Its style was after this manner: "Philip the Fair to Boniface, little or no greetings. . . . Know thou, O Supreme Stupidity, that in governmental matters, we are subject neither to you nor to any other person."

Philip was bold because he knew that his people were with him. Recently assembled in the States-General, the three orders of the nation, the nobility, the clergy, and the commons, had declared that the Pope had no authority in France in political or temporal matters.

Removal of the Papal Seat to Avignon (1309). — One of the severest blows given both the temporal and spiritual authority of the Popes was the removal, in 1309, through the influence of Philip the Fair, of the Papal chair from Rome to Avignon, in Provence, near the frontier of France. Here it remained for a space of about seventy years, an era known in Church history as the Babylonian Captivity. While it was established here, all the Popes were French, and of course all their policies were shaped and controlled by the French kings. "In that city," says Stillé, "the Papacy ceased, in the eyes of a very large part of Christendom, to possess that sacred cosmopolitan character which no doubt had had much to do with the veneration and respect with which the Catholic authority had been regarded."

The Great Schism (1378). — The discontent awakened among

the Italians by the situation of the Papal court at length led to an open rupture between them and the French party. In 1378 the opposing factions each elected a Pope, and thus there were two heads of the Church, one at Avignon and the other at Rome. This state of things, complicated, however, by the Council of Pisa in 1409, lasted until 1414.

The spectacle of two rival Popes, each claiming to be the rightful successor of St. Peter and the sole infallible head of the Church, very naturally led men to question the claims and infallibility of both. It gave the reverence which the world had so generally held for the Holy Roman See a rude shock, and one from which it never recovered.

The Church Councils of Pisa and Constance.—Finally, in 1409, a general council of the Church assembled at Pisa, for the purpose of composing the shameful quarrel. This council deposed both Popes, and elected Alexander V. as the supreme head of the Church. But matters instead of being mended hereby were only made worse; for neither of the deposed pontiffs would lay down his authority in obedience to the demands of the council, and consequently there were now three Popes instead of two.

In 1414 another council was called, at Constance, for the settlement of the growing dispute. Two of the claimants were deposed, and one resigned. A new Pope was then elected, the choice of the assembly falling upon Cardinal Colonna, who became Pope Martin V. In his person the Catholic world was again united under a single spiritual head. The schism was outwardly healed, but the wound had been too deep not to leave permanent marks upon the Church. Furthermore, the dissolute and rapacious character of many of the rival Popes had cast ineffaceable stains upon the robes of the pontifical office.

The awe and reverence which had once been felt for the Holy See were forever destroyed, and with these gone, the spell with which it had bound the world was broken. The Roman Pontiffs, although the battles of the lost cause were fought over again and again in different countries, were never able, after the events of

the fourteenth century, to exercise such authority over the kings of Europe, or exact from them such obedience, as had been possible to the Popes of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The splendid scheme of Hildebrand, though so nearly realized, had at last, as to one half its purpose, proved an utter failure, — "the grandest and most magnificent failure in human history."

The Papacy remains a Spiritual Theocracy. — We say that the Roman Pontiffs failed as to one half their purpose; for while they failed to make good their supremacy in temporal affairs, they did succeed in establishing and perpetuating an absolute spiritual dominion, their plenary authority in all matters of faith being to-day acknowledged by more than one half of all those who bear the name of Christian. The Council of Constance, indeed, decreed that the Pope is subject to an ecumenical council, and that a decision of the Roman See may be appealed from to the judgment of the Church gathered in one of these great assemblies, which were to be convened every ten years. Thus the Church was for a moment converted into a limited monarchy; and perhaps if this form could have actually been impressed upon it, and general councils regularly convened, the Roman Catholic Church might have gradually corrected those abuses that had crept into it, and the great popular revolt of the sixteenth century have been prevented. But Martin V., the Pope elected by the Council of Constance, in unfortunate opposition to the edicts of that assembly, issued a bull declaring "it unlawful for any one either to appeal from the judgment of the Apostolic See, or to reject its decisions in matters of faith."

The Papal party, the party of absolutism, carried the day. Only one ecumenical council has been held since the Council of Trent, which was called in 1545 to condemn the doctrines of Luther; and this assembly (the Vatican Council, 1869–1870) met only to promulgate the famous decree of Papal Infallibility.

And thus the Papacy, though its temporal power has been entirely taken from it, and its spiritual authority repudiated by one half of Christendom, still remains, as Macaulay says, "not in

decay, not a mere antique, but full of life and youthful vigor." The Pope is to-day the supreme and infallible Head of a Church that, in the famous words of the brilliant writer just quoted, "was great and respected before Saxon had set foot on Britain, before the Frank had passed the Rhine, when Grecian eloquence still flourished in Antioch, when idols were still worshipped in the temple of Mecca. And she may still exist in undiminished vigor when some traveller from New Zealand shall, in the midst of a vast solitude, take his stand on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's."

CHAPTER V.

CONQUESTS OF THE TURANIAN OR TARTAR TRIBES.

Introductory. — As the different terms Aryan, Indo-European, and Indo-Germanic are employed to designate that great family of historic nations descended from the ancient Aryans of Bactria, so the terms Turanian, Scythian, and Tartar are different names used, though more loosely, to designate the various tribes of conquerors, hunters, and shepherds of Central and Northern Asia.[1]

It has been only now and then that we have caught a glimpse of the hostile bands of this race, hovering like dark clouds on the outskirts of civilization, and threatening at times not only the peace, but the very existence of the settled communities of Asia and Europe. The time has now come when we must weave our isolated notices of these people into a connected though necessarily brief narrative, in order to render intelligible our proposed recital of the migrations and conquests of some of the leading tribes of this race during the latter part of the Middle Ages.

The Turanians and Aryans compared. — As our previous studies have made us familiar with the migrations and conquests of the

[1] The terms Scythian and Tartar ought not properly to be given the same extension as the term Turanian. Turanian has the broadest meaning, Scythian a narrower range, and Tartar the least comprehensiveness. Thus the names may be considered as corresponding to the terms Aryan, Teutonic, and Germanic, as applied to the Indo-European family of nations, and the subdivisions of the family.

A word of explanation respecting the term Tartar. This is a corruption of Tatar, the name given originally by the Chinese to a fierce Mongolian tribe, whence the term came naturally to be applied to neighboring tribes of a similar ferocious disposition, though these belonged to another family of peoples. When the barbarians bearing this name appeared in the West, they were called, either through a play upon the word or through a real misapprehension, Tartars, as though from *Tartarus*, or hell.

Aryan peoples, we may use their story to illustrate that of the Turanian tribes. The histories of the two families of peoples present both parallels and contrasts.

Thus both of these great races, so far as our knowledge goes, had their earliest development in the central regions of Asia. It is from this same great "nursery of nations" whence the Aryan peoples came, that the Scythian hordes, through all the centuries known to history, have issued like swarms of locusts, to devastate the richer and more favored lands of the earth. In these migratory movements or expeditions of conquest, the Turanians have always followed in the footsteps of the Aryans (whom, perhaps, they crowded from their ancestral home), descending upon India and Southwestern Asia from the very same passes of those mountains that were first climbed by the ancestors of the Hindus and Persians in their southerly migrations, or pouring over the very same plains which, gradually declining from the uplands of Central Asia, previously formed the natural pathway into Europe of the Aryan folk.

Again, the manner in which these Scythian warriors overran and took possession of the decaying Empire of the Saracens — and afterwards that of the Greeks — presents a striking contrast to the seizure of the provinces of the Roman Empire in the West by the Teutonic tribes. They were the Goths and Vandals of the East. When, in the tenth century, the power of the Caliphs began to decline, — the early religious ardor of the Arabs having cooled, — these rulers, in imitation of the Roman Emperors, resorted to the device of recruiting their armies from among the barbarians that were pushing over the northern frontiers. Thus received within the State as allies and mercenaries, it was not long before, imitating the action of the Teutons in the West, they snatched the sceptre for themselves.

Another parallel occurs in the matter of religion. As the Teutonic conquerors of Rome were, many of them, converts to Christianity before they passed the frontiers of the Empire, so many of the Tartar tribes were converts to the Moslem faith before they

entered the Caliphate; while others, again, as was also true of some of the Teutonic invaders of the Roman provinces, were fierce pagans when they fell upon the Saracens, and not until afterwards were led to embrace the creed of Mohammed.

It is interesting, moreover, to notice that while the Turanians and Aryans both exchanged their primitive faiths for religions borrowed from the Semites, each made a different choice: the Aryans generally accepted the faith of the Hebrew Teacher, while the Turanians chose that of the Arabian Prophet. The Persians are the only important people of Aryan stock who have adopted the creed of Mohammed, whereas the Hungarians, Finns, and Lapps are the only Turanian peoples that have embraced Christianity.

In intellectual and literary attainments the Turanians are, as a race, infinitely inferior to the Aryans; only in rare instances has anything that might be called a literature been developed among them. As a general thing they have remained quite uninfluenced by the arts and learning of the more civilized people among whom they have thrust themselves. They have contributed little, almost absolutely nothing, in a direct way, to the civilization of the world. Their mission seems to have been the destruction of corrupt, worn-out civilizations; such, at least, has been their rough work, as will appear as we now proceed to trace some of their most important conquests.

The Parthian Empire. — The wild tribes of Scythia were a constant threat to the early Assyrian and Persian monarchies. Their flying bands of horsemen were ever sweeping down from the northern mountains, and harrying the plains of Mesopotamia and Iran. But it was not until about the middle of the third century B.C. that the Parthians made a permanent conquest south of the Hindu Kush. Then they wrenched Persia from the Seleucidæ, and set up the great Parthian Empire, the "Sixth Ancient Monarchy of Western Asia." [1]

[1] This is the name given it by Rawlinson, who considers it worthy a place along with the great Chaldæan, Assyrian, Median, Babylonian, and Persian empires.

These fierce warriors gradually extended the limits of their empire, until it included a great part of the countries embraced by the monarchy of the ancient Persian kings. They were the most formidable enemies of the Roman legions. The defeat of Crassus at their hands was one of the most memorable disasters that ever befell the Roman arms.

The Parthian dynasty lasted about five centuries, — until A.D. 226, when it was overthrown by a revolt of the Persians, and the New Persian or Sassanian monarchy established. This latter empire lasted until the country was overrun by the Saracens in the seventh century.

The Huns and Hungarians. — The Huns were the first Turanian tribe that during historic times pushed their way among the peoples of Europe. We have in another place told how in the fourth century after Christ these horrible savages appeared on the eastern borders of the continent, and drove the Goths in great panic across the Danube into the provinces of the Roman Empire; and how, a little later, under the lead of the renowned Attila, they crossed the Rhine, and mustered upon the plains of Chalôns in France 700,000 warriors, there to suffer a terrible defeat at the hands of the combined armies of the Goths and Romans.[1]

The next Turanian invasion of Europe was made in the ninth century by the Magyars, or Hungarians, another branch of the Hunnic race, who succeeded in thrusting themselves far into the continent, and establishing there the important Kingdom of Hungary. These people, in marked contrast to what we observe in the case of almost every other tribe of Turanian origin, adopted the manners, customs, and religion of the peoples about them — became, in a word, thoroughly Europeanized, and for a long time were the main defense of Christian Europe against the Turkish tribes of the same race that followed closely in their footsteps.

The Seljukian Turks. — The Seljukian Turks, so called from the name of one of their chiefs, are the next Tartar people that

[1] See *Outlines of Ancient History*, pp. 395, 405.

thrust themselves prominently upon our notice. Towards the close of the eleventh century the leaders of this martial race had built up a sovereignty that was recognized from the confines of China to the Bosphorus. Togrul Beg, the founder of the empire, captured Bagdad in 1058. The Caliph was allowed to retain his spiritual authority, while the Turkish chieftain, with the title of "Vicar of the Faithful," assumed the supreme control in all temporal matters. His successors conquered the Caliphs of Cairo, captured Jerusalem, overran Asia Minor, defeated and took prisoner the Greek Emperor, and finally pitched their tents within sight of Constantinople.

It was the capture of the holy places in Palestine by this fierce and intolerant race, and their threatening advance towards Europe by way of the Bosphorus, that alarmed the Christian nations of Europe, and led to the First Crusade. The capture by the crusaders of their capital Nice, in Bithynia, the recovery of Jerusalem, and the establishment in Palestine of the little Latin kingdom of Godfrey and his companion knights, — all this has been told as a part of the history of the First Crusade.

The blows dealt the empire of the Seljuks by the Christian warriors, and disputes and civil wars respecting the succession, caused the once formidable sovereignty to crumble to pieces, only, however, to be replaced by others of equally rapid growth, destined to as quick a decay.

The Mongols, or Moguls. — While the power of the Seljukian Turks was declining in Western Asia, the Mongols, or Moguls, a fierce and utterly untamed Tartar tribe that first issued from the easternmost part of Chinese Tartary, were building up a new dynasty among the various tribes of the central portion of the continent. In the year 1156 was born their greatest chieftain, Temujin, afterwards named Genghis Khan, or "Universal Sovereign," the most terrible scourge that ever afflicted the human race. At the head of vast armies, made up of numerous Turanian hordes, he traversed with sword and torch the greater part of Asia. Overleaping the Great Wall of China, built some fifteen centuries before as a

defense against the ancestors of these same or kindred Tartar tribes, he conquered all the northern part of the Chinese kingdom; then, leading his followers to the west, he reduced to submission the tribes of Turkestan, and then descended upon the countries of the South. Persians, Saracens, Turks, and Greeks — Christians and Mohammedans — fell victims alike to the conqueror's insatiable thirst for blood and plunder. Cities disappeared as he advanced. Rich plains were transformed into horrid deserts.

Before his death, which occurred in 1226, Genghis had extended his authority over a wider reach of territory than Persian or Roman had ever ruled. It is estimated that this enormous empire was built up at the cost of fifty thousand cities and towns and five millions of lives, — a greater waste, probably, than resulted from all the Crusades.

Upon the death of Genghis Khan, his empire passed into the hands of his son Oktai, a worthy successor of the great conqueror. He made an inroad into Russia, ravaging the country as far as Germany, and in other directions pushed out permanently the boundaries of the empire. His successor, Kublai Khan, still farther enlarged and strengthened the monarchy, so that it now embraced the best part of Asia, besides a considerable portion of Europe. He made Peking his royal seat, and there received ambassadors and visitors from all parts of the world. It was during the reign of this prince that the celebrated Italian traveller Marco Polo made through the East those journeys of which he gave such a marvelous account.

Upon the death of Kublai Khan, the immoderately extended empire fell into disorder, and became broken into many petty states. It needed to be welded again by the genius of another chieftain. Tamerlane, or Timour the Lame, a descendant of Genghis, was the one destined by Providence for the work of re-establishing the Mongol dominion. This renowned conqueror was born in 1336. With his wild hordes he traversed anew almost all the countries that had been tracked by the sanguinary marches of Genghis. The route of the barbarians was everywhere marked by ruined fields and burned villages. It was Tamerlane's cus-

tom to build the heads or bodies of his enemies into vast pyramids or towers laid with cement, as ghastly monuments of his vengeance or prowess. Thus, upon the capture of Bagdad, he is said to have memorialized the victory by the erection of a triumphal column containing ninety thousand heads of the slaughtered inhabitants.

Asia has never recovered from the terrible devastation of the Mongol conquerors. Many districts, swarming with life, were entirely swept of their population by these destroyers of the race, and have remained to this day desolate as the tomb.

The immense empire of Tamerlane crumbled to pieces after his death. One of its fragments had a remarkable history. This was the dynasty established in India, which became known as the Kingdom of the Great Moguls. This Mongol state lasted upwards of 300 years, — until destroyed by the English in the present century. The magnificence of the court of the Great Moguls at Delhi and Agra is one of the most splendid traditions of the East. These foreign rulers gave India some of her finest architectural monuments. The mausoleum at Agra, known as the *Taj Mahal*, is one of the most beautiful structures in the world.

The Ottoman Empire.

Founding of the Empire. — The latest, most permanent, and most important of the Tartar sovereignties was established by the Ottoman Turks, who were an offshoot of the Seljukians. The empire takes its name from its founder, Othman, who, about the close of the thirteenth century, united under his rule various Turkish tribes, which the Mongol conquests had crowded westward into Asia Minor.

Gradually this martial race seized province after province of the Asiatic possessions of the Byzantine Emperors. Finally, through the quarrels that were constantly distracting Constantinople, they gained a foothold in Europe. In the year 1353 a faction at the capital invited them across the Bosphorus to fight the Bulgarians,

whom the other party had called to their aid. Like the Angles and Saxons, who, entering England on invitation, remained as conquerors, these barbarians were barely across the straits before they began to make conquests for themselves. During the reign of Amurath I. (1360–1389) a large part of the country known as Turkey in Europe fell into their hands.

The Janizaries. — Amurath was the organizer of the celebrated body of soldiers known as the Janizaries. The body was composed at first of the best youth chosen from among his Christian captives. When war ceased to furnish a sufficient number of recruits, the subjugated Christians were required to pay their taxes in children, every fifth male child being demanded.

These youth, who were generally received at the tender age of eight, were brought up in the Mohammedan faith, and carefully trained in military service. This famous body may be likened to the Pretorian guard at Rome, the Varangian guard of the Greek Emperors, or the Mamelukes of the Egyptian caliphs.

Conquests of Bajazét (1389–1403). — Amurath was followed by his son Bajazet, who, by the rapid advance of his arms, spread the greatest alarm throughout Western Europe. The warriors of Hungary, Germany, and France united their armies to arrest his progress; but their combined forces, numbering 100,000 men, were cut to pieces by the sabres of the Turks on the fatal field of Nicopolis, in Bulgaria (1396).

The unfortunate issue of this terrible battle, in which had fallen "the flower of the Christian chivalry of Europe," threw all the West into a perfect panic of terror. Bajazet vowed that he would stable his horse in the Cathedral of St. Peter at Rome, and there seemed no power in Christendom to prevent the sacrilege.

Before proceeding to fulfil his threat, Bajazét turned back to capture Constantinople, which he believed in the present despondent state of its inhabitants would make little or no resistance. The city was invested by the Turkish hosts, and the fate of the capital appeared to be sealed. In vain did the Greeks call upon the Latin warriors for aid; Christendom was weak from the losses at

Nicopolis, and besides was paralyzed with fear. But though no succor came from the Christian West, aid did come, strangely enough, from the Mohammedan East.

Just at this time Tamerlane was leading the Mongols on their career of conquest. He directed them against the Turks in Asia Minor, and Bajazet was forced to raise the siege of Constantinople, and hasten across the Bosphorus, to check the advance in his dominions of these new enemies. The Turks and Mongols met upon the plains of Angora, where the former suffered a disastrous defeat, and Bajazet himself was taken prisoner. The conqueror treated his unfortunate rival with ungenerous barbarity, carrying him about with him in an iron cage.

The battle of Angora occurred in the year 1402. It checked for a time the conquests of the Ottomans, and saved Constantinople to the Christian world for another period of fifty years.

The Capture of Constantinople. — The Ottomans gradually recovered from the blow they had received at Angora. By the year 1421 they were strong enough to make another attempt upon Constantinople. The city was this time saved by the strength of its defenses. Another quarter of a century passed, during which time the Turks were busy taking possession of the remaining provinces in Europe of the Greek Empire, until the authority of the successor of Constantine was limited to the space within the walls of Byzantium.

Finally, in the year 1453, Mohammed II. the Great, Sultan of the Ottomans, laid siege to the capital with an army of over 200,000 men. The walls of the city were manned by a mere handful of Greek soldiers. After a short siege the place was taken by storm. Constantine XI., the last of the Greek Emperors, met death, as became the last representative (in the East) of the Cæsars, sword in hand. The Cross, which since the time of Constantine the Great had surmounted the dome of St. Sophia, was replaced by the Crescent, which remains to this day.

Thus fell New Rome into the hands of the barbarians of the East, 1140 years after Constantine had made it an imperial city,

and almost an exact millennium after the fall of Old Rome before the barbarians of the West. Of the 100,000 inhabitants in the capital at the time of the siege, 40,000 were killed and 50,000 made slaves. As Mohammed, like Scipio at Carthage, gazed upon the desolated city and the empty palace of Constantine, he is said to have called to mind the lines of the Persian poet Firdousee: "The spider's curtain hangs before the portal of Cæsar's palace; the owl is the sentinel on the watchtowers of Afrasiab."

Check to the Ottoman Arms. — The consternation which the fall of Byzantium created throughout Christendom was like the dismay which filled the world upon the downfall of Rome in the fifth century. All Europe now lay open to the Moslem barbarians, and there seemed nothing to prevent their placing the Crescent upon the dome of St. Peter's and the Tower of London.

Various attempts were made through councils and diets to effect a union among the different Christian powers for the recovery of Constantinople, and the expulsion of the Turks from European soil. But times had changed since Peter the Hermit and St. Bernard preached the Crusades for the recovery of the holy places of Palestine, and the warriors of the West could not be roused for a united effort against the infidel intruders. So long as the crown of a prince was not in immediate danger, he cared but little whether Christian Greeks or Mohammedan Turks knelt in St. Sophia.

But though no plan for united action could be concerted among the Christian states, the warriors of Hungary made a valiant stand against the Ottomans, and succeeded in checking their advance upon the continent, while the Knights of St. John, now established in the island of Rhodes, held them in restraint in the Mediterranean. Mohammed II. did succeed in planting the Crescent upon the shores of Italy — capturing and holding for a year the city of Otranto in Calabria; but by the time of the death of that energetic prince, the conquering energy of the Ottomans seems to have nearly spent itself, and the limits of their empire were not afterwards materially enlarged.

The Turks have ever remained quite insensible to the influences of European civilization, and their government has been a perfect blight and curse to the countries subjected to their rule. They have always been looked upon as intruders in Europe, and their presence there has led to several of the most sanguinary wars of modern times. Gradually they are being pushed out from their European possessions, and the time is probably not very far distant when they will be driven back across the Bosphorus, as their Moorish brethren were expelled long ago from the opposite corner of the continent by the Christian chivalry of Spain.

CHAPTER VI.

GROWTH OF THE TOWNS: THE ITALIAN CITY-REPUBLICS.

The Teutons and the Roman Towns. — The barbarians who overran the Roman Empire had no love for city life; hence the Roman cities fared hard at their hands. In England, the Angles and Saxons seem to have almost destroyed them. The present English towns have grown up, the greater number of them, since the invasion, having been built anew from their foundations, often, however, on the old sites. A somewhat similar fate apparently befell the cities of Northern France. In Southern France, however, and in Italy and Spain, they escaped destruction; yet the result of the conquest everywhere was the decline of the towns in population and importance. The city gave place to the castle.

Revival of the Old Towns and Founding of New Ones. — But just as soon as the invaders had become settled, and civilization had begun to revive, the old Roman towns began gradually to assume somewhat of their former importance, and new ones to spring up in those provinces where they had been swept away, and in the countries outside of the limits of the ancient Empire.

The location of the new towns was determined by different circumstances. The necessities of trade and commerce pointed out the sites of many of them, and formed the basis of their growth and prosperity. Favorable locations on the sea-coasts, upon the great rivers, or along the overland routes of travel, were naturally chosen as depots for exchanging, distributing, and forwarding the wares and products of the times. On such spots grew up opulent and powerful capitals.

Relation of the Cities to the Feudal Lords. — When feudalism took possession of Europe, the cities became a part of the system. Each town formed a part of the fief in which it happened to be situated, and was subject to all the incidents of feudal ownership.

It owed allegiance to its lord, must pay to him feudal tribute, and aid him in his war enterprises.

As the cities, through their manufactures and trade, were the most wealthy members of the feudal system, the lords naturally looked to them for money when in need. Their demands and exactions at last became unendurable, and a long struggle broke out between them and the burghers, which resulted in what is known as the enfranchisement of the towns.

It was in the eleventh century that this revolt of the cities against the feudal lords became general. During the course of this and the succeeding century, the greater number of the towns of the countries of Western Europe either bought or wrested by force of arms charters from their lords or suzerains. The cities thus chartered did not become independent of the feudal lords, but they acquired the right of managing, with more or less supervision, their own affairs, and were secured against arbitrary and oppressive taxation. This was a great gain; and as, under the protection of their charters, they grew in wealth and population, very many of them became at last strong enough to cast off all actual dependence upon lord or suzerain, and become in effect independent states — little commonwealths. Especially was this true in the case of the Italian cities, and in a less marked degree in that of the German towns. Respecting the fortunes of the cities in these two countries, we will now speak with some detail.

Rise of the Italian City-Republics. — The Italian cities were the first to rise to power and importance. Several things conspired to secure this early and rapid development. First, the cities of Italy had become, under the imperial government, more perfectly developed as municipalities than the towns of other parts of the Empire. Then, they suffered less from the barbarian invaders, and were thus able to retain in a very perfect degree their municipal organization. Again, the feudal system was less perfectly developed in the peninsula than elsewhere, the lords being obliged from the very first to divide power with the cities, which never became so completely subjected to the nobility as did those of other coun-

tries. Finally, the small number of the barbarians in Italy forced the chiefs and nobles to build their castles, for the sake of greater security, within the walls of some city, instead of in the open country, which circumstance added greatly to the strength and importance of the towns.

But the main cause of the prosperity and influence of the Italian cities was their trade with the East, and the enormous impulse given to that commerce by the Crusades. Venice, Genoa, and Pisa became immensely rich through the vast transport business thrown into the hands of their merchants by the crusading movement. And after the Crusades had ceased, the trade to which they had given birth still continued. The returning crusaders, bringing back with them a taste for Oriental customs and notions, created a great demand for articles of refinement and luxury, which could be supplied only by the Italian traders through their Eastern connections.

With wealth came power, and all the chief Italian cities became distinct, self-governing states, with just a nominal dependence upon the Pope or Emperor. Towards the close of the thirteenth century, Northern and Central Italy was divided among about two hundred little city-republics. Italy had become another Greece. The political history of these states is very obscure, intricate, and uninteresting; but their social, artistic, and commercial records form the most brilliant pages of the annals of the Middle Ages.

There are, however, three important matters which may be considered as belonging to their general political history, — the formation of the Lombard League, the dissensions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the conversion of the republics into hereditary principalities. We shall speak of each of these matters under a separate head, and then shall proceed to notice some of the more interesting and instructive circumstances in the separate commercial, social, or artistic life of the representative states of Venice, Pisa, Genoa, and Florence.

The Lombard League. — The Lombard League was a union of the principal cities of Northern Italy, headed by Milan, for the purpose of resisting the pretensions of the German Emperor, who

claimed fealty and tribute as their suzerain. The kings of Germany, it must be borne in mind, had always considered Italy as a fief of their empire ever since Charlemagne's conquest of the country and his coronation by the Pope as King of the Romans (800). This suzerainty was really scarcely more than nominal. It imposed upon the Italians little more than the payment of a small tribute, and the use of the Emperor's name in state documents. Some of the German Emperors never visited Italy at all; and the manner in which the Emperor was received by the Italians when he did make a journey into this quarter of his dominions illustrates how very little like sovereign authority was his rule over them. Thus, so jealous were the Italians of the freedom of their cities, the imperial train was not allowed to establish itself within the city walls. The royal castle — found at each chief city — was always outside the city defenses, and there his majesty's court was accommodated during his visit.

The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa endeavored to extend and strengthen the imperial authority over these Italian cities. His aim was to reduce them from vassals or allies to subjects — to make himself their emperor in fact as well as in name. Milan resisted. Barbarossa crossed the Alps with a large army, captured the rebellious city, scattered its inhabitants, and leveled its walls and houses to the ground.

A confederation known as the Lombard League was now formed by the exiled Milanese and a large number of the cities of Northern Italy, for the purpose of avenging the wrongs of Milan and resisting the Emperor's schemes of ambition. A great battle was fought between the forces of the League and those of the Emperor at Legnano, in 1176. The Germans suffered an overwhelming defeat. "This battle was memorable," says Stillé, "because it was the first instance in the history of the Middle Ages in which municipalities joined together in successful resistance to one of the great sovereigns of Europe."

In the Treaty of Constance, which was arranged in 1183, the right of the cities to self-government was granted, although they were

to swear fealty to the Emperor as overlord, and pay a nominal tribute as a token of their vassalage.

Dissensions among the Italian Republics. — The Lombard League was almost the only instance of a confederation being effected among the city-states of Italy. Their entire history is an all but unbroken record of quarrels, dissensions, and wars among themselves. The dispute between them and the head of the Holy Roman Empire divided the population of the different cities into two great parties, — the Ghibellines, who adhered to the Emperor, and the Guelphs, who espoused the cause of his enemy the Pope. The quarrels between these rival parties kept all Italy in a perfect turmoil for several centuries.

Commercial rivalry and jealousy was another source of endless disputes and wars among the Italian cities; and still a third cause of trouble and dissension within the walls of each city was the presence there of the feudal lords. The streets were kept wet with the blood of the quarrelsome retainers of rival houses. Shakespeare's tragedy of Romeo and Juliet is based upon the feud of two such rival houses of Verona, the Capulets and the Montagues.

We seem, while tracing the story of the Italian republics, to be following again the history of the cities of Greece. The great political defect in the Grecian character was an utter inability to broaden love of city into love of country — to raise municipal sentiment into patriotism. We meet the same fault in the Italian character. For illustration, the Venetians had this maxim: "Venice first, Christians next, and Italy afterwards."

The results to Italy of this narrow, jealous spirit were several centuries of dissensions and wars and of shameful subjection to foreign powers, — to the sovereigns of Spain, France, and Germany. French and German and Spanish soldiers were constantly plundering her cities and trampling down her harvests. United, Italy might easily have kept her coast against every enemy by way of the sea, and have so manned the passes of the Alps, those barriers which to Cicero seemed raised by the gods

expressly for the protection of the peninsula, that the combined armies of the North might have vainly attempted to storm those defenses.

The Establishment of Tyrannies. — Just what happened among the contending republics of Greece took place in the case of the quarreling city-commonwealths of Italy. Their republican constitutions were overthrown, and the supreme power fell into the hands of an ambitious aristocracy, or was seized by some bold usurper, who often succeeded in making the government hereditary in his family. Before the close of the fourteenth century almost all the republics of the peninsula had become converted into exclusive oligarchies or hereditary principalities.

One thing which favored the schemes of ambitious leaders was the custom of the cities — a custom which became common among them as the military spirit declined among their trade-loving citizens — of employing mercenary soldiers to fight their battles. These hirelings were called *condottieri*, and were at the service of the highest bidder. Their captains were usually soldiers of fortune. Very soon the employers of these conscienceless mercenaries found themselves completely in their power. The leaders of the bands often betrayed the liberties of the states they had been hired to defend, and upon the ruins of their republican institutions set up military despotisms.

Again, in other cities, the heads of powerful families acquired in a more legitimate way — by the ascendency of wealth or genius, or through extended business, social, and political connections — the control of the government, and while preserving, as did Augustus and his immediate successors at Rome, all the forms of the republican state, ruled with as absolute an authority as did those same imperial usurpers. Thus it was that the famous family of the Medici obtained control of affairs at Florence.

We shall now relate some circumstances, for the most part of a commercial or social character, which concern some of the most renowned of the Italian city-states.

Venice. — Venice, the most famous of the Italian republics, had

its beginnings in the fifth century in the rude huts of some refugees who fled out into the marshes of the Adriatic to escape the fury of the Huns of Attila. Here, secure from the pursuit of the barbarians, who were unprovided with boats, they gradually built up, on some low islets, a number of little villages, which finally, towards the close of the seventh century, coalesced to form a single city, at whose head was placed a ruler bearing the title of Doge, a name destined to acquire a wide renown.

Throughout the ninth and tenth centuries the galleys of the little Republic were defending her commerce in the Adriatic against the Norman and Saracen corsairs, or repulsing formidable attacks upon her island home by the barbarian Slavonians and Hungarians. For the sake of protection, some Greek cities upon the opposite shore of the Adriatic put themselves under her government. Conquests and negotiations gradually extended her possessions century after century, until she finally came to control the coast and waters of the Eastern Mediterranean in much the same way that Carthage had mastery of the Western Mediterranean at the time of the First Punic War.

Even before the Crusades her trade with the East was very extensive, and by those expeditions was expanded into enormous dimensions. The sea between Italy and the ports of Egypt and Syria were literally covered with her transports and war-galleys. It will be recalled that she aided the Frank warriors of the Fourth Crusade in their enterprise against Constantinople, and received a share of the spoils, — three eighths of the conquered provinces. Upon this acquisition, the Doge, Henry Dandolo, assumed the clumsy title, "Duke of three eighths of the Roman Empire" (1204).

Very soon after this the Venetian Senate gave permission to citizens of the Republic to make such conquests as they might be able in any of the islands about Greece. The conquerors were to hold as vassals of Venice the lands they might win. Many adventurers took advantage of the opportunity thus afforded, and soon many of the Grecian islands were in possession of ambitious citi-

zens of Venice, and consequently became fiefs or dependencies of the Republic.

Venice was at the height of her power during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. Her supremacy on the sea was celebrated each year by the unique ceremony of "Wedding the Adriatic" by the dropping of a ring into the sea. The origin of this custom was as follows. In the year 1177, one of the Popes — for the Pontiffs of Rome had come to think that the sea as well as the land was theirs to dispose of as they pleased — gave a ring to his friend the Doge of Venice with these words: "Take this as a pledge of authority over the sea, and marry her every year, you and your successors forever, in order that all may know she is under your jurisdiction, and that I have placed her under your dominion as a wife is under the dominion of her husband." The annual celebration of this ceremony was one of the most brilliant spectacles of the Middle Ages.

The decline of Venice dates from the fifteenth century. The conquests of the Turks during this century deprived her of much of the territory she held east of the Adriatic, and finally the voyage of Vasco da Gama round the Cape of Good Hope, showing a new path to India, gave a death-blow to her commerce. From this time on the trade with the East was to be conducted from the Atlantic ports instead of from those in the Mediterranean.

Genoa. — Genoa, on the western coast of Italy, was the most formidable commercial rival of Venice. The period of her greatest prosperity dates from the recapture of Constantinople from the Latins by the Greeks in 1261. The Genoese through jealousy of the Venetians, who, it will be remembered, had aided the Frankish Crusaders in capturing the city in 1204, and shared with them the provinces of the Empire, assisted Michael Paleologus in the recovery of the throne, and as a reward were given possession of some of the suburbs of Constantinople, and of other places along the Bosphorus, which gave them control of the entrance to the Black Sea. Very soon they established ports along the shores of the Euxine, and began to carry on a lucrative trade with Eastern Asia by way of that sea and the Caspian.

The jealousy with which the Venetians regarded the prosperity of the Genoese led to oft-renewed war between the two rival republics. For nearly two centuries their hostile fleets contended, as did the navies of Rome and Carthage during the First Punic War, for the supremacy of the sea.

The merchants of Genoa, like those of Venice, reaped a rich harvest during the Crusades. The death-blow to their prosperity was given by the irruption of the Mongols and Turks, and the capture of Constantinople by the latter in 1453. The Genoese traders were now driven from the Black Sea, and their traffic with Eastern Asia was completely broken up; for the Venetians had control of the ports of Egypt and Syria and the southern routes to India and the countries beyond — that is, the routes by way of the Euphrates and the Red Sea.

With their old trade-route obstructed by the barbarians, the Genoese now sought a new way to the East by sailing westward through the Straits of Gibraltar. The Genoese sailor Columbus was seeking a water-path to India, a life-long dream, when he found the New World. But when at last the Portuguese navigator Vasco da Gama succeeded in reaching India by doubling the southern cape of the African continent, and Magellan had arrived at the same country by sailing westward and circumnavigating the globe, these discoveries, instead of enabling Genoa to regain the trade and wealth which were slipping from her hands, simply caused her more rapid decline, by transferring commercial supremacy from the ports of the Mediterranean to those of the Atlantic sea-board.

Genoa still contains many architectural monuments, especially superb palaces, which bear abundant evidence of the genius of her artists and the wealth and magnificence of her merchant princes during that splendid period when the renown of the city-republic was spread throughout the world.

Pisa.— Pisa, located just a little to the south of Genoa, on the same coast, was her early rival for supremacy in the waters of the Western Mediterranean. The first battle between the navies of

the two republics was fought in 1070. Thenceforward for two centuries there was carried on an almost continuous war by the rival cities, which finally resulted in the complete destruction of the power of Pisa.

Pisa, like Genoa, contains at the present time many monuments dating from the period of her commercial prosperity. Among these is the famous Leaning Tower, whose erection was commenced in 1174. The inclination of the structure was caused, most likely, by the sinking of the foundation. Pisa is built in part upon marshy land, and the walls of many of its buildings are thrown dangerously out of plumb from the same cause. The celebrated cathedral for which the Tower was designed as a belfry has its walls thus injured by the treacherous nature of the ground on which it stands.

Florence. — Florence, "the most illustrious and fortunate of Italian Republics," although, from her inland location upon the Arno, shut out from engaging in those naval enterprises that conferred wealth and importance upon the coast cities of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, became, notwithstanding, through the skill, industry, enterprise, and genius of her citizens, the great manufacturing, financial, literary, and art centre of the Middle Ages.

The woolen and silk products of her looms and the fine work of her jewelers were famous in all the markets of the world. Through her banking institutions she became the money centre of Europe during the Middle Ages. The list of her illustrious citizens, of her poets, statesmen, historians, architects, sculptors, and painters, is more extended than that of any other city of mediæval times; and indeed, as respects the number of her great men, Florence is perhaps unrivalled by any city of the ancient or modern world save Athens. In her long roll of fame we find the names of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Macchiavelli, Michael Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Galileo, Amerigo Vespucci, and the Medici.

From the tenth century up to the fifteenth the government of Florence was, for the greater part of the time, democratic in form. Occasionally, however, the city would fall into the hands of the

nobles or under the power of a usurper, but a sudden uprising of the people usually quickly restored the Republic.

In no other of the Italian cities were the contentions between Guelphs and Ghibellines so constant, bitter, and bloody as within the walls of Florence. The history of the city from the twelfth to the fifteenth century is a most intricate, tedious, and uninstructive record of the interminable quarrels and fightings of the contending factions. The triumph of one party was usually marked by the massacre or banishment of the leading members of the opposing one. Thus it happened, through the changes of fortune, that many of the most illustrious citizens of Florence were, at one period or another of their career, sent into exile, just as at Athens, under the Republic, ostracism was the fate of almost every person of distinction.

Yet, notwithstanding the incessant discord within her walls, Florence during all these times continued to grow in wealth, influence, and fame; and probably we should not be wrong in thinking that many of the illustrious men to whom the city gave birth during this period of strife and turmoil, owed their greatness to the seemingly adverse circumstances amidst which their lives were cast. Certainly the Divine Comedy would never have been written as it was written, had Dante not tasted the bitterness of misfortune, defeat, and exile.

It was in the early part of the fifteenth century that the Medici, a family of merchants whom wealth had lifted to the nobility, secured leadership in the political affairs of Florence. At the outset, they veiled their really absolute power under the forms of the Republic; but after a time the government became an hereditary monarchy in their family. For the greater part of the fifteenth century they controlled and watched over the city in a sort of parental way, being greatly loved, honored, and trusted by the Florentines. Their private fortune was "a sort of public treasury, freely open to learned men."

The two most distinguished names of the house are those of Cosmo de Medici, who was fondly called the "Friend of the People

and the Father of his Country," and Lorenzo his grandson, who, through the munificent patronage he extended to artists and men of letters, had bestowed upon him the title of "the Magnificent." The position which Florence held as a centre of art during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the reputation she enjoys at the present day on account of her superb palaces, her magnificent churches, and her museums and universities, are due very largely to the taste, discernment, and liberality of these illustrious princes.

The Hanseatic League. — From speaking of the Italian city-republics, we must now turn to say a word respecting the free cities of Germany, in which country, next after Italy, the mediæval municipalities had their most perfect development, and acquired their greatest power and influence.

When, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the towns of Northern Europe began to extend their commercial connections, the greatest drawback to their trade was the general insecurity and disorder that everywhere prevailed. The trader who entrusted his goods designed for the Italian market to the overland routes was in danger of losing them at the hands of the robber nobles, who watched all the lines of travel, and either robbed the merchant outright, or levied an iniquitous toll upon his goods. The plebeian tradesman, in the eyes of these thieving barons, had no rights which they were bound to respect. Nor was the way to Italy by the Baltic and the North Sea beset with less peril. Piratical crafts scoured those waters, and made booty of any luckless merchantman they might overpower, or lure to wreck upon the dangerous shores.

Finally, in the thirteenth century, some of the German cities, among which Lubeck and Hamburg seem to have been prominent, began to form temporary alliances for protecting their merchants against pirates and robbers. These transient leagues finally led to the formation of the celebrated Hanseatic[1] League, whose organization as a political power dates from the year 1360. The con-

[1] From the old German *hansa*, a confederation or union.

federation came to embrace eighty-five of the principal towns of North Germany.

It organized armies, equipped navies, and exercised all the powers of sovereignty. It even carried on successful war against the kings of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, and with the threat of war forced from Edward IV. of England important concessions in favor of its merchants. It thus established a sort of *imperium in imperio*, an "empire within an empire"; for a city, by joining the League, did not thereby change its relations to the German Emperor. The Hanse towns never became so independent of Imperial control as did the Italian cities of the Lombard League.

In order to facilitate the trading operations of its members, the League established in different parts of the world factories and warehouses, which were placed in charge of persons vowed to lives of celibacy and monastic austerities. The four most noted centres of the trade of the Confederation were the cities of Bruges, London, Bergen, and Novgorod. The Flemish city Bruges was the intermediate station between the Italian and German ports, such a resting-place being necessary on account of the length of the voyage from the Mediterranean to the Baltic being too great to be performed in a single season. The establishment of the League at London controlled a considerable share of the traffic of the British Isles, much to the detriment of the English merchants. Bergen was the centre of the trade with Norway and Sweden; while at Novgorod, in Russia, were gathered for distribution throughout the West the products of Russia and the countries beyond.

The League thus became a vast monopoly, which endeavored to control in the interests of its own members the entire commerce of Northern Europe. Naturally it awakened the animosity of other cities not sharing its privileges, and by its assumption of all the powers of a sovereign state excited the jealousy of the kings of Europe, who gradually annulled the charters and privileges they had given the League.

Among other causes of the dismemberment of the association may be mentioned the maritime discoveries that signalized the close of the fifteenth century, which disarranged all the old routes of trade in the north of Europe as well as in the south; the increased security which the advance of civilization and the formation of strong governments gave to the merchant class upon sea and land; and the heavy expense incident to membership in the League, resulting from its ambitious projects.

All these things combined resulted in the decline of the power and usefulness of the League, and prompted the withdrawal of one city after another from the alliance, and finally led to its formal dissolution about the middle of the seventeenth century.

Influence of the Mediæval Cities. — The chartered towns and free cities of the mediæval era exerted a vast influence upon the commercial, social, artistic, political, and intellectual development of Europe.

They were the centres of the industrial and commercial life of the Middle Ages, and laid the foundations of that vast system of international exchange and traffic which forms a characteristic feature of modern European civilization.

Their influence upon the social and artistic life of Europe cannot be overestimated. It was within the walls of the cities that the civilization uprooted by the Teutonic invaders first revived. With their growing wealth came not only power, but those other usual accompaniments of wealth, — culture and refinement. The Italian cities were the cradle and home of mediæval art, science, and literature.

Again, these cities were the birthplace of political liberty, of representative government. It was the burghers, the inhabitants of the cities, that in England, in France, and in Germany, finally grew into the Third Estate, or Commons, that in all these countries have come to hold the chief place in the government. In a word, municipal freedom was the germ of national liberty.

Nor must we fail to notice the influence of the mediæval cities upon the intellectual life of Europe. Extended commercial rela-

tions with Greek, Saracen, and pagan had precisely the same effect upon the trader that contact with different peoples and civilizations had on the intolerant and ignorant crusader. His curiosity was aroused, his mind liberalized, his horizon broadened. Thus the commercial spirit which dominated the cities contributed powerfully to that great intellectual movement, known as the Revival of Learning, which marked the latter part of the mediæval period, — a movement which next claims our attention.

CHAPTER VII.

THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING.

The Revival Outlined. — Long before the fall of Rome there was a very observable decline of the Latin intellect. Science, literature, philosophy, — the entire intellectual as well as political side of Roman civilization, — showed evidence of weakness and decay. Then came the inrush of the barbarians, and the countries that had been brought under the influence of Latin culture and refinement sank back into almost primitive ignorance and rudeness. The lowest point of depression was touched probably in the seventh century: Hallam calls that the *nadir* of the human mind in Europe.

But with Charlemagne, in the eighth century, came clear indications of improvement, due largely to the efforts of that liberal-minded prince. In the following century Alfred the Great in England gave a fresh impulse to learning and literature. A little later Scholasticism arose, and with its ceaseless debates stirred and trained the European mind. In the thirteenth century the universities were established, and these broadened and strengthened the basis of education. Meanwhile the Arabian schools in Spain were exerting a profound influence upon the physical sciences; and later were felt the liberalizing effects of the Crusades. While these and various other influences, such as the revival of the commercial spirit, were at work, the languages of modern Europe were forming, and developing native literatures, thus paving the way for the rapid and secure intellectual advance of the different peoples of the continent. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries came the helpful movement known as the Italian Renaissance, a restoration of classical learning and art. Then, about the middle of the

fifteenth century, the art of printing was perfected, and the intellectual stores of the world were placed within the reach of all who could profit by them. And just at the close of the period were made those wonderful geographical discoveries which, broadening the physical, widened also the mental horizon of the world.

This awakening of the European mind after the depression and lethargy of the first centuries of the mediæval period, this restoration of civilization as to its intellectual elements, is what we mean by the Revival of Learning. Popularly, the term is limited to the special outburst of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; but we shall use the phrase in the comprehensive sense indicated, employing the term *Renaissance*, or more narrowly *Humanism*, to designate that enthusiasm for the classical literatures which, originating with the Italian scholars in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was by them communicated to the students of the North. We thus make this restoration of classical letters simply one phase of the general revival of learning. What is known distinctively as the "Revival" ends with the Reformation, the great event of the sixteenth century, but ends, it must be noted, only as the morning ends when it merges into the fuller light of the day.

We will now trace some of the steps by which the human mind, after having sunk so low through faults and misfortunes, gradually regained that proud position which it held in Greek and Roman times, and prepared itself for the efforts and achievements of the modern era.

Scholasticism and the Schoolmen.

The Origin of Scholasticism. — The Roman schools, the aim of which was to produce orators through the study of the classic authors, gradually declined with the rise of Christianity, their place being taken by schools attached to the cathedrals and monasteries, from which the pagan classics were in time naturally excluded. These latter schools, whose aim and spirit were wholly ecclesiastical, felt, of course, the depression of the barbarian inva-

sion. Charlemagne infused new life into them, and to a certain extent secularized them, the new schools which he established not being so entirely theological in tone and spirit as the old ones. Thus within his own palace he set up a school in which persons might be trained for positions in the State as well as Church, and called the learned English scholar Alcuin across the Channel to take charge of the same. The king and all the members of the royal household became pupils in this palace school, in which the Greek and Latin classics were given a prominent place.

Within the schools founded or restored by Charlemagne grew up in the course of time a form of philosophy called Scholasticism, and its expounders Schoolmen. This philosophy was a fusion of Christianity and Aristotelian logic. It might be defined as being, in its later stages, an effort to reconcile Revelation and Reason, faith and science. The schoolmen did not question the truth or soundness of the theology of the Church; they accepted all the writings of the Fathers, the canons and decrees of Popes and Councils as unquestionably true. They did not ask, *are* these things so, but simply, *how* and *why* are they so. Thus they did not doubt but that the bread and wine in the sacrament were changed into real flesh and blood, but they sought to know the necessity and manner of the change; they did not doubt the existence of angels, but they reasoned about the different angelic orders and the mode of their existence; they did not doubt that man is redeemed by the sufferings and death of Christ, but they asked about the necessity of the atonement and the mode of substitution. Surely there must be a reason for everything, they insisted, and God has given us our reasoning faculty that we might search out final causes. And so with no instrument save the logic of Aristotle, with no knowledge of the laws, forces, or agencies of the universe, physical or spiritual, they fell to work upon the stupendous pile of dogmas and legends of the Church, with the purpose of reducing all to rational order and system. Organizing, explaining, justifying, harmonizing, putting in categories and syllogisms — such was the work of the Schoolmen.

The Greatest of the Schoolmen. — John Scotus Erigena, an Irish teacher and philosopher, whom Charles the Bald, grandson of Charlemagne, invited to France to take charge of the palace school, is sometimes called the first of the Schoolmen; but more generally this place is given to St. Anselm (1033–1109), an English bishop. The maxim of this typical Schoolman was, "I believe in order that I may understand."

But the greatest of the Schoolmen appeared in the thirteenth century. These were Albertus Magnus, Roger Bacon, Thomas Aquinas, and Duns Scotus. Of the first two we will say a word a little further on, in connection with the Saracen schools. Of the last two, Duns Scotus, on account of the acuteness of his argument, was called the Subtle Doctor, while Thomas Aquinas was named the Angelic Doctor. These famous teachers became the heads of rival schools of philosophy, the adherents of which were known respectively as Scotists and Thomists.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Schoolmen were the chief attraction of the schools and universities, which were crowded with students drawn from all quarters by the fame of this teacher or that. About the close of the fifteenth century, with the revival of classical learning, the Schoolmen, whose Latin was a barbarous jargon, and whose real knowledge of Aristotle was very slight, fell into contempt. The low estimate in which the followers of one of the greatest of the Schoolmen was held is preserved in our word *dunce*, applied to a disciple of Duns Scotus.

Faults of the Schoolmen. — The Schoolmen busied themselves with the most unprofitable questions in metaphysics and theology; as, "How many angels could dance at once on the point of a needle?" "Do angels in moving from place to place pass through intervening space?" "Do angels have stomachs?" "If an ass were placed exactly midway between two stacks of hay, would he ever move?" The dispute between Nominalists and Realists — too metaphysical a question for explanation in this place — distracted the schools and the Church for centuries.

But the greatest mistake of the Schoolmen was in their assum-

ing everything taught by theology to be true, and then attempting to demonstrate or justify it, to prove that all was rational and consistent. Consequently they became the defenders of many wholly indefensible propositions, and labored to make that appear true which is not true. Thus instead of leading men to the truth, they simply bewildered and befogged them. A great part of their work, therefore, was useless. Their ponderous folios are like the great pyramids of Egypt, — piles of misdirected human energy. "Our public libraries," says Hallam, thinking of the Schoolmen, "are cemeteries of departed reputation, and the dust accumulating on the untouched volumes speaks as forcibly as the grass that waves over the ruins of Babylon."

Good Effects of the System. — But the discussions of the Schoolmen were not without their good results. They sharpened the wits of men, created activity of thought and deftness in argument. The schools of the times became real mental-gymnasia, in which the young awakening mind of Europe received its first training and gained its earliest strength. The entire scholastic movement, as Adams says, "was the first great step in the revival of learning"; and not only so, but it was the first step in the more distant movement of the Reformation. The Schoolmen, it is true, were generally faithful champions of the Church; but then there were dangers lurking in so much thinking, and consequently we are not surprised to hear some of the Schoolmen teaching doctrines that were quite far from being orthodox. Thus the eminent teacher Peter Abelard (1079–1142) was accustomed to tell his scholars, "We should not believe unless we first understand."

The Universities. — Closely related to the subject of Scholasticism is the history of the Universities, which, springing up in the thirteenth century, became a powerful agency in the Revival of Learning. They were for the most part expansions of the old cathedral and abbey schools, this transformation being effected largely through the reputation of the Schoolmen, who drew such multitudes to their lectures that it became necessary to reorganize the schools on a broader basis. Popes and kings granted them

charters which conferred special privileges upon their faculties and students, as, for instance, exemption from taxation and from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts. The celebrated University of Paris was the first founded, and that of Bologna was probably next in order.

The studies given most prominence in the Universities were the scholastic theology and philosophy, and Roman and Canon Law, while just the slightest attention possible was paid to Greek, Hebrew, and the physical sciences. The science of medicine had not yet freed itself from the influence of magic and astrology, and alchemy had not yet given place to chemistry. The Ptolemaic theory of the universe still held sway. However, in all these matters the European mind was making progress, was blindly groping its way towards the light.

Influence of the Saracens. — The progress of the Christian scholars of Europe in the physical sciences was greatly accelerated by the Saracens, who, during the Dark Ages, were almost the sole repositories of the scientific knowledge of the world. A part of this they gathered for themselves, for the Arabian scholars were original investigators, but a larger share of it they borrowed from the Greeks. While the Western nations were too ignorant to know the value of the treasures of antiquity, the Saracens preserved them by translating into Arabic the scientific works of Aristotle, the treatises on medicine by Galen, and the astronomical writings of the Alexandrian Greeks; and then, when Europe was prepared to appreciate these accumulations of the past, gave them back to her. This learning came into Europe in part through the channel of the Crusades, but more largely, and at an earlier date, through the Arabian schools in Spain. Thus the Logic of Aristotle used by the Schoolmen was a translation from the Arabic. Sylvester II., who became pope in 999, was educated in the Moorish schools of Spain. A not improbable legend ascribes to him the introduction into Christian Europe of the Arabic numerals. This pontiff is simply the representative of hundreds who carried scientific learning out of the Arabian schools of the peninsula to spread it over Europe.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century the *scientific* works of Aristotle were translated from the Arabic, and thus first brought to the acquaintance of the Schoolmen. It is hardly possible to overestimate the stimulating and helpful influence of these and other scientific works from the same source, upon the awakening intellect of Europe. Two of the greatest scholars of the thirteenth century, or perhaps of all the mediæval ages, Roger Bacon and Albertus Magnus, owed very much of their scientific knowledge to the Arabians. Roger Bacon frightened all his contemporaries by his marvelous knowledge of mechanics, optics, chemistry, and other sciences, and was shut up in a dungeon on the charge of being in league with the devil. He certainly was in league with the Saracen scholars, — about the same thing in the eyes of his ignorant and fanatical persecutors, — and from that source probably learned the art of making gunpowder, with the composition of which article he was certainly acquainted. Albertus Magnus blended in a strange way the study of Aristotelian logic and Arabian science. He made valuable discoveries in chemistry, and, like Bacon, was believed by his superstitious age to employ unseen and spirit agencies in his laboratories.

The influence of these great Schoolmen upon the intellectual development of Europe was most profound. "To them," says a competent scholar, "modern science and civilization owe almost their existence." But whatever is owing to them becomes, it must be borne in mind, in large measure a debt to Arabian scholarship.

Effects of the Crusades. — Having in a previous chapter dwelt on the effects of the Crusades upon the intellectual development of the European peoples, there is no need that we here do more than refer to the matter, in order that we may fix in mind the place of the Holy Wars among the agencies that conspired to bring about the Revival of Learning. The stimulating, quickening, liberalizing tendency of these chivalric enterprises was one of the most potent forces concerned in the mental movement we are tracing.

Rise of Modern Languages and Literatures. — Between the tenth and the fourteenth century the native tongues of Europe found a voice — began to form literatures of their own. We have in another place spoken of the formation and gradual growth of these languages. As soon as their forms became somewhat settled, then literature was possible, and all these speeches bud and blossom into song and romance. In Spain, the epic poem of the Cid, a reflection of Castilian chivalry, forms the beginning of Spanish literature; in the South of France, the Troubadours fill the land with the melody of their love-songs; in the North, the Trouveurs recite the stirring romances of Charlemagne and his paladins, of King Arthur and the Holy Grail; in Germany, the harsh strains of the Nibelungenlied are followed by the softer notes of the Minnesingers; in Italy, Dante sings his Divine Comedy in the pure mellifluous tongue of Tuscany, and creates a language for the Italian race; in England, Chaucer writes his Canterbury Tales, and completes the fusion of Saxon and Norman into the English tongue. This formation of modern European languages and birth of native literatures, was one of the greatest gains in the interest of general intelligence; for the Schoolmen used the Latin language, and their discussions and writings consequently influenced only a limited class; while the native literatures addressed themselves to the masses, and thus stirred the universal mind and heart of Europe.

The New Stimulus. — With the mind of Europe aroused and sharpened by the debates of the disputatious Schoolmen; with France, Germany, Italy, and England filled with schools and universities; with the scientific stores of the past made accessible through the labors of Arabian scholars; with the narrow circle of men's thoughts widened by the Crusades; with the modern languages enriched and matured by the fusion of races and the growth of centuries, and now developing their rare stores of mythology and legend into suggestive and promising literature; with the mental sloth of the Dark Ages cast off, and the first steps taken in the Revival of Learning, we might suppose that the European intel-

lect would now be able to make an uninterrupted advance by virtue of its own inherent powers and native resources, without any further aids or incitements from the past than such as had been already received. But however this may be, the intellectual progress of Europe received just at this time a tremendous impulse from the bringing to light of the long-lost treasures of the classical literatures, so that we are left to conjecture what would have been the outcome of the unaided movement. We are thus brought to the next great step in the Revival of Learning.

Humanism and the Humanists.

The Italian Renaissance. — By the Renaissance is meant that literary and artistic revival of classical antiquity, that "passionate out-going towards the ancient world," that new enthusiasm for Greek and Latin literature and art which, springing up in Italy about the beginning of the fourteenth century, culminated there in the fifteenth, and before the close of the same century passed the Alps, and spread over the countries of the North.[1]

The Renaissance subdivides itself as follows: 1. The revival of classical learning; 2. The revival of classical art. It is with the first only, the intellectual and literary phase of the movement, that we are now concerned. This feature of the movement is called distinctively *Humanism*, and the promoters of it are known as *Humanists*, because they held that the study of the classics, the *literæ humaniores*, as they termed them, was the best humanizing agent,

[1] The term Renaissance is used in very different senses by different writers, and often with very great looseness. Colbert says: "The Renaissance was not a mere servile reproduction of antiquity; it was an harmonious fusion of the elements of Christian civilization, with the traditions of ancient taste and learning." Symonds says: "We use the term to denote the whole transition from the Middle Ages to the Modern World." Others, again, mean by it simply the revival of the Fine Arts, resulting from the discovery of some antique models. Lamartine makes the essence of the movement consist in man's discovery of himself and the universe.

— the only means, indeed, whereby could be secured the highest mental cultivation.

Causes of the Enthusiasm. —This wonderful revival of interest in the classical antiquities has sometimes been explained by referring it to an accidental discovery of some ancient manuscripts, like the alleged discovery of a copy of the Pandects of Justinian at Amalfi in 1135, and the unearthing of some ancient sculptures, as, for instance, the Laocoön group, dug up in the ruins of the Bath of Titus during the reign of Pope Julius II. But the movement was not an accident. It was brought about gradually, and by many and conspiring causes. One line of influences may be traced as follows. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the growth in wealth and population of the city republics of Italy, and the expansion of their interests, led to a revived study of the Roman law, which, dealing largely with municipal government, naturally had a great attraction for the judges and magistrates of the Italian cities.

From the study of the Latin jurists, scholars soon turned with equal zeal to the study of the Latin poets, and not without results. During the opening years of the fourteenth century Dante wrote the great poem of the mediæval period, the Divine Comedy, wherein, by making Virgil his guide through Hell and Purgatory, and by always speaking of him with loving reverence as his teacher and master, he gracefully acknowledges the help and inspiration received from the Augustan poet.

A revived interest in the old Latin authors could not fail of directing attention to the Greek classics, whence the Roman writers drew so much of their material. Here the Italian scholars drank at the fountain-head of the world's literature.

Petrarch and Boccaccio. — Dante was the forerunner of Humanism, but was not, properly speaking, a Humanist. His Divine Comedy is the "Epic of Mediævalism." The real originator of the humanistic movement was Petrarch (1304–1374). His love for the old Greek and Latin writers was a passion amounting to a worship. He often wrote love-letters to his favorite authors. In one to Homer he laments the lack of taste among his countrymen,

and declares that there are not more than ten persons in all Italy who could appreciate the Iliad.

Next to Petrarch stands Boccaccio (1313–1375) as the second of the Humanists. He received his inspiration, according to legend, at the tomb of Virgil in Naples. His theory of life was just the opposite of that entertained by the monks. He believed that this earthly existence should be regarded as a blessing, that it should be made a joyous thing. He would release man from the cloistral dungeon in which Monasticism had shut him.

Search for Old Manuscripts. — Just as the antiquarian of to-day searches the mounds of Assyria for relics of the ancient civilizations of the East, so did the Humanist ransack the libraries of the monasteries and cathedrals, and all the out-of-the-way places of Europe, for old manuscripts of the classic writers. Symonds likens these enthusiasts to new crusaders: "As the Franks," says he, "deemed themselves thrice blest if they returned with relics from Jerusalem, so these new Knights of the Holy Ghost, seeking not the sepulchre of a risen Lord, but the tomb wherein the genius of the ancient world awaited resurrection, felt holy transport when a brown, begrimed, and crabbed scrap of some Greek or Latin author rewarded their patient search."

Petrarch was one of the most enthusiastic searchers after these ancient treasures. He made many long and wearisome journeys, with the object of collecting manuscripts. The precious documents were found covered with mold in damp cellars, or loaded with dust in the attics of monasteries. This late search for these remains of classical authors saved to the world hundreds of valuable manuscripts which, a little longer neglected, would have been forever lost.

Libraries were founded where the new treasures might be stored, and copies of the manuscripts were made and distributed among all who could appreciate them. It was at this time that the famous Vatican Library was established by Pope Nicholas V. (1447–1455), one of the most generous promoters of the humanistic movement.

Effects of the Fall of the Greek Empire. — The reviving interest in the literature of ancient Greece was vastly augmented by the disasters just now befalling the Greek Empire. Constantinople, it will be recalled, fell before the Turks in 1453; but for a long time previous to this event the Turks had been wresting the provinces of the Empire one by one from the feeble hands of the Byzantine rulers. The inevitable fate of the capital was foreseen by all men of discernment long before the final catastrophe. From every part of the crumbling Empire scholars fled before the approach of the barbarians, and sought shelter in the West, especially in Italy, bringing with them many valuable manuscripts of the old Greek masters, who were almost unknown in Western Europe, and always an enthusiasm for Greek learning. The reputation of these exiles for talent and scholarship led to the appointment of many of them to professorships in the schools and universities of the West.

This great immigration of Greek scholars gave, as was natural, a fresh impulse to the study of Greek literature and philosophy. There was now a repetition of what took place at Rome upon the conquest of Greece in the days of the Republic. Italy is conquered a second time by the genius of Greece.

Draper points out as a matter of curious interest the exactly opposite effects produced by the Fall of the Old Rome and that of the New. The subversion of the former by the Teutons brought on the Dark Ages, while the capture of the latter by the Turks contributed powerfully to the bringing in of the Modern Era. But the actual results in the two cases were not so dissimilar as they at first seem. The overrunning of the Roman Empire in the West by the German invaders in the fifth century drove or confined civilization to the East, while the overrunning of the Byzantine Empire by the Turkish intruders in the fifteenth century drove it back to the West. Thus, as the writer to whom we have referred expresses it, the voyage of Columbus gave a New World to Europe; the irruption of the Turks, an Old World, — the Old World of Greek philosophy and literature.

The manuscripts discovered by the Italian Humanists, or brought from the East by the Greek exiles, were now multiplied and scattered broadcast over Europe by the happy and timely invention of the art of printing from movable type, of which we shall speak a little further on.

The Enthusiasm crosses the Alps. — Towards the close of the fifteenth century Italy became the object of French and Spanish ambitions, and was desolated by contentions and wars which proved very disastrous to the cause of the Humanists, already showing signs of decline. During the sixteenth century the study of Greek ceased almost entirely in the schools of the peninsula. But already the enthusiasm had infected the countries beyond the Alps; and as the zeal of the scholars of the South died away, that of the scholars of the North created a home for the New Learning in the colleges and universities of Germany, France, and England. Greek was now added to Latin as one of the requirements in a liberal education, and from that day to this has maintained a prominent place in all our higher institutions of learning. Just now, indeed, the sciences are disputing the claims of both Greek and Latin to being the best means of mental discipline and culture, and some would even push the latter studies aside as educational agencies once valuable, but now superseded.

In transalpine Europe the humanistic movement became blended with other tendencies. In Italy it had been an exclusive passion, a single devotion to Greek and Latin literature; but here in the North there is added to this enthusiasm for the classics an equal and indeed supremer interest in the new-found treasures of the Hebrew world, the long-lost Bible, which the printing-presses were now giving to the peoples of Europe in their own tongues. So what was in the South a restoration of classical literature and art, a renewal of the elements of beauty and taste in the ancient civilizations, becomes, in the more serious and less sensuous North, a revival of primitive Christianity, of the ethical and religious elements of the past. The Renaissance, in a word, becomes the Reformation; the Humanist becomes the Reformer. Petrarch

hangs over the pages of Homer; Luther pores over the pages of the Bible. One is touched by beauty; the other is stirred by truth.

Evil and Good Results of the Classical Revival. — There were some serious evils inherent in the classical revival. In Italy, especially, where the humanistic spirit took most complete possession of society, it was "disastrous to both faith and morals." The study of the old pagan writers produced the result predicted by the monks, — caused a renascence of paganism.[1] To be learned in Greek was to excite suspicion of heresy. With the New Learning came also those vices and immoralities that characterized the decline of classical civilization. Italy is corrupted by the new influences that flow in upon her, just as Rome was corrupted by Grecian luxury and vice in the days of the failing Republic.

Again, it is urged that the attention which was given to Latin and Greek prevented the development of the native literatures of Europe. As to Italy, it is true that the national literature which had started into life with such promise with Dante was sacrificed on the altar of the new worship; but in transalpine Europe the study of the ancient tongues was never so exclusive as to produce the disastrous effect observed in Italy.

[1] The age of the Renaissance, with its longings and superstitious fears, is well epitomized in the tradition of Dr. Faustus. "That legend," says Symonds, "tells us what the men upon the eve of the Revival longed for, and what they dreaded, when they turned their minds toward the past. The secret of enjoyment and the source of strength possessed by the ancients allured them; but they believed that they could only recover this lost treasure by the suicide of the soul. So great was the temptation, that Faustus paid the price. After imbibing all the knowledge of the age, he sold himself to the devil, in order that his thirst for experience might be quenched, his grasp upon the world be strengthened, and the ennui of his activity be soothed. His first use of this dearly-bought power was to make blind Homer sing to him. Amphion tunes his harp in concert with Mephistopheles. Alexander rises from the dead at his behest, with all his legionaries; and Helen is given to him for a bride. Faustus is therefore a parable of the impotent yearnings of the spirit in the Middle Ages, — its passionate aspiration, its conscience-stricken desire, its fettered curiosity amid the cramping limits of impotent knowledge and irrational dogmatisms." — *Revival of Learning*, p. 53.

On the other hand, the benefits of the movement to European civilization were varied and positive. Thus, during the Middle Ages, the Latin language had become vulgarized in the hands of the monks and Schoolmen, had degenerated into a barbarous jargon, while the Greek language had been lost, and Greek philosophy perverted. The Renaissance restored to the world the pure classical Latin, and gave back in their purity the language and the philosophy of Aristotle. And in giving to the scholars of Europe the masterpieces of ancient literature, it gave to them the most faultless models of literary taste and judgment that the world has ever produced. The influence of these in correcting the extravagances of the mediæval imagination, tempering the judgment, and forming correct literary tastes, can be distinctly traced in all the native literatures of Europe. Many of the most elegant of modern writers have acknowledged that their graces of style were caught from a close study of the classical masters.

Moreover, the classical revival gave to Europe, not only faultless literary models, but large stores of valuable knowledge. As Woolsey says, "The old civilization contained treasures of permanent value which the world could not spare, which the world will never be able or willing to spare. These were taken up into the stream of life, and proved true aids to the progress of a culture which is gathering in one the beauty and truth of all the ages." And to the same effect are the words of Symonds, who closes his appreciative review of the Italian Revival of Letters as follows: "Such is the Lampadephoria, or torch-race, of the nations. Greece stretches out her hand to Italy; Italy consigns the sacred fire to Northern Europe; the people of the North pass on the flame to America, to India, and the Australasian Isles."

Printing. — One of the most helpful agencies concerned in the Revival of Learning, was the invention of printing from movable blocks, or type, — the most important discovery, in the estimation of Hallam, recorded in the annals of mankind.

As is true in the case of most great inventions, the grand result

of which we speak was reached by gradual approaches. The making of impressions by means of engraved seals or blocks seems a device as old as civilization. The Chinese appear to have practised this form of printing from the very earliest times. Chaldæan seals have been found in large numbers, and the old Babylonian mounds are full of bricks *stamped* with the name and title of their ancient builders.

The art seems to have sprung up anew in Europe during the mediæval period. First, devices on playing-cards were formed by impressions from blocks; then manuscripts were stamped with the portraits of saints. The next step was to cut into the same block a few lines of explanatory text, — and we can readily believe that some of the first efforts at wood-carving needed explanation. The progress of the art through these initial stages is illustrated by old manuscripts still in existence. In time the lines increased to pages, and during the first half of the fifteenth century several entire books — each, however, consisting of only a few pages — were produced by the block-printing method.

The next thing to be done in order to render the invention really valuable was to separate the letters — to cut each character upon a separate and movable block. For this improvement the world is probably indebted to John Gutenberg of Mentz (1438).[1]

Gutenberg employed wooden types, which were clumsy and costly. These were soon replaced by metal types, first cut by hand, but afterwards formed by punches. This last improvement may be regarded as completing the several stages of the invention. The credit of substituting metal for wood in the manufacture of the types must be given to Schoeffer and Faust, who made the improvement only a few years after Gutenberg's invention (in 1450).

The new art would have been much restricted in its usefulness through the scarcity and expensiveness of material for books, had it not been for the bringing to perfection about this time of the

[1] Dutch writers claim that the honor of the invention belongs to Costar of Haarlem.

art of making paper from linen rags, an art known among the Arabs as early, at least, as 1100. This article took the place of the costly parchment, and rendered it possible to place books within the reach of all classes.

The first book printed from movable types was a Latin copy of the Bible, issued from the press of Faust and Gutenberg at Mentz, between the years 1450 and 1455. The art spread rapidly, and before the close of the fifteenth century presses were busy in every country of Europe, multiplying books with a rapidity undreamed of by the patient copyists of the cloister. "In the last thirty years of the fifteenth century, 10,000 editions of books and pamphlets are said to have been published throughout Europe, the most important half of them, of course, in Italy; and all the Latin authors were accessible to every student before it closed." — GREEN. The first book printed in Greek was published at Milan in 1476.

It is needless to dwell upon the tremendous impulse which the new art gave, not only to the humanistic movement, but to the general intellectual progress of the European nations. Without it, the Revival of Learning must have languished, and the Reformation could hardly have become a fact in history. Its instrument, the *press*, is fitly chosen as the symbol of the new era of intelligence and freedom which it ushered in.

CHAPTER VIII.

GROWTH OF THE NATIONS. — FORMATION OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS AND LITERATURES.

Introductory. — The most important movement that marked the latter part of the Middle Ages was the grouping, in several of the countries of Europe, of the petty feudal states and half-independent cities and towns into great nations with strong centralized governments. This movement was accompanied by, or rather consisted in, the decline of Feudalism as a governmental system, the loss by the cities of their freedom, and the growth of the power of the kings.

Many things contributed to this consolidation of peoples and governments, different circumstances favoring the movement in the several countries. In some countries, however, events were opposed to the centralizing tendency, and in these the Modern Age was reached without nationality having been found. But in England, in France, and in Spain circumstances all seemed to tend towards unity, and by the close of the fifteenth century there were established in these countries strong despotic monarchies. Yet even among those peoples where national governments did not appear, some progress was made towards unity through the formation of national languages and literatures, and the development of common feelings, sentiments, and aspirations, so that these races or peoples were manifestly only awaiting the opportunities of a happier period for the maturing of their national life.

This rise of Monarchy and decline of Feudalism, this substitution of strong centralized governments in place of the feeble, irregular, and conflicting authorities of the feudal nobles, was a very great gain to the cause of law and good order. It paved the way for modern progress and civilization.

In these changes the political liberties of all classes, of the cities as well as of the nobility, were, it is true, subverted. But though Liberty was lost, Nationality was found. And the people may be trusted to win back freedom, as we shall see. Those sturdy burghers — the merchants, artisans, lawyers of the cities — who, in the eleventh century, showed themselves stronger than *lords*. will. in time, with the help of the yeomanry, prove themselves stronger than *kings*. Europe shall be not only orderly, but free. Out of despotic monarchy will rise constitutional, representative government.

I. England.

General Statement. — In a preceding chapter we told of the origin of the English people, and traced their growth under Saxon, Danish, and Norman rulers. We shall, in the present section, tell very briefly the story of their progress under the Plantagenet kings, thus carrying on our narrative to the accession of the Tudors in 1485, from which event dates the beginning of the modern history of England.

The line of Plantagenet kings began in 1154 with Henry II., son of Queen Matilda and Geoffrey Plantagenet of Anjou, and ended with Richard III. in 1485. The dynasty thus lasted three hundred and thirty-one years, and embraced fourteen sovereigns.[1]

The era of the Plantagenets was a most eventful one in English history. It was under these kings that the English constitution

[1] The name Plantagenet came from the peculiar badge, a sprig of broom-plant (*plante de genêt*), adopted by one of the early members of the House Following is a table of the sovereigns of the family: —

Henry II.	1154–1189	HOUSE OF LANCASTER.	
Richard I.	1189–1199	Henry IV.	1399–1413
John	1199–1216	Henry V.	1413–1422
Henry III.	1216–1272	Henry VI.	1422–1461
Edward I.	1272–1307	HOUSE OF YORK.	
Edward II.	1307–1327	Edward IV.	1461–1483
Edward III.	1327–1377	Edward V.	1483
Richard II.	1377–1399	Richard III.	1483–1485

took on its present form, and those charters and laws were framed which are rightly esteemed the bulwark of English freedom. Moreover, the wars of the period were, for the most part, attended by far-reaching consequences, and so helped to render the age memorable.

The chief political events of the period which we shall notice were the wresting of Magna Charta from King John, the formation of the House of Commons, the Conquest of Wales, the Wars with Scotland, the Hundred Years' War with France, and the Wars of the Roses.

Magna Charta (1215). — *Magna Charta*, the "Great Charter," held sacred as the basis of English liberties, was an instrument which the English barons and clergy forced King John to sign, in which the ancient rights and privileges of the people were clearly defined and guaranteed.

The circumstances which led up to this memorable transaction, narrated in the briefest way possible, were as follows: The laws and usages of the Anglo-Saxons carefully protected the rights and liberties of the people against the oppression of their rulers. The Norman sovereigns, to speak in general terms, disregarded the customs and institutions of the people they had subjected, and ruled in a very arbitrary and despotic manner. The first of the Plantagenet kings, themselves also of foreign race, followed in the footsteps of their Norman predecessors. King John (1199–1216), the third of the line, was as tyrannical as he was unscrupulous and wicked. Having quarreled with the Pope respecting the filling of vacant offices in the English churches, he had been excommunicated, and his kingdom placed under an interdict. We have in another place told how John made his peace with the Church by doing homage to the Pope and making England a fief of the See of Rome.

This pusillanimous act awakened the greatest indignation among all classes throughout England; and this feeling, added to the bitter resentment that had been already aroused by the insults and outrages which the king had heaped upon his nobles, now led to

an open revolt of the barons, who were counseled and encouraged to this step by the patriot Archbishop of Canterbury, Stephen Langton. Indeed, the king was supported by no class. The movement was an uprising of the nation, determined upon the recovery of their time-honored liberties. The tyrant was forced to bow to the storm. He met his barons at Runnymede, a flat meadow on the Thames a little way from Windsor, and there affixed his seal to the instrument that had been prepared to receive it.

Among the important articles of the paper were the following, which we give as showing at once the nature of the famous document, and the kind of grievances of which the people had occasion to complain: —

"No freeman shall be seized or imprisoned, or dispossessed, or outlawed, or in any way brought to ruin: we will not go against any man nor send against him, save by legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land.

"To no man will we sell, or deny, or delay, right or justice.

"No scutage or aid [save several feudal aids specified] shall be imposed in the realm save by the Common Council of the realm." [1]

Besides these articles, which form the foundation of the English Constitution, there were others abolishing numerous abuses and confirming various time-honored rights and privileges of the towns and of different classes of freemen.

To secure the observance of the Charter on the part of the king, in whose sincerity the barons had but little confidence, John was forced to put the Tower and city of London in the hands of the nobles as a pledge, and also to allow twenty-five barons to be appointed as "guardians of the liberties of the realm," with the

[1] This last article respecting taxation was suffered to fall into abeyance in the reign of John's successor, Henry III., and it was not until about one hundred years after the granting of *Magna Charta* that the great principle that the people should be taxed only through their representatives in Parliament became fully established.

right and power of declaring war against the king should he violate the oath he had sworn. Thus carefully was guarded the Great Charter, the palladium of English liberty.

John was beside himself with rage. "They have given me five-and-twenty over-kings," he exclaimed bitterly, and "flinging himself on the floor, gnawed sticks and stones in his impotent rage."

The Great Charter did not create new rights and privileges, but simply re-asserted and confirmed old usages and laws. It was often disregarded and broken by despotic sovereigns; but the people always clung to it as the warrant and basis of their liberties, and again and again forced tyrannical kings to renew and confirm its provisions, and swear solemnly to observe all its articles.

Considering the far-reaching consequences that resulted from the granting of *Magna Charta*, — the securing of constitutional liberty as an inheritance for the English-speaking race in all parts of the world, — it must always be considered the most important concession that a freedom-loving people ever wrung from a tyrannical sovereign.[1]

Beginning of the House of Commons (1265). — The reign of Henry III. (1216–1272), John's son and successor, witnessed the second important step taken in English constitutional freedom. This was the formation of the House of Commons, Parliament having up to this time consisted of a single House, made up of nobles and bishops. It was again the royal misbehavior — so frequently is it, as Lieber says, that Liberty is indebted to bad kings, though to them she owes no thanks — that led to this great change in the form of the English national assembly.

Henry had become even more tyrannical than his father. He had violated his oath to rule according to the Great Charter, had filled the offices of the kingdom with foreign favorites, and, finally, when a terrible famine was distressing England, and grain was sent

[1] A large number of copies of the Great Charter were immediately made and distributed through the country. "One copy of it still remains in the British Museum, injured by age and fire, but with the royal seal still hanging from the brown, shriveled parchment." — GREEN.

from Germany to be distributed among the people, the avaricious king had seized and sold it, and kept the money for his own use. The indignant barons rose in revolt, and Henry and his son being worsted in a great engagement, known as the Battle of Lewes (1264), were made prisoners.

Simon de Montfort, a French courtier, whom Henry had created Earl of Leicester and given his own sister in marriage, now assumed control of affairs. He was, fortunately, a very different man from most of those foreigners whom Henry had honored with position and titles. He entertained the same regard and love for the ancient customs and laws of the English as they did themselves, and was ever opposed to the king in all his cruel and despotic proceedings. Henry himself confessed that he feared Simon "more than all the thunder and lightning in the world."

Simon de Montfort now did that which entitles him to the lasting gratitude of the English people. He issued, in the king's name, writs of summons to the nobles and bishops to meet in Parliament; and at the same time sent similar writs to the sheriffs of the different shires, directing them "to return two knights for the body of their county, with two citizens or burghers for every city and borough contained in it."

Although the knights of the different shires, who found attendance at the meetings of the national assembly very burdensome, had in several instances before this been represented by delegates, so that the principle of representation was not now for the first time introduced in the English Constitution, still this was the first time when plain untitled citizens or burghers were called to take their place with the knights, lords, and bishops in the great council of the nation, to join in deliberations on the affairs of the realm.[1]

[1] At first the burghers could only take part in questions relating to taxation, but gradually they acquired the right to share in all matters that might come before Parliament. It is probable that the Commons at first sat in Westminster Hall with the Lords, though their votes were kept distinct. But very soon (in the reign of Edward I.) we find them gathered in a separate chamber. See Hallam, *Middle Ages*, chap. VII. Part III. § 11.

From this event is dated the birth of the House of Commons (1265). Formed as it was of knights and burghers, representatives of the common people, it was naturally at first a weak and timorous body, quite overawed by the great lords, but destined finally to grow into the controlling branch of the British Parliament.

Conquest of Wales. — For more than a thousand years the Celtic tribes of Wales maintained among their mountain fastnesses an ever-renewed struggle with the successive invaders and conquerors of England — with Roman, Saxon, and Norman. They never submitted their necks to the Roman yoke, but they were forced to acknowledge the overlordship of some of the English and Norman kings. But they were restless vassals, and were constantly withholding tribute and refusing homage.

Upon the accession of the Plantagenets the old struggle was renewed with greater fierceness than ever. It was the Welsh bards who, at this time, by their fiery, patriotic anthems, inspired the people to a last determined and gallant effort to rid their entire land forever of the invaders, and regain their lost liberties. As an illustration of the power of song, it is the story of the martial poet Tyrtæus and the Spartan warriors repeated. Everywhere the slumbering embers of Celtic patriotism were fanned into an uncontrollable flame. Under the lead of a line of brave chieftains, known as the "Lords of Snowdon," the Welsh all but shook off the hated yoke of the English kings.

When Edward I. came to the English throne in 1272, Llewellyn, the overlord of the Welsh chiefs, with the title of Prince of Wales, refused to render homage to the new king. Edward led a strong army into the fastnesses of the country, and quickly reduced his rebel vassal to submission. A few years later, and the Welsh patriots were again in arms; but the uprising was soon crushed, and Llewellyn, the last native Prince of Wales, was slain, and the independence of his race forever extinguished (1282).

Edward adopted a conciliatory policy in dealing with the conquered people. He seemed to think, however, that a little dupli-

city might be harmlessly employed; for tradition tells how, having promised to give them a native-born prince who could not speak a word of French or English, he presented to them his own infant son Edward, born during the campaign, in the Welsh castle of Caernarvon. Whether the legend be true or not, this same prince, when he became a young man old enough to bear arms, was made "Prince of Wales"; and from that time the title has been borne by the eldest son of the English sovereign.

Wars with Scotland.

Edward's Ambition. — With the Welsh tribes reduced to submission, Edward turned his attention to the conquest of Scotland; for it was the resolve of this ambitious king, from the very outset of his reign, to extend the authority of the English crown over the whole of the island of Britain.

It will be necessary for us to run back a little in order to a proper understanding of the relations existing at this time between the English and Scottish kingdoms.

How Scotland became a Fief of the English Crown. — The most noted of the early Scottish sovereigns are Malcolm II. (?–1033), who, through the gallant defense of his country against the Danes, deserves the title of the Alfred of the North; Duncan (1033–1039), well known by Shakespeare's semi-historical drama "Macbeth"; and Macbeth (1039–1054), the murderer of Duncan.

During the reign of the successor of Macbeth (Malcolm III.) took place the Norman conquest of England. Many of the English nobility, impelled by the tyranny of the invaders, fled into Scotland, where they were kindly received at the court of the Scottish king. It should be borne in mind that by this time the ruling class in Scotland had adopted the speech and manners of the South, and become English in all save name and blood.

William the Conqueror, in order to relieve his dominions of the constant threat of invasion by the Scots and the emigrant nobles who had made the northern country an asylum, led a strong

army against the Scottish king Malcolm, and forced him to swear fealty and do homage.

By this transaction was revived and strengthened an old claim of the English — dating from the time of King Alfred's son Edward — to the suzerainty of the Scottish realm. A misunderstanding respecting this matter was the cause of many of the wars that from this time on to the union of the crowns of the two rival kingdoms in the person of James Stuart I. (in 1603) were waged by the sovereigns of England against the Scottish kings. The English always contended that the Scottish king should do homage to the English king for the whole of his realm, while the Scots maintained that he owed fealty to him as his superior lord only for lands held in England. The Norman and Plantagenet kings down to the time of Edward I. were constantly quarreling with the Scots about this matter of English overlordship and Scotch vassalage.[1]

It will appear in the following paragraph how Edward secured the acknowledgment and confirmation of the English claim.

Failure of the Celtic Line of Scottish Kings. — In 1285 the Scottish King Alexander III. died, leaving his kingdom to his infant grandchild Margaret, the "Maid of Norway." A happy solution of the disputes of the two kingdoms was now proposed by the marriage of the little princess with the son of Edward I.; but during her passage from Norway to Scotland the child-queen, overcome by the rough voyage, sickened and died. Had this proposed marriage not been thus frustrated, the union of the two kingdoms might have been anticipated by three centuries, and all these three hundred years of rivalry and contention avoided. Thus does a seemingly trivial circumstance often give shape and direction to a long and momentous series of subsequent events.

The ancient Celtic line of Scottish chiefs was now extinct.

[1] The well-known act of Richard I. whereby, in order to raise means for equipping the forces he led in the Third Crusade, he agreed, in return for the sum of 10,000 marks, to give up all claim to the overlordship of Scotland, simply released the Scottish king from the burden of vassalage incurred by William the Lion when, being in the power of the English king Henry II., he did homage to him in return for freedom. This did not affect the older claim.

Thirteen claimants for the vacant throne immediately arose. Chief among these were Robert Bruce and John Balliol, distinguished noblemen of Norman descent, attached to the Scottish court.

King Edward I. of England was asked to act as arbitrator, and decide to whom the crown should be given. He consented to do so, and met the Scottish lords at Norham; but before taking up the question he demanded that the Scottish nobles should acknowledge him as their feudal suzerain. As Edward had a large army at this moment on the march up through England, the Scotch chiefs could not do otherwise than admit his claims to the suzerainty of their country, and do homage to him as their overlord. The question of the succession was then decided — not, however, by Edward in person, but by a body of commissioners—in favor of Balliol, who now took the crown of Scotland as Edward's vassal.

Edward and the Stone of Scone. — Edward's unjust demands on the Scottish king — whose nobles he summoned, in plain violation of feudal customs, to aid him in his foreign wars — led Balliol to cast off his feudal allegiance, and seek an alliance with the French king. Edward at once attacked the Scottish town of Berwick, and, by an indiscriminate slaughter of eight thousand of its inhabitants, struck such terror into the entire country that the gates of the chief cities were thrown open to him as he advanced. Balliol was soon in his hands, and was thrust into an English dungeon.

Scotland now fell back as a fief, forfeited by treason, into the hands of Edward, and all the Scottish chieftains and nobles were required to swear fealty directly to the English king as their feudal suzerain. The two kingdoms were thus united in a single monarchy. As a sign that the Scottish kingdom, even as a dependent state, had come to an end, Edward carried off to London the royal regalia, and with this a large stone, known as the Stone of Scone, upon which the Scottish kings, from time out of memory, had been accustomed to be crowned. A legend declared that the relic was the very stone on which Jacob had slept at Bethel, and which he afterwards anointed and set up as a memorial pillar. The block was taken to Westminster Abbey, and there made to

form the seat of a stately throne-chair, which to this day is used in the coronation ceremonies of the English sovereigns. Upon the stone is said to have been inscribed this legend: —

> "Should fate not fail, where'er this stone be found,
> The Scot shall monarch of that realm be crowned;"

which prophecy was fulfilled when James VI. of Scotland became James I. of England.

William Wallace. — The two countries were not long united. The Scotch people loved too well their ancient liberties to submit quietly to this extinguishment of their national independence. Under the inspiration and lead of the heroic Sir William Wallace, an outlaw knight, all the Lowlands were soon in determined revolt. It was chiefly from the peasantry — who, unlike the nobility, had never sworn allegiance to a foreign and hated king — that the hero Wallace drew his followers. With an army composed mainly of the stout Scotch yeomen, he defied the forces of the English near the city and castle of Stirling. When summoned by the English commander to a conference, he sent back word, "We are not here to treat, but to set Scotland free." In the battle which followed, known in history as the Battle of Stirling, the English were completely overthrown, and Wallace assumed the title of "Guardian of the Realm."

The success of the rebel chieftain roused Edward to an unwonted effort for the rescue of his threatened authority in Scotland. He marched into the country at the head of the largest army he had ever gathered, and in the battle of Falkirk inflicted a terrible defeat upon the patriot forces (1298). Wallace escaped from the field, but only to fall through treachery into Edward's hands, and be condemned to death as a traitor. His head, garlanded with a crown of laurel, was exposed on London Bridge.

The romantic life of Wallace, his patriot services, his heroic exploits, and his tragic death, at once lifted him to the place which he has ever since held, as the national hero of Scotland.

Robert Bruce. — The struggle in which Wallace had fallen was

soon renewed by the almost equally famous hero Robert Bruce (grandson of the Robert Bruce mentioned on p. 286), who was the representative of the nobles, as Wallace had been of the common people. The Scottish chiefs rallied at his call, and in 1306 he was crowned King of Scotland. Edward immediately set out to reconquer the kingdom; but the monarch was now old and feeble, and, overcome by the hardships of the march, he died just as he touched the borders of Scotland (1307).

In the death of Edward the English people lost one of their greatest and best-beloved sovereigns. "He was," says Green, "the first English king since the Conquest who loved his people with a personal love, and cared for their love in return." He so improved the laws of the realm, and made such great and beneficent changes in the administration of justice, that he is often called the "English Justinian." But with all his chivalric and admirable qualities, he was imperious, harsh, and sometimes cruel. He inspired fear rather than that love which he is said to have coveted. A subject, entering his presence with a petition, fell dead at his feet, just from sheer fright. His treatment of his Jewish subjects, whom he drove from his kingdom, illustrates how admirably he could act the part of a bigot and tyrant.

Edward II., notwithstanding he had promised his dying father that he would push on the war against the Scots, abandoned the enterprise, and turned back into England, bearing with him the body of the dead king, which the sturdy old warrior had charged his son to carry in just the opposite direction — at the head of the army, as he marched against the foe.

The English barons now began a struggle with their new king; and Bruce, taking advantage of Edward's inactivity and troubles, aroused the Scots to drive the British from their land. Foremost in every fight and exploit was the hero Bruce himself, who performed prodigies of valor, which lived long in Scottish legend and song.

The Battle of Bannockburn (1314). — For several years the Scottish cause seemed desperate. Bruce and his faithful com-

panions passed the lives of outlaws among the rocky fastnesses of the country. But at length fortune came to their side. By stratagem, surprise, and desperate fighting, the English soldiers were crowded out of city after city, and fortress after fortress, until almost all Scotland was in the hands of Bruce, who was now formally accepted by the people as their true and lawful sovereign.

When, finally, Stirling, the last place of importance still held by English troops, was besieged, Edward bestirred himself. With an army of 30,000 horsemen and a large body of foot, he hurried north and met the army of Bruce just a little way from Stirling, drawn up on a plain traversed by a little stream, called the Bannock burn,[1] whence the name of the battle that there took place.

An incident of the evening preceding the battle seemed to foreshadow its issue. Bruce was riding in front of his lines, when an English knight suddenly bore down upon him. But Robert skillfully turned aside the lance of his assailant, and then with one terrific blow of his battle-ax cleft his skull. The Scots accepted this as a good omen, while the English soldiers interpreted it as meaning to them defeat and death.

In the early morning the battle was joined. The charge of the English knights was broken on the solid squares of the Scotch yeomanry, and their ranks thrown into complete disarray. In their flight from the field thousands were plunged headlong into pits with which the Scots had protected their flanks. Edward himself escaped, but the larger number of his knights were made prisoners, and most of his foot soldiers slain in their flight. It was the most appalling disaster that had befallen the arms of the English people since the memorable defeat of Harold at Hastings.

The independence of Scotland really dates from the great victory of Bannockburn, but the English were too proud to acknowledge it until fourteen years more of war. Finally, in the year 1328, the young king Edward III. gave up all claim to the Scottish crown, and Scotland, with the hero Bruce as its king, took its place as an independent power among the nations of Europe.

[1] *Burn* is Scotch for *brook*.

The independence gained by the Scotch at Bannockburn was maintained for nearly three centuries, — until 1603, — when the crowns of England and Scotland were peacefully united in the person of James Stuart the Sixth of Scotland. During the greater part of these three hundred years the two countries were very quarrelsome neighbors.

The Hundred Years' War (1336–1453).

Origin of the War. — The Scottish war, which ended so disastrously for England, was one of the causes which led to the long and wasteful war between England and France known in history as the Hundred Years' War. This struggle was a most eventful one, and its effect upon both England and France so important and lasting as to entitle it to a prominent place in the records of the closing events of the Middle Ages. Freeman likens the contest to the Peloponnesian War in ancient Greece; and Hallam says that since the fall of Rome there had been no war among European nations "so memorable as that of Edward III. and his successor against France, whether we consider its duration, its objects, or the magnitude and variety of its events."

We said that the war with Scotland was one of the things that led up to this war. All through that struggle, France, as the old and jealous rival of England, was ever giving aid and encouragement to the Scotch rebels. Then the Duchy of Guienne in France, for which the English king did homage to the French sovereign as overlord, was a source of constant dispute between the two countries. Furthermore, upon the death of Charles IV., the last of the Capetian line, Edward III. laid claim, through his mother Isabel, daughter of Philip the Fair, to the French crown, in much the same way that William of Normandy centuries before had laid claim to the crown of England. The claim had no real basis, for according to the Salic law females were excluded from the French throne, and so of course could transmit no title to another person. It suited Edward's ambition, however, to rea-

son otherwise; and so when the peers of France gave the crown of the last Capetian to Philip of Valois, the cousin of the dead Charles IV., Edward, ignoring entirely their action, impudently assumed the royal arms and title of France, and as soon as he could disengage his hands from Scottish affairs, in which he had been meddling, began preparations for making good his claim by force.

Thus rivalries, jealousies, and ambitions plunged the two nations into a war which was kept up — with many interruptions, of course — for more than a hundred years.

The Battle of Crécy (1346). — The first great combat of the long war was the famous battle of Crécy. Edward had invaded France with an army of 30,000 men, made up largely of English bowmen, and had penetrated far into the country, ravaging as he went, when he finally halted, and faced the pursuing French army near the village of Crécy, where he inflicted upon it a most terrible defeat. 1,200 knights, the flower of French chivalry, and 30,000 foot-soldiers lay dead upon the field.

The great battle of Crécy is memorable for several reasons. It was here that cannons were first used in open battle, though some time before this rude artillery had been employed by the Spanish Moors in siege operations. The guns used at Crécy were very clumsy affairs, and were described by a French writer as engines "which, with fire, threw little iron balls to frighten the horses."

It was on this field, too, that the eldest son of Edward III., known, from the color of the armor he wore, as the Black Prince, earned his spurs, the symbol of knighthood, and a fame which the English have loved to keep green. This favorite prince was only sixteen years of age, but his father, notwithstanding, with a confidence in the temper and judgment of the boy which the event showed was not misplaced, entrusted him with the command of one of the main divisions of the army. The king himself took no active part in the battle, but watched the fight from an old windmill which overlooked the field. In the midst of the battle a messenger came in hot haste to the king, beseeching aid for the

prince, who, he represented, was hard pressed by the enemy. "Do not send to me so long as my son lives; let the boy win his spurs; let the day be his," was Edward's only reply to the entreaty. And the young prince won both his spurs and the day.

The battle of Crécy also derives a certain interest from the fact that there Feudalism and Chivalry received their death-blow. The yeomanry of England there showed themselves superior to the chivalry of France. "The lesson which England had learned at Bannockburn she taught the world at Crécy. The whole social and political fabric of the Middle Ages rested on a military base, and its base was suddenly withdrawn. The churl had struck down the noble; the bondsman proved more than a match, in sheer hard fighting, for the knight. From the day of Crécy, Feudalism tottered slowly but surely to its grave." The battles of the world were hereafter to be fought and won, not by mail-clad knights with battle-ax and lance, but by common foot-soldiers with bow and gun.

The death of the blind king John of Bohemia, Philip's ally, who fell with the chivalry of France on the fatal field, added another incident to the record of the memorable day. The veteran warrior, when he learned that the battle was going hard with the French, ordered his companions to fasten his horse's bridle to theirs, and lead him into the thickest of the fight, where he and his faithful nobles fell dead together. The old king's crest and motto, which consisted of a triple ostrich plume with the legend *Ich Dien*, "I serve," were adopted by the Prince of Wales, and from that day to this have been worn by his successors.

The Capture of Calais. — From the field of Crécy Edward led his army to the siege of Calais, an important seaport on the Channel, whence issued many of the pirate ships that had long troubled English commerce. At the end of a year's siege the city, reduced to the verge of starvation, fell into the hands of the English. Edward, though greatly angered at the obstinate resistance he had met, promised to spare the inhabitants of the place on condition that six of the leading citizens should be given up to him for such

hunishment as he might see fit to inflict. Six men were found who voluntarily devoted themselves to Edward's rage, and with halters about their necks were led into his presence. The king was on the point of ordering them all to be put to death, when his good queen, Philippa, throwing herself before her lord, besought the lives of the burghers for her sake. Edward yielded to her gentle prayer, and the men were released, and sent back to the city, bearing many tokens of the queen's kindness.

The capture of Calais was a very important event for the English, as it gave them control of the commerce of the Channel, and afforded a convenient landing-place for their expeditions of invasion. The French citizens were driven out of the place, and it was peopled with English immigrants. The port remained in the hands of the English a century and more after the close of the Hundred Years' War — until the reign of Queen Mary.

The Battle of Poitiers (1356). — The terrible scourge of the "Black Death," which desolated all Europe about the middle of the fourteenth century, caused the contending nations for a time to forget their quarrel. But no sooner had a purer atmosphere breathed upon the continent than their minds were again turned to war, and the old struggle was renewed with fresh eagerness.

Edward planned a double invasion of France. He himself led an army through the already wasted provinces of the North, while the Black Prince ravaged with another the fields of the South. As the Prince's army, numbering about 8,000 men, loaded with booty, was making its way back to the coast, it found its path, near Poitiers, obstructed by a French army of 50,000, led by King John, the successor of Philip. A battle ensued which proved for the French a second Crécy. The arrows of the English bowmen drove them in fatal panic from the field, which was strewn with 11,000 of their dead. King John and his son Philip were taken prisoners, but, much to the credit of their generous conqueror, were treated like honored guests in the tent of the Black Prince.

John was held prisoner in England for three years, during which time France was distressed by fresh invasions of the English and

by revolts of the peasantry, whom the ravages and burdens of incessant war had driven to desperation. Finally, by the Treaty of Bretigny (1360), the French king was set at liberty upon payment of an enormous ransom, and the promise that he would cease endeavoring to stir up the Scots against the English. By the same treaty Edward was to keep possession of the Duchy of Aquitaine and some other provinces, not, however, as a fief from the French king, in which way he had hitherto held his lands in France, but in full sovereignty. In return for John's promise to let the Scots alone, he agreed to cease scheming with the Flemings against France.

Battle of Agincourt (1415). — For half a century after the Peace of Bretigny, during the reigns of the English kings Richard II. and Henry IV., the war was practically suspended. But while Henry V. was reigning in England, France was unfortunate in having an insane king, Charles VI.; and Henry, taking advantage of the disorder into which the French kingdom naturally fell under these circumstances, invaded the country with a powerful army, defeated the French in the great Battle of Agincourt (1415), and five years later concluded the Treaty of Troyes, in which, so discouraged had the French become, a large party agreed that the crown of France should be given to him upon the death of Charles.

Joan of Arc. — But patriotism was not yet wholly extinct among the French people. There were many who regarded the concessions of the Treaty of Troyes as not only weak and shameful, but as unjust to the Dauphin Charles, who was thereby disinherited, and they accordingly refused to be bound by its provisions. Consequently, when the poor insane king died, the terms of the treaty were not carried out, and the war dragged on. The party that stood by their native prince, afterwards crowned as Charles VII., were at last reduced to most desperate straits. A great part of the country was in the hands of the English, who were holding in close siege the important city of Orleans.

But the darkness was the deep gloom that precedes the dawn.

A better day was about to rise over the distressed country. A strange deliverer now appears,—the famous Joan of Arc, Maid of Orleans. This young peasant girl, with imagination all aflame from brooding over her country's wrongs and sufferings, seemed to see visions and hear voices, which bade her undertake the work of delivering France. She was obedient unto the heavenly visions.

The warm, impulsive French nation, ever quick in responding to appeals to the imagination, was aroused exactly as it was stirred by the voice of the preachers of the Crusades. Religious enthusiasm now accomplished what patriotism alone could not do.

Received by her countrymen as a messenger from Heaven, the maiden kindled throughout the land a flame of enthusiasm that nothing could resist. Inspiring the dispirited French soldiers with new courage, she forced the English to raise the siege of Orleans (from which exploit she became known as the Maid of Orleans), and speedily brought about the coronation of Prince Charles at Rheims (1429). Shortly afterward she fell into the hands of the English, and was condemned and burned as a heretic and witch.

But the spirit of the Maid had already taken possession of the French nation. From this on, the war, though long continued, went steadily against the English. Little by little they were pushed back and off from the soil they had conquered, until, by the middle of the fifteenth century, they were driven quite out of the country, retaining no foothold in the land save Calais, which place they managed to retain for about a century after their expulsion from the other parts of the country.

Thus ended, in 1453, the very year which saw Constantinople fall before the Turks, the Hundred Years' War.

Effects of the War upon England. — England suffered less from the protracted war than France, because the latter country was made the battle-field of the contending armies; so that while its harvests were being trampled down, and its villages sacked and burned by marauding bands, the fields and towns of England remained secure from these, the worst evils of war.

Nor was it a small advantage to England to have her turbulent

nobles out of the country. The employment of this restless element beyond the limits of the island gave the land unusual quiet. Yet the years of the war were years of great anxiety, burden, and suffering. "No age of our history," says Green, "is so sad and sombre as the age which we traverse from the third Edward to Joan of Arc."

But the lasting and important effects of the war were the enhancement of the power of the Lower House of Parliament, and the awakening of a national spirit and feeling. The maintaining of the long and costly quarrel called for such heavy expenditures of men and money that the English kings were made more dependent than hitherto upon the representatives of the people, who were careful to make their grants of supplies conditional upon the correction of abuses or the confirming of their privileges. In a word, the war served to make the Commons a power in the English government.

Again, as the war was participated in by all classes alike, so that the commons as well as the nobility were stirred by its movements and interested in its issues, the great victories of Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt aroused a national pride, which led to a closer union between the different elements of society. Normans and English, enlisted in a common enterprise, thrilled by similar sentiments and sympathies, were fused by the ardor of a common patriotic enthusiasm into a single people. The real *national* life of England dates from this time.

The Wars of the Roses (1455–1485).

Causes of the Quarrel. — The Wars of the Roses is the name given to a long, shameful, and selfish contest between the adherents of the Houses of York and Lancaster, rival branches of the royal family of England. The strife was so named because the Yorkists adopted as their badge a white rose and the Lancastrians a red one.

One thing which made the English nobles so ready to plunge into this civil conflict was the disastrous ending of the Hundred

Years' War, and their consequent expulsion from the immense estates which they had acquired in France, chiefly by robbery and conquest. Stripped of their foreign possessions, and encumbered by luxurious habits fostered during several generations of fictitious prosperity, they found it irksome to retrench their expenses to meet their altered incomes, and were thus ever ready to take part in contentions for supremacy among themselves.

The King-Maker. — The most prominent figure of this turbulent period, which covers about one generation, is that of the famous Earl of Warwick, whose commanding influence earned for him the title of "King-maker." Since the time of Earl Godwin there had perhaps no one arisen among the baronage who was so admired and beloved by the people as he. Thirty thousand persons, it is said, lived upon his different estates. When he journeyed about the country he was attended by hundreds of retainers, all wearing his livery and badge.

At first the great Earl rendered eminent service to the House of York; but King Edward, who owed his crown to Warwick, having offended him, he cast his influence upon the side of the Lancastrians, and actually drove Edward out of the island. The king, however, quickly returned with an army and crushed his dangerous subject, the Earl himself being killed in an encounter known as the battle of Barnet (1471).

The Earl of Warwick is often spoken of as the "Last of the Barons." We may, perhaps, rightly regard him as the last prominent representative of the *feudal* aristocracy of England, for the unhappy strife in which he fell accomplished, as we shall notice in a moment, the almost utter ruin of the proud baronage to which he belonged.

Chief Battles of the War. — The three battles of the war which it is most important for us to keep in memory were those of St. Alban (1455), of Towton Field (1461), and of Bosworth Field (1485). The first marks the commencement of the struggle. The second was the most terrible battle fought in England after that of Hastings. More than 100,000 men were engaged,

and the Lancastrians, who were defeated, left over 20,000 dead upon the field. The third battle marks the close of the war. In this fight King Richard III., the last of the House of York, was overthrown and slain by Henry Tudor, the Earl of Richmond, who was crowned on the field with the diadem which had fallen from the head of Richard, and saluted as King Henry VII., the first of the Tudors.

The Effects of the War. — The most important result of the Wars of the Roses was the ruin of the baronage of England. One half of the nobility were slain. Those that survived were ruined, their estates having been wasted or confiscated during the progress of the struggle. Not a single great house retained its old-time wealth and influence. The war marks the final downfall of Feudalism in England.

But the miseries and evils of the war, contrary to what is usually the case in such contentions, were, for the most part, confined to those whose ambition and selfishness began and kept up the quarrel. It was the aristocracy who were the principal sufferers, the lives and property of the peasantry and townspeople being generally respected by both parties. The greater part of the endless battles and skirmishes were fought by the barons and their retainers. The people, that is, the peasants and burghers, only appear as actual participators in the single great battle of Towton Field. So during the period covered by the war, in spite of the havoc and ruin that were being wrought among the nobility, the trade and manufactures of the country were constantly improving and expanding.

The second result of the struggle sprang from the first. This was the great peril into which English liberty was cast by the ruin of the nobility. It will be recalled that it was the barons who forced the Great Charter from King John, and who kept him and his successors from reigning like absolute monarchs. Now that once proud and powerful baronage were ruined, and their confiscated estates had gone to increase the influence and patronage of the king, who, no longer in wholesome fear of Parliament, for the

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The battle-fields of the Wars of the Roses are underlined: thus, Towton (in Yorkshire).

Commons were as yet weak and timid, did pretty much as he pleased, and became insufferably oppressive and tyrannical; raising taxes, for instance, without the consent of Parliament, and imprisoning and executing persons without due process of law. For the hundred years following the Wars of the Roses the government of England was rather an absolute than a limited monarchy. In a word, upon the ruins of the baronage was erected a royal despotism. Not until the Revolution of the seventeenth century did the people, by overturning the throne of the Stuarts, recover their lost liberties.

Growth of the English Language and Literature.

The Language. — From the Norman Conquest to the middle of the fourteenth century there were in use in England three languages: Norman French — a dialect quite different from the pure Parisian French — was the speech of the conquerors and the medium of polite literature; Saxon, or Old English, was the tongue of the conquered people; while Latin was the language of the laws and records, of the church services, and of the works of the learned.

Modern English is the old Saxon tongue worn and improved by use, and enriched by a large infusion of Norman-French words, with less important additions from the Latin and other languages. It took the place of the Norman-French in the courts of law about the middle of the fourteenth century. At this time the language was broken up into many dialects, and the expression "King's English" is supposed to have referred to the standard form employed in state documents and in use at court.

Effect on English Literature of the Norman Conquest. — The blow that struck down King Harold and his brave thanes on the field of Hastings silenced for the space of about a century the voice of English literature. The tongue of the conquerors became the speech of the court, the nobility, and the clergy; while the language of the despised English was, like themselves, crowded out of every place of honor. But when, after a few generations,

the down-trodden race began to re-assert itself, English Literature emerged from its obscurity, and, with an utterance somewhat changed, — yet unmistakably the same voice, — resumes its interrupted lesson and its broken song.

Chaucer (1340?–1400). — Holding a position high above all other writers of early English is Geoffrey Chaucer. He is the first in time, and, after Shakespeare, perhaps the first in genius among the great poets of the English-speaking race. He is reverently called the "Father of English Poetry."

Chaucer stands between two ages, the mediæval and the modern. He felt not only the influences of the age of Feudalism which was passing away, but also those of the new age of learning and freedom which was dawning. It is because he was so sensitive to these various influences, and reflects his surroundings so faithfully in his writings, that these are so valuable as interpreters of the period in which he lived.

Chaucer's greatest and most important work is his *Canterbury Tales*. The poet represents himself as one of a company of pilgrims who have set out on a journey to the tomb of Thomas à Becket, at Canterbury. The persons, thirty-two in number, making up the party, represent almost every calling and position in the different classes of English society. Thus there is a knight, a nun, a monk, a merchant, a parson, a vender of indulgences, a cook, a ploughman, a country gentleman, several wealthy tradesmen, and various other persons.

To relieve the tedium of the journey, for our pilgrims think that "mirth is none to ride by the way dumb as a stone," it is arranged that each person shall in turn entertain the company with stories, two on the way out and two on the return. It is these tales — only about twenty of which were finished — together with a prologue containing a description of the different members of the company, that make up the work. The prologue is the most valuable part of the production. Here as in a gallery we have shown to us faithful portraits of our ancestors of the fourteenth century.

Often a single line, illuminated by the poet's genial humor,

makes a surprising revelation of the manners, ideas, or practices of the times. Thus Chaucer shows us the mail-clad "gentil knight," "lately come from his *viage*" (adventure), and we learn that chivalry has not yet expired. He tells us of the prioress, "simple and coy," who speaks French of the "scole of Stratford atte Bowe, for Frensch of Parys was to hire unknown," and we get a hint of the difference between the French (Norman) spoken in the island of Britain and that on the Continent; and when he further assures us that she "ne wette hire fyngres in hire sauce deepe," and "hire overlippe wypede sche so clene that in hire cuppe was no firthing sene of greece, whan she dronken hadde hire draughte," we infer that knives and forks are not yet common, and that a single cup is made to serve an entire company by being passed from lip to lip. Again, when the poet says of the monk, "ful many a deynte hors hadde he in stable and greyhoundes he hadde swifte as fowel in flight," we find out something of the habits of the hunting ecclesiastics of Chaucer's times: when he introduces to us the "doctour of phisik" as a person "grounded in astronomye," we learn that astrology yet rules the science of medicine; and when he describes the pardoner as having his wallet "bret-ful of pardouns come from Rome al hoot," we can guess how the age is beginning to think about the sale of indulgences.

Piers Ploughman (1362–1399). — The genial Chaucer shows to us the pleasant, attractive side of English society and life; William Langlande, another writer of the same period, in a poem designated as the *Vision of Piers Ploughman*, and an imitator in the *Creed* and the *Complaint of Piers Ploughman*, light up for us the world of the poor and the oppressed.

These poems quiver with sympathy for the hungry, labor-worn peasant, doomed to a life of weary routine and hopelessness, despised by haughty lords and robbed by shameless ecclesiastics. The long wars with France had demoralized the nation: "it was," says Green, "an age of shame and suffering such as England had never known." Occasional outbursts of wrath against the favored

classes are the mutterings of the storm soon to burst upon the social world in the fury of the Peasant Revolt, and upon the religious world in the upheavals of the Reformation.

Wycliffe and the Reformation (1324–1384).—Foremost among the reformers and religious writers of the period under review was Wycliffe, "the Morning Star of the Reformation." This bold reformer attacked first the practices and then the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church. He gave the English people the first translation of the entire Bible in their native tongue. There was no press at this time to multiply editions of the book, but by means of manuscript copies it was widely circulated and read. Its influence was very great, and from its appearance may be dated the beginning of the Reformation in England.

Wycliffe did not escape persecution in life, nor were even his bones permitted to rest in peace. In 1415 the Council of Constance,—the assembly that condemned to the stake Huss and Jerome,—having pronounced his doctrines heretical, ordered that his body be taken from its tomb and burned. This was done, and the ashes were thrown into a neighboring stream called the Swift. "The Swift conveyed them into the Avon, the Avon into the Severn, the Severn into the narrow seas, and they into the main ocean; and thus the ashes of Wycliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which is now scattered over all the world."

The followers of Wycliffe became known as "Lollards" (babblers), a term applied to them in derision. They became very numerous, and threatening by their excesses and imprudent zeal the peace of the state, they were finally suppressed by force; and thus through their unworthy advocacy the great revolution was delayed for a century or more—until another leader appeared in the person of the monk of Wittenberg.

Caxton and the Printing Press (1412–1491).—The great religious movement referred to in the preceding paragraph, and which during the sixteenth century transformed the face of England, was hastened here by the introduction of printing into the island by William Caxton, in the fifteenth century. The first work

which appeared from his press was entitled the *Game of Chess* (1474). He also printed Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, and almost everything else worth reproducing that then existed in the English language, besides various works from the Latin and French. Caxton was an author and translator as well as a printer.

The eagerness with which the books which fell from Caxton's press were seized and read by all classes, indicates the increasing activity and thoughtfulness of the public mind. Manifestly a new day — one to be filled with intellectual and moral revolutions — was breaking over the land of Alfred and of Wycliffe.

II. France.

Beginning of the French Kingdom. — The kingdom of France begins properly with the accession of the first of the Capetian rulers, late in the tenth century. The Merovingian and Carolingian kings were, as has been already seen, simply German princes ruling in Gaul.

The Capetians held the throne for more than three centuries, when they were followed by the Valois kings, the last of whom gave way to the first of the Orleans sovereigns in 1498, which date may be allowed to mark the beginning of modern French history.

We shall now direct attention to the most noted of the sovereigns of these two mediæval Houses, the Capetian and Valois, and narrate very briefly the most important transactions of the period covered by the two dynasties. Our aim will be to give prominence to those matters which concern the gradual consolidation of the French monarchy.

France under the Capetians (987–1328).

General Statement. — The Capetian dynasty takes its name from Hugh Capet, Duke of Francia, the first of the line. It em-

braced fifteen kings, whose united reigns spanned a space of three hundred and forty-one years.[1]

The first Capetian king differed from his vassal counts and dukes simply in having a more dignified title; his power was scarcely greater than that of many of the lords who paid him homage as their suzerain. The fourth king of the line (Philip I.) confessed that he had grown gray while trying to capture a castle which stood within sight of Paris; and evidently he had abandoned all hope of getting possession of it, for he charged his son, to whom he one day pointed it out, to watch it well.

But by conquest, treaty, and politic marriage alliances, one after another of the feudal fiefs were added to the royal domains, until finally the greater part of the kingdom belonged directly to the crown. Before the end of the reign of St. Louis (1226–1270), the "French Alfred," France had come to be one of the most compact and powerful kingdoms in Europe. How various events and circumstances conspired to build up the power of the kings at the expense of that of the great lords and of the Church, will appear as we go on.

The most noteworthy events of the Capetian period were the acquisition by the French crown of the English possessions in France, the Holy Wars for the recovery of Jerusalem, the crusade against the Albigenses, the abolition of the Order of the Templars, and the admission of the Third Estate to the Royal Council.

Of these several matters we will now speak in order.

The English Possessions in France. — The issue of the battle of Hastings, in 1066, made William of Normandy king of England.

[1] Table of the Capetian Kings: —

Hugh Capet (the Great)	987– 996	Louis VIII. (Lion-hearted)	1223–1226
Robert II. (the Sage)	996–1031	Louis IX. (the Saint)	1226–1270
Henry I.	1031–1060	Philip III. (the Hardy)	1270–1285
Philip I.	1060–1108	Philip IV. (the Fair)	1285–1314
Louis VI. (the Fat)	1108–1137	Louis X. (Hutin)	1314–1316
Louis VII. (the Young)	1137–1180	Philip V. (the Tall)	1316–1322
Philip II. (Augustus)	1180–1223	Charles IV. (the Handsome)	1322–1328

He ruled that country by right of conquest. But we must bear in mind that he still held his possessions in France as a fief from the French king, whose vassal he was. This was the beginning of the possessions on the continent of the English kings. Then, when Henry, Count of Anjou, came to the English throne as the first of the Plantagenets, these territories were greatly increased by the possessions which that prince had acquired by his marriage with Eleanor, who brought him the duchy of Guienne. The larger part of Henry's dominions, indeed, was in France, almost the whole of the western coast of the country being in his hands; but for all of this he, of course, paid homage to the French king.

As was inevitable, a feeling of intense jealousy sprang up between the two sovereigns. The French king was ever watching for some pretext upon which he might deprive his rival of his possessions in France. The opportunity came when King John, in 1199, succeeded Richard the Lion-hearted upon the English throne. That odious tyrant was accused, and doubtless justly, of having murdered his nephew Arthur, in order to clear his way to the crown. Philip Augustus, who then held the French throne, taking advantage of the feeling against him, declared that he had forfeited all the lands he held as fiefs of the French crown, and thereupon proceeded to seize Normandy and other of John's continental possessions, leaving him nothing save the duchy of Aquitaine.

John's efforts to regain the lost territories were fruitless. The annexation of these large possessions to the crown of France brought a vast accession of power and patronage to the king, who was now easily the superior of any of his great vassals.

The French and the Crusades. — The age of the Capetians was the age of the Crusades. These romantic expeditions, while stirring all Christendom, appealed especially to the ardent, imaginative genius of the Gallic race. Three Capetian kings, Louis VII., Philip Augustus, and Louis IX., themselves headed several of the wild expeditions. It was the great predominance of French-speaking persons among the first crusaders which led the Eastern

peoples to call them all Franks, the term still used throughout the East to designate Europeans, irrespective of their nationality.

It is the influence of the Crusades on the French monarchy that we alone need to notice in this place. They tended very materially to weaken the power and influence of the feudal nobility, and in a corresponding degree to strengthen the authority of the crown and add to its dignity. The way in which they brought about this transfer of power from the aristocracy to the king has been explained in the chapter on the Crusades.

Persecution of the Albigenses. — During this age of perverted religious enthusiasm holy wars were directed as well against heretics as infidels.

In the south of France, which country since the settlement of Marseilles by the Greeks in the sixth century B.C. had been open, by way of the sea, to Hellenic, Roman, and Saracenic influences, was a sect of Christians called Albigenses,[1] who had departed so far from the faith of the Church, that Pope Innocent III. felt constrained to call upon the French king, Philip II., and his nobles to lead a crusade against the heretics and their chief prince, Raymond, Count of Toulouse, "one of the most powerful, and probably the richest prince of Christendom."

The king held aloof from the enterprise, being fully occupied watching his own enemies; but a great number of his nobles responded eagerly to the call of the Church. The leader of the crusade was Simon de Montfort,[2] as cruel and remorseless a man as ever directed a religious persecution. Languedoc, the beautiful country of the Albigenses, was made a desert, its inhabitants being slaughtered and its cities burned. A single incident will illustrate the savage spirit of the crusaders. Upon the capture of a certain town, named Beziers, a Catholic officer asked one of the accompanying abbots how the soldiers should distinguish the heretics from the true believers. "Kill them all," was the reply; "the Lord

[1] From *Albi*, the name of a city and district in which their tenets prevailed.

[2] The father of the Simon de Montfort who first summoned the commons of England to take seats in Parliament.

will know his own." [1] The order was obeyed literally, and every person within the walls was slain (1207).

In 1229 the fury of a fresh crusade burst upon the Albigenses, which resulted in Prince Raymond VII. ceding the greater part of his beautiful but ravaged provinces to Louis IX., king of France. The cession made a large and valuable addition to the dominions of the French crown.[2] The prince further submitted himself to the Church, and the Albigensian heresy was almost extirpated by the cruelties of the Inquisition, which was now set up in the country.

Admission of the Third Estate to the Royal Council (1302).— The event of the greatest significance in the Capetian age was the admission, in the reign of Philip the Fair, of the commons to the national assembly, or Royal Council. This transaction is in French history what the creation of the House of Commons is in English. The popular branches of the two councils were, however, called to take part in the administration of public affairs under very different circumstances. In England it was the nobility that sought the people's aid in their struggle with a despotic king. In France it was the king who summoned them to assist him in his quarrel with the Papal See. But the fact that the aid of the commons was courted, whether by nobles or king, indicates that in both countries the people, the great middle class, were rising into importance, and were holding in their hands the balance of power.

The dispute between Philip and the Pope to which we have just referred arose respecting the control of the offices and revenues of the French Church. In order to rally to his support al[l] classes throughout his kingdom, Philip called a meeting of the Royal Council, to which he invited representatives of the burghers, or inhabitants of the cities (1302).

[1] It should be said that Catholic writers question this story, as it rests upon the authority of a single chronicler. See Alzog, *Universal Church History*, Vol. ii. p. 666.

[2] The part of Languedoc which was not ceded directly to Louis was to pass, upon the death of Raymond, to the king's brother Alphonso, who took in marriage the daughter of the Count. Before the end of Louis's reign these possessions also were annexed to the French crown.

The council had hitherto been made up of two estates only, — the nobles and the clergy; now is added what comes to be known as the *Tiers État*, or Third Estate, while the assembly henceforth is called the States-General. Before the growing power of this Third Estate we shall see the Church, the nobility, and the monarchy all go down, just as in England we shall see clergy, nobles, and king yield to the rising power of the English Commons.

Between the two cases we shall, however, observe this difference: in England we shall see the transfer of power effected, for the most part, by gradual and timely reform in institutions and laws; while in France we shall see the same thing, long delayed, finally accomplished amidst scenes of anarchy and terror threatening the destruction of the French nation.

The Abolition of the Order of the Templars. — The abolition of the Order of the Knights of the Temple by Philip the Fair affords an almost exact parallel to the suppression of the English monasteries by Henry VIII., of which matter we shall come to speak hereafter.

We have already, in connection with the history of the Crusades, learned about the origin of the religious and military Order of the Templars. In recognition of their services in the holy wars of the Church, they had had bestowed upon them, through the gifts of the pious and the grants of princes, enormous riches and the most unusual privileges. The number of manors that they held in the different countries of Europe is estimated at from 9,000 to 10,000. But gain in wealth and power had been accompanied by a loss in virtue and piety. "All that was holy in the Order became sin and shame." The most incredible rumors of the immoral and blasphemous character of the secret rites and ceremonies of the society were spread abroad.

Taking advantage of the feeling against the Order, Philip IV. (*le Bel*, the "Fair"), whose desperate need of money led him to covet the wealth of the Templars, resolved upon the destruction of the body and the confiscation of its property. Accordingly, upon a preconcerted day (Oct. 13, 1307), the chiefs of the

Order throughout the kingdom were arrested, and many of them afterwards executed on various charges, among which were the betrayal of the cause of Christianity to infidels, — for the Knights' close contact with the Moslems had, as a matter of fact, made them very tolerant and liberal, — and spitting upon the Cross.

The accused confessed that in certain of their secret ceremonies they did spit upon the sacred emblem, but explained the act as being symbolical, "in imitation and remembrance of St. Peter, who thrice denied Christ." But it seems evident that the symbolical character of the act had become quite forgotten, and that it was often performed with unbecoming levity. At all events, everybody was shocked at the confession, and would listen to no explanation. All classes sustained Philip in his severe measures against the body. As Michelet says, "the Order died of a symbol no longer understood."

The immense wealth which the robbery of the Templars brought into the hands of Philip greatly enhanced the growing power and patronage of the crown, just as the strength and influence of Henry VIII. of England were vastly increased by the confiscated wealth of the religious houses he suppressed; while the successful issue of his attack upon such a powerful organization served to inspire universal fear and respect for the royal name.

France under the House of Valois (1328–1498).

General Statement. — The princes of the House of Valois[1] held the French throne from 1328 to 1498, which latter date, as we have said, marks the close of the mediæval era in France.

The main interest of this period attaches to that long struggle between England and France known as the Hundred Years' War,

[1] The following table exhibits the names of the Valois kings: —

Philip VI. 1328–1350	Charles VII. (the Victorious) 1422–1461
John (the Good) 1350–1364	Louis XI. 1461–1483
Charles V. (the Wise) . 1364–1380	Charles VIII. (the Affable) 1483–1498
Charles VI. (the Well-Beloved) 1380–1422	

although it really lasted one hundred and twenty years, thus extending over the greater part of the age of the Valois kings. Having already, in connection with English affairs, touched upon the causes and incidents of this war, we shall here simply speak of the effects of the struggle on the French people and kingdom.

Effects upon France of the Hundred Years' War. — Among the results, as regards France, of the Hundred Years' War, must be noticed the almost complete prostration, by the successive shocks of Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, of the French feudal aristocracy, which was already tottering to its fall through the undermining influences of the Crusades; the growth of the power of the king, a consequence, largely, of the ruin of the nobility; and, lastly, the awakening of a feeling of nationality, and the drawing together of the hitherto isolated sections of the country by the attraction of a common and patriotic enthusiasm.

Speaking in a very general manner, we may say that by the close of the war Feudalism in France was over, and that France had become, partly in spite of the war but more largely by reason of it, not only a great monarchy, but a great nation.[1]

Invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. — Charles VIII., the last of the direct line of the Valois, came to the throne of a well-consolidated kingdom. The foundations of the monarchy, laid by "the vigor of Philip Augustus, the fraternal wisdom of St. Louis, the policy of Philip the Fair," and widened and strengthened by the circumstances and issue of the Hundred Years' War, had, since the close of that struggle, been further enlarged and cemented by the strong and helpful, though despotic and unscrupulous, measures of Louis XI. (1461–1483), who was a perfect Ulysses in craft and

[1] During this period of confusion many fiefs were unjustly seized by the king, while others again were fairly forfeited to the crown. The royal domains were still further enlarged by the purchase of territory that had never been held feudally of the French king. Thus, in 1349, Humbert II., Count of Vienne, sold Philip VI., for 120,000 florins, the important province of Dauphiné, in the Lower Rhone region. One of the conditions of the grant was that the eldest son of the French king should take the title of *Dauphin*, which was thenceforth borne by the heir of the French throne.

deceit. The great lords that still retained power and influence, having formed a league against the king in order to retrieve their waning fortunes, were crushed one after another, and their fiefs united to the royal domains. Of all the vassal nobles ruined by the cunning and tyranny of Louis, the most famous and powerful was Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, with whom the French king was almost constantly warring, and against whom he was forever intriguing. Upon the death of the Duke, Louis treacherously seized a great part of his inheritance, which was almost large and rich enough to sustain the dignity of a king. By inheritance and treaty, Louis also gained large accessions of territory in the south of France, which gave his kingdom a wide frontage upon the Mediterranean, and made the Pyrenees its southern defense. The marriage of Charles VIII. to Anne of Brittany, whom he courted with the sword, added that large province, which had hitherto constituted an almost independent state, to the French kingdom.

Thus Charles VIII., through the favor of a long series of circumstances, the persistent policy of his predecessors, and his own politic marriage, found himself at the head of a kingdom which, gradually transformed from a feudal league into a true monarchy, had, by slow expansion, touched, upon almost every side, those natural limits of sea, river, and mountain seemingly intended by nature to mark out the boundaries of French dominion.

Charles was a weak and romantic youth, too simple-minded to profit by the maxim, taught him by his Ulyssean father, "He who knows how to deceive, knows how to reign." His extravagant fancy led him to dream of some brilliant and chivalric enterprise, that should draw the gaze of the world. He conceived the idea of making his kingdom the nucleus of an empire like that of Charlemagne. The standing army at his command, — which had been created by Charles VII. during the latter years of the war with England,[1] — a well-filled treasury, and the adulations of his courtier nobles, encouraged him in his wild ambition.

[1] The paid force of infantry and cavalry created by Charles VII. in 1448 was the first standing army in Europe, and the beginning of that vast military

Paying no heed to the threatening movements of the numerous enemies whom jealousy, and fear of the increasing power of France, had raised up on every side, Charles gathered an army of 50,000 men, and began the passage of the Alps, intent on the conquest of Naples, — which he claimed on the strength of an old bequest by some member of the House of Anjou, — proposing, with that state subdued, to lead a crusade to the East, for the recovery of Constantinople and Jerusalem from the hands of the Turks.

Charles marched without serious opposition through Italy to Naples, which he entered in triumph in 1495. Here, in the midst of splendid ceremonies, he caused himself to be crowned "King of Naples, Emperor of the East, and King of Jerusalem."

Meanwhile the king of Aragon, the Venetians, and other powers were uniting their armies to punish the insolence and check the vaulting ambition of the would-be emperor and crusader. Apprised of the movements of his enemies, the "King of Naples and Jerusalem," deferring until a more convenient time his Eastern expedition, set out on his return to France, leaving a small force at Naples to hold his conquests. In Northern Italy he found his way blocked by the allies with an army outnumbering his three to one. However, he secured a victory over his opposers; but bought it at the cost of a large part of his army. With the remnant he made good his retreat into France. The forces he had left at Naples were quickly driven out of the place, and thus ended Charles's dream of a Universal French Empire.

This enterprise of Charles is noteworthy not only because it marks the commencement of a long series of brilliant yet disastrous campaigns carried on by the French in Italy, but for the reason that in a more general way it foreshadows that aggrandizing and aggressive spirit that henceforth characterizes the foreign policy of the successive monarchs of France. It is further worthy of attention on account of Charles's army having been made up largely

system which now burdens the great nations of that continent with the support of several millions of soldiers constantly under arms.

of paid troops instead of feudal retainers, which fact assures us that the feudal system, as a govenmental organization, had come to an end.

Formation of the French Language and the Beginnings of French Literature.

The Language. — The contact of the old Latin speech in Gaul with that of the Teutonic invaders gave rise there to two very distinct dialects, dialects so unlike, indeed, that it would be quite correct to regard them as constituting two separate languages. These were the *Langue d'Oc*, or Provençal, the tongue of the South of France and of the adjoining regions of Spain and Italy; and the *Langue d'Oil*, or French proper, the language of the North.[1]

The soft, musical tongue of the South, predestined though it was to an early decay, was the first, as we shall learn in a moment, to develop a literature; but when the North precipitated itself upon the South in the furious crusades against the Albigenses, the language, literature, and heretical religion of these Southern provinces were all swept away together. As the persecuted faith was driven into obscurity, so in like manner the old speech was driven out of palace and court, and found a place only among the rude peasantry.

The position of this once famous Provençal speech among living languages may be illustrated by comparing its fortunes with those of the Celtic tongue in its conflict with the Anglo-Saxon in the British Isles.

The Troubadours. — About the beginning of the twelfth century, by which time the Provençal tongue had become settled and somewhat polished, literature in France first began to find a voice in the songs of the Troubadours,[2] the poets of the South. It is

[1] The terms *Langue d'Oc* and *Langue d'Oil* arose from the use of different words for *yes*, which in the tongue of the South was *oc*, and in that of the North *oil*.

[2] From the Provençal *trobar*, to find, to invent. The Northern poets were called *Trouveurs*, from the French *trouver*, meaning the same as *trobar*.

instructive to note that it was the home of the Albigensian heresy, the land that had felt the influence of every Mediterranean civilization, that was also the home of the Troubadour literature. The counts of Toulouse, the protectors of the heretics, were also the patrons of the poets. It was, as we have intimated, the same fierce persecution which uprooted the heretical faith that stilled the song of the Troubadours. "The tremendous storm that fell upon Languedoc in the crusade against the Albigenses shook off the flowers of Provençal verse." — HALLAM.

The compositions of the Troubadours were, for the most part, love-songs and satires. Among the countless names of these minstrels of the South are some that had a fame which was spread throughout Christendom. Richard Cœur de Lion composed some songs which still endure. But perhaps the greatest of all the Provençal poets was Bertrand de Born, whose fierce and vehement verses stirred up passions and wars. Because of the mischief and schism he wrought, Dante, in his Divine Comedy, pictures him among the tormented in Hell, where he is condemned to bear his severed head in his own hands.

The verses of the Troubadours were sung in almost every land, and to the stimulating influence of their musical harmonies the early poetry of almost every people of Europe is largely indebted.

The Trouveurs. — These were the poets of Northern France, who composed in the *Langue d' Oil*, or Old French tongue. They flourished during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As the poetical literature of the South found worthy patrons in the counts of Toulouse, so did that of the North find admiring encouragers in the dukes of Normandy.

There was, however, a wide difference between the literature of Southern and that of Northern France. The compositions of the Troubadours were almost exclusively lyrical songs, while those of the Trouveurs were epic or narrative poems, called *romances*. These latter celebrated the chivalrous exploits of great princes and knights, and displayed at times almost Homeric animation and grandeur. They gather about three familiar names, — Charle-

magne, King Arthur, and Alexander the Great, — thus forming what are designated as the cycle of Charlemagne, the Arthurian or Armorican cycle, and the Alexandrian. The poems of these several cycles not only celebrate the wars and adventures of the distinguished heroes whose names they bear, but also rehearse the marvelous deeds of their vassal knights and descendants. Thus, in the stirring *Song of Roland*, in the first cycle, are celebrated the deeds of Roland (the companion of Charles the Great), who cleaves the Pyrenees with one blow of his enchanted sword Durandal, and shakes all the earth with a single blast of his magic horn; in the romances of the Knights of the Round Table, in the second cycle, are told the chivalrous enterprises of the companions of good King Arthur; while in the *History of the taking of Troy* and the *Romance of Alexander*, in the third series, we have Greek and mediæval heroes and legends mixed in the most entertaining and ingenious confusion.

The extravagance, the credulity, the coarseness that mark much of this romantic literature, indicate the rude and uncritical character of the age that produced and applauded it. Yet notwithstanding these defects, inseparable from the literary products of an age still struggling with barbarian instincts and impulses, the influence of these French romances upon the springing literature of Europe was most inspiring and helpful. Nor has their influence yet ceased. Thus in English literature, not only did Chaucer and Spenser and all the early island poets draw inspiration from these fountains of continental song, but the later Tennyson, in his *Idyls of the King*, has illustrated the power over the imagination yet possessed by the Arthurian poems of the old Trouveurs.

Besides the great narrative poems of the Trouveurs, the literature of the North produced innumerable allegories and fables. Many of them are of almost endless length, containing over 20,000 lines. These long poems were produced in somewhat the same way as the cathedrals of the same age were built, — by the additions of generation after generation of poets. A large part of early English poetry is scarcely more than a free translation of the tales,

allegories, and fables of this French literature of the mediæval period.

Prose Writers. — The first really noted prose writer in French literature was Froissart (1337–1410), whose entertaining credulity and artlessness, and skill as a story-teller, have won for him the title of the French Herodotus. Born, as he was, only a little after the opening of the Hundred Years' War, and knowing personally many of the actors in that long struggle, it was fitting that he should have become, as he did, the annalist of those stirring times. In his charming *Chronicles* he has left us the most wonderfully life-like portraitures of the celebrated characters, both French and English, of that period, as well as the most vivid pictures that we possess of the scenes, customs, and manners of the age. Like Herodotus, he was a great traveller, going about everywhere to collect material for his history, which, while dealing chiefly with the affairs of France and England from 1326 to 1400, touches the matters of all Christendom, and other parts of the world besides. He talked with everybody, with kings and with peasants, and wrote down at night what had been told him during the day. The book was his life-work; he began it, he tells us, at the age of twenty, and in the collection of material for it "took greater pleasure than in anything else."

The inimitable Chronicles have an added value from the age in which they were written. It was, as we have learned, a transition period. Feudalism was fast passing away, and Chivalry was beginning to feel the breath of a new era. But as the forests never clothe themselves in more gorgeous colors than when already touched by decay, so Chivalry never arrayed itself in more splendid magnificence than when about to die. In the age of Edward III. and the Black Prince it displayed its most sumptuous and prodigal splendor. And this is the age which the rare genius of Froissart has painted for us. "He has presented a living picture of Europe in its boisterous springtime, with all its tumultuous pleasure, its chivalric glories, and its magnificent superstitions. He

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NAVARRE
Pampeluna
BARCELONA
Gerona
Barcelona
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Compostella
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LEON
CASTILE
R. Douro
Coimbra
PORTUGAL
R. Tagus
LISBON
Toledo
Valencia
MINORCA
MAJORCA
IVIZA
Cordova
Elena
Murcia
Seville
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Granada
Carthagena
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SARDINIA
Palermo
Messina
SICILY
Catania
Girgenti
Syracuse
MALTA
Bona
Tunis
Kairwan
El Mehdija
THE
SPANISH KINGDOMS
1210.
Musulmans
Leon
Navarre
France and French Fiefs
Portugal
Aragon & Fiefs held by Aragon
Castile

has given us a type both of the splendor and the decline of the heroic world." [1]

III. Spain.

Beginning of Spain. — When, in the eighth century, the Saracens swept like a wave over Spain, the mountains of Asturia, in the northwest corner of the peninsula, afforded a refuge for the most resolute of the Christian chiefs who refused to submit their necks to the Moslem yoke. These brave and hardy warriors not only successfully defended the hilly districts that formed their retreat, but gradually pushed back the invaders, and regained control of a portion of the fields and cities that had been lost. This work of reconquest was greatly furthered by Charlemagne, who, it will be recalled, drove the Saracens out of all the northeastern portion of the country as far south as the Ebro, and made the subjugated district a province of his great empire, under the name of the Spanish March.

By the opening of the eleventh century several little Christian states, among which we must notice the states of Castile and Aragon, because of the prominent part they were to play in later history, had been established upon the ground thus recovered or always maintained. Castile was at first simply "a line of castles" against the Moors, whence its name.

Union of Castile and Aragon (1479). — For several centuries the princes of the little states to which we have referred kept up an incessant warfare with their Mohammedan neighbors; but, owing to dissensions among themselves, they were unable to combine in any effective way for the reconquest of their ancient possessions. But the marriage, in 1469, of Ferdinand, prince of Aragon, to Isabella, princess of Castile, paved the way for the virtual union in 1479 of these two leading states into a single kingdom. By this happy union the quarrels of these two rival principalities were composed, and they were now free to employ

[1] The writer who stood next to Froissart in the prose literature of this period was Philip de Comines (1445–1509), whose *Memoirs*, besides being a good history of his times, give us a valuable insight into the life and character of the crafty Louis XI.

their united strength in effecting what the Christian princes amidst all their contentions had never lost sight of, — the expulsion of the Moors from the peninsula.

The Conquest of Granada (1492). — At the time when the basis of the Spanish monarchy was laid by the union of Castile and Aragon, the Mohammedan possessions had been reduced, by the constant pressure of the Christian chiefs through eight centuries, to a very limited dominion in the south of Spain. Here the Moors had established a strong, well-compacted state, known as the Kingdom of Granada.

The province of Granada, naturally fertile, had become, through the industry and skill of the Moors, one of the best cultivated and richest districts in Spain. It embraced within its narrow limits seventy walled towns besides the capital, Granada, a potent and opulent city, with a population of a quarter of a million. All these cities, particularly the capital, were enriched with superb specimens of Moorish architecture, many of the palaces of the wealthy being decorated with fabulous magnificence.

As soon as Ferdinand and Isabella had settled the affairs of their dominions, they began to make preparation for the conquest of Granada, eager to signalize their reign by the reduction of this last stronghold of the Moorish power in the peninsula. The Moors made a desperate defense of their little State. The struggle lasted for ten years. City after city fell into the hands of the Christian knights, and finally Granada, pressed by an army of seventy thousand, was forced to surrender, and the Cross replaced the Crescent on its walls and towers (1492). The Moors, or Moriscoes, as they were called, were allowed to remain in the country, though under many annoying restrictions. What is known as their *expulsion* occurred at a later date.

The fall of Granada holds an important place among the many significant events that mark the latter half of the fifteenth century. It ended, after an existence of eight hundred years, the Mohammedan kingdom in the Spanish peninsula, and thus formed an offset to the progress of the Moslem power in Eastern Europe and

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Gaeta
Amalfi
Compostella
Oviedo
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GALICIA
Pampeluna
NAVARRE
Tudela
Zaragoza
Gerona
Lerida
CATALONIA
Barcelona
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LEON
Burgos
CASTILE & LEON
Portucale
R. Douro
ARAGON
VALENCIA
R. Ebro
Coimbra
OLD CASTILE
MINORCA
SARDINIA
R. Tagus
NEW CASTILE
Toledo
Valencia
MAJORCA
Cagliari
LISBON
PORTUGAL
R. Guadiana
IVIZA
Palermo
Messina
CORDOVA
JAEN
Elena
MURCIA
SICILY
Cordova
Catania
ALGARVE
SEVILLE
Seville
Jaen
Murcia
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Terra Nova
Syracuse
Silves
GRANADA
Carthagena
Granada
R. Guadalquivir
Malaga
Almeria
Bona
Tunis
MALTA
Algeziras
Gibraltar
Tangier
Ceuta
Kairwan
El Mehdija
THE
SPANISH KINGDOMS
1360.
Mussulmans
Navarre
Castile and Leon
France
Portugal
Aragon

the loss to the Christian world of Constantinople. It advanced Spain to the first rank among the nations of Europe, and gave her arms a prestige that secured for her position, influence, and deference long after the decline of her power had commenced.

Growth of the Royal Power. — One matter of great importance marking the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella was the abridging of the privileges of the nobility, and the consequent enhancement of the authority of the crown. In no country of Europe was the power of the feudal lords greater than in Spain, nor did any country suffer more from their rapacious and quarrelsome character.

For the sake of protection against the nobles, — and also against the robbers and assassins who had sprung up during the anarchy and disorder induced throughout the entire country by reason of the wretched administration of justice under the feudal system, — the towns and cities had formed a sort of league, known as the Holy Brotherhood, a confederation somewhat like that of the Hanse towns of Northern Europe.

By joining with these cities against the aristocracy, Ferdinand forced them to give up certain of their unjust privileges, and thus greatly weakened their power. He further undermined the influence and strength of many of the great feudal houses, by securing decrees of court which took away from them lands which had been too freely conferred upon unworthy favorites by his feeble predecessors, much to the prejudice of the crown, and by bestowing dignities and offices upon persons outside of the ranks of the ancient nobility. Finally, by maintaining the royal court with a degree of ceremony and magnificence which even the wealthiest of his barons were unable to imitate, he caused the kingly office to be held in higher estimation and the sovereign to be regarded with greater respect and reverence. — ROBERTSON.

The Inquisition. — Another matter belonging to this period, and something which casts a dark shadow upon the reign of the illustrious sovereigns Ferdinand and Isabella, was the establishment in Spain of the Inquisition, or Holy Office, with a view to the

detection and punishment of heresy. The inquisitors, with their terrible work sanctioned and favored by both Papal and royal power, became the instruments of the most incredible tyranny. The Jews were the chief victims of the merciless tribunal. Thousands were given up to the flames, and tens of thousands more were condemned to endure penalties scarcely less terrible.[1] The *auto da fé* (act of faith), as the burning of the condemned was called, became one of the commonest sights in Spain. It was made a sort of sacred festival, and the Sabbath very commonly given up to its celebration.

The Inquisition succeeded in suppressing freedom of thought and conscience in Spain, but in doing this it sapped the strength and life of the Spanish people. Whatever was most promising and vigorous was withered and blasted. Thus at the same time that Ferdinand and Isabella were doing so much to foster the national life, their unfortunate religious zeal was planting the upas which was destined completely to overshadow and poison the springing energies of the nation. Yet in all this Queen Isabella sincerely believed she was rendering God good service. "In the love of Christ and his Maid-Mother," she says, "I have caused great misery. I have depopulated towns and districts, provinces and kingdoms."

Columbus given his Commission. — Still another matter pertaining to the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, an event of the very greatest significance to Spain, was the discovery of America; for the very year which saw the fall of Granada was the one that witnessed the first expedition of Columbus. Isabella, while encamped with her army beneath the walls of Granada, — for the energetic queen accompanied her soldiers to the field and took an

[1] "The data for an accurate calculation of the number of victims sacrificed by the Inquisition during this reign are not very satisfactory. From such as exist, however, Llorente has been led to the most frightful results. He computes that, during the eighteen years of Torquemada's ministry, there were no less than 10,220 burnt, 6,860 condemned, and burnt in effigy as absent or dead, and 97,321 reconciled by various other penances." — Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, Vol. I. p. 265. (Boston, 1838.)

active part in directing the operations of war, — was planning with Columbus his great enterprise; and it was only a few days after the downfall of Granada, that she gave to him that fortunate commission which added a New World to the Spanish crown. Of the expedition itself we shall speak in the following chapter, thus making it the prelude of Modern History.

Deaths of Ferdinand and Isabella. — Queen Isabella died in 1504, and Ferdinand followed her in the year 1516, upon which latter event the crown of Spain descended upon the head of his grandson, Charles, of whom we shall hear much as Emperor Charles V. With his reign the modern history of Spain begins.

Beginnings of the Spanish Language and Literature.

The Language. — After the union of Castile and Aragon it was the language of the former that became the speech of the Spanish court. During the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella it gradually gained the ascendancy over the numerous dialects of the country, and became the national speech, just as in France the Langue d'Oil finally crowded out all other dialects. By the conquests and colonizations of the sixteenth century this Castilian speech was destined to become only less widely spread than the English tongue.

The Poem of the Cid. — Castilian or Spanish literature begins in the twelfth century with the romance poem of the *Cid*, one of the best known literary productions of the mediæval period. This grand national poem was the outgrowth of the sentiments inspired by the long struggle between the Spanish Christians and the Mohammedan Moors. The hero of the epic is Ruy Diaz, surnamed the Cid (meaning Lord), the champion of Christianity and Castilian royalty, during the latter part of the eleventh century, against the Saracens. He is made by the romancers to be the impersonation of every knightly virtue, — generosity, patriotism, courage, truthfulness, honor, and loyalty. The real Cid was quite a different character.

IV. Germany.

Beginnings of the Kingdom of Germany. — The history of Germany as a separate kingdom begins with the break-up of the empire of Charlemagne. It will be recalled that by the famous partition treaty of Verdun (843) the vast dominions over which the great king had ruled were divided among his three grandsons, Charles, Lothar, and Louis, by which partition the kingdoms of France, Italy, and Germany were roughly outlined. After this division, the three kingdoms were again united for a short time under Charles the Fat; but on his deposition they broke apart forever (887), this time separating into four pieces. The part to the east of the Rhine, with which fragment alone we are now specially concerned, was called the *Teutonic Kingdom*, or the *Kingdom of the Eastern Franks*, in distinction from that to the west of the river, which was known as the *Kingdom of the Western Franks*.

This Eastern Frankish kingdom was made up of several groups of tribes, — the Saxons, the Suabians, the Thuringians, the Bavarians, and the Franks, of which the latter were at this time chief, and gave name to the whole. Closely allied in race, speech, manners, and social arrangements, all these peoples seemed ready to be welded into a close and firm nation; but, unfortunately, the circumstances tending to keep the several states or communities apart were stronger than those operating to draw them together, so that for a thousand years after Charlemagne we find them constituting hardly anything more than a very loose confederation, the members of which were constantly struggling among themselves for supremacy, or were engaged in private wars with the neighboring nations.

Germany under the Carolingians (843–911).

The Hungarians. — The descendants of Charlemagne ruled over the Eastern Franks until the year 911. During this period Germany was distressed on the north by the Scandinavian cor-

sairs, and on the east by the Magyars, or Hungarians, a fierce Turanian race, close kin to the terrible Huns of Attila. These non-Aryan people succeeded during this period in gaining permanent possession of the region known from them as Hungary, and in laying the foundations there of a strong kingdom, the princes of which compelled the last Carolingian king to pay them tribute.

Establishment of the Feudal System. — The confusion and general insecurity of the times gave an impulse to the development of Feudalism, although the system was of much slower and less perfect growth here than in France. As the system expanded, the Church of course entered it, and the bishops and abbots became powerful feudal lords, and acquired a very great influence in public affairs. These ecclesiastical feudatories, as well as those prelates who were princes of the Empire, had a place, like the spiritual lords in England, with the secular lords and princes in the Diet, or National Assembly, a body which at this time was called together at irregular intervals to consult with the king on matters concerning the public welfare.

Germany under the Saxon Emperors (919–1024).

General Statement. — Upon the death of the last of the Eastern Carolingians, the German princes and nobles elected Duke Conrad of Franconia as king (911–918), passing by the Carolingian king of France (Charles the Silly), who was in strict right the heir of the last German Carolingian. By this act of theirs, which was contrary to the traditions of the kingdom and the commands of the Pope, the kingdom of Germany was changed from an hereditary to an elective monarchy.

Conrad was followed by Henry of Saxony, known in history as Henry the Fowler, from the circumstance that the nobles who carried to him the news of his election to the throne found him in the mountains hawking, with a bird upon his wrist. With this king begins the Saxon dynasty, a line of strong rulers, who, had it not been for the adoption by them of an unfortunate policy respecting a world-empire, might have made Germany a powerful,

closely-knitted nation. The fatal mistake to which we refer will be explained in a following paragraph, when we come to speak of Otto I.

Henry as the Founder of Cities. — Henry was an able and energetic ruler. He suppressed disorders throughout the kingdom, and reorganized the military system by introducing the use of cavalry. He is chiefly noted, however, as the founder of towns. As a protection against the inroads of the Hungarians and other savage enemies, he defended many of the existing towns with walls, and built many new ones, which were designed as places of refuge in case of invasion.

To enhance the importance of the cities, he ordered that all public meetings should be held, and all popular ceremonies celebrated, within their gates. Under such royal patronage the towns grew rapidly in population and wealth. In later times the burgher class thus created came to be the most influential in the kingdom. They were usually loyal to the king, and were his main reliance in his struggles with the factious and insubordinate princes and nobles.

Renewal of the Roman Empire by Otto the Great (962). — When the dominions of Charlemagne were divided among his three grandsons, the Imperial title was given to Lothar, to whom fell Italy and the Rhine-land. The title, however, meant scarcely anything, carrying with it little or no real authority. The king, who bore the title, enjoyed a sort of nominal pre-eminence among the different rulers of the several fragments of the shattered dominions of Charlemagne, but that was all. Thus matters ran on for more than a century, the empty honor of the title sometimes being enjoyed by the kings of Italy, and again by those of the Eastern Franks.

But with the accession of the son of Henry the Fowler, Otto I., who was crowned king at Aachen in 936, there appeared among the princes of Europe a second Charlemagne. He was easily first among them all. Besides being king of Germany, — and here he was king in reality as well as in name, — he became,

through interference on request in the affairs of Italy, king of that country also. Furthermore, he wrested large tracts of land from the Slavonians, and forced the Danes, Poles, and Hungarians to acknowledge his suzerainty. Thus favored by fortune, he naturally conceived the idea of restoring once more the Roman Empire, even as it had been revived by the great Charles. Of course it was the old idea of a universal empire, of which we have so often spoken, that was filling his imagination.

So in 962, just a little more than a century and a half after the coronation at Rome of Charlemagne as Emperor, Otto, at the same place and by the same Papal authority, was crowned Emperor of the Romans. For a generation no one had borne the title. From this time on it was the rule that the German king who was crowned at Aachen had a right to be crowned king of Italy at Milan, and Emperor at Rome. — FREEMAN. Thus three crowns, and in time still more, came to be heaped upon a single head.

Consequences to Germany of the Revival of the Empire. — The scheme of Otto respecting the world-empire was a grand one, but, as had been demonstrated by the failure of the attempt of Charlemagne, was an utterly impracticable idea. It was simply a dream, and never became anything more than a ghostly shadow. Yet the pursuit of this phantom by the German kings resulted in the most woful consequences to Germany. Some of these kings, indeed, did not care enough about the thing to cross the Alps in order to receive the Imperial crown; but the most of them were eager to secure it, and were fatally persistent in their efforts to make it mean something. The natural result was the arousing of the enmity of their brother sovereigns, over whom they exercised, or claimed the right to exercise, a sort of suzerainty. Particularly in Italy did the German rulers try to make good their Imperial claims.

The result was that the German rulers, trying to grasp too much, seized nothing at all. Attempting to be emperors of the world, they failed to become even kings of Germany. While engaged in

their schemes of foreign conquest, their home affairs were neglected, and their vassals succeeded in increasing their power and making it hereditary. Thus while the kings of England, France, and Spain were gradually consolidating their dominions, and building up strong centralized monarchies on the ruins of Feudalism, the sovereigns of Germany, neglecting the affairs of their own kingdom, were allowing it to become split up into a vast number of virtually independent states, the ambitions and jealousies of whose rulers were to postpone the unification of Germany for four or five hundred years — until our own day.

Had the Emperors only inflicted loss and disaster upon Germany through their pursuit of this phantom, the case would not be so lamentable; but the fair fields of Italy were for centuries made the camping fields of the Imperial armies, and the whole peninsula was kept embroiled with the quarrels of Guelphs and Ghibellines, and thus the nationalization of the Italian people was also delayed for centuries.

Germany received just one positive compensation for all this loss accruing from the ambition of her kings. This was the gift of Italian civilization, which came into Germany through the connections of the Emperors with the peninsula.

The German Kingdom and the Holy Roman Empire. — It will be well, perhaps, if we add one word further respecting the relation of the German Kingdom to the Holy Roman Empire. The "Empire," after the addition to it of Burgundy in 1032, embraced three kingdoms, the Kingdom of Germany, the Kingdom of Italy, and the Kingdom of Burgundy. But in the course of time Italy dropped away, and then Burgundy fell off, until nothing save the German Kingdom remained. Then, of course, the German Kingdom and the so-called Holy Roman Empire had the same boundaries — became geographically identical. Hence, it was natural that the distinction should be forgotten and the names become confounded, and the German Kingdom come to be called the German Empire. "It was a German confederation, which kept the forms and titles of the Empire."

Otto III. — The Saxon Emperor who, next after Otto I., is most worthy of particular notice, is Otto III. (983–1002), whom his contemporaries called the Wonder of the World. It is not his greatness of character nor the achievements of his reign that entitles him to our consideration, but the fact that he best represents those ideas respecting the Empire and Germany's relation to it of which we have been speaking. His scheme was to make Rome the centre of a World-Empire, of which Germany should be simply a province. In his court he sought to imitate that of the Greek Emperors. His ardent, romantic, imaginative nature is perhaps best illustrated by his visit to the tomb of Charlemagne at Aachen, which he opened and entered, hoping and believing that in the presence of the first restorer of the Roman Empire, he would receive, through word or gesture, a revelation of how best to manage its affairs. When he died, — which event occurred in 1002, while he was laying siege to Rome, that city having rebelled against his authority, — he was buried in this same royal city, near the ashes of his great predecessor.

Germany under the Franconian Emperors (1024–1125).

Burgundy joined to the Empire. — The first king of this line was Conrad II., a Franconian nobleman, an able and discreet administrator. The important event of his reign was the addition to the Empire of the kingdom of Burgundy (1032), which had been formed in 933. From this time on he who was crowned king of Germany was regarded as having a right to the Burgundian crown. In the course of a few centuries France succeeded in stripping the Emperors of a large part of this kingdom, the union of which with the Empire was never very close.

Henry III. and Henry IV. — The government of the Emperor Henry III. (1039–1056) was one of the best and strongest that Germany ever enjoyed. The dukes and princes were humbled and made obedient, and Germany took on the aspect of a real monarchy. The Hungarians, who were constantly making the German kings much trouble, were severely chastised, and the

Pope was taught to regard the Emperor as his superior. Thus, in every way, were both the royal and the Imperial power enlarged and strengthened.

The name of Henry IV. (1056–1106) is already familiar to us through his quarrel with Hildebrand, and his humble submission to that Pope at Canossa. During this reign the princes and nobles, taking advantage of their sovereign's troubles with the Pope, greatly augmented their power and enlarged their privileges. Under his successors the royal power still further declined, so that when the dynasty ended the king possessed barely the shadow of authority.

Germany under the Hohenstaufen Emperors (1138–1254).[1]

Welfs and Waiblings. — We have now reached a most notable line of Emperors, the Hohenstaufen or Suabian dynasty. The matter of chief importance is the long and bitter conflict — begun generations before — waged between the Emperors of this family and the Popes. Germany and Italy were divided into two great parties, known as Welfs and Waiblings, or, as designated in Italy, Guelphs and Ghibellines, the former adhering to the Pope, the latter to the Emperor. The outcome of a century's contention was the utter ruin of the House of the Hohenstaufen.

Frederick I., Barbarossa. — The most noted ruler of the line was Frederick I. (1152–1190), better known as Frederick Barbarossa, from his red beard. We have, in another place, told of his long contest with the Italian cities, which resulted in their virtual independence of the Imperial authority, and of his part in the Third Crusade, in which enterprise he lost his life while crossing a river in Asia Minor. He gave Germany a good and strong government, and gained a sure place in the affections of the German people, who came to regard him as the representative of the sentiment of German nationality. Other Emperors, when engaged in contentions with the Pope, always had a great many among their

[1] Lothar of Saxony (1125–1137) fills the gap between the Franconian and Hohenstaufen Emperors.

own German subjects ready to join the Roman See against their own sovereign; but all classes in Germany gathered about their beloved Frederick. When news of his death was brought back from the East, they refused to believe that he was dead, and, as time passed, a tradition arose which told how he slept in a cavern beneath one of his castles on a mountain top, and how, when the ravens should cease to circle about the hill, he would appear, to make the German people a nation united and strong. "Nothing in his character," says Taylor, "or in the proud and selfish aim of his life, justifies this sentiment which the people attached to his name; but the legend became a symbol of their hopes and prayers, through centuries of oppression and desolating war, and the name of Barbarossa is sacred to every patriotic heart in Germany even at this day."

Kingdom of Sicily joined to the German Crown. — Frederick Barbarossa was followed by his son Henry VI. (1190–1197), who, by marriage, had acquired a claim to the kingdom of Sicily.[1] Almost all his time and resources were spent in reducing that remote realm to a state of proper subjection to his authority. By thus leading the Emperors to neglect their German subjects and interests, this southern kingdom proved a fatal dower to the Suabian house. Henry's son, Frederick II. (1212–1250), who had been born in Sicily, was, like his father, enamored of its rich sun-

[1] The basis of the kingdom of Sicily, it will be recalled, was laid by Norman adventurers in the latter part of the eleventh century. As it embraced Naples as well as the Island of Sicily, it was sometimes called the kingdom of Naples, or the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, or, again, the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The line of the Norman kings ended in 1189. The Hohenstaufen then held the kingdom until 1265, when the Pope gave it as a fief to Charles I. of Anjou (brother of Louis IX. of France), who beheaded the rightful heir, the ill-starred boy Conradin, the last of the Hohenstaufen race (1268). Charles's oppressive rule led to a revolt of his island subjects, and to the great massacre known as the Sicilian Vespers (1282). All of the hated race of Frenchmen were either killed or driven out of the island. The House of Anjou retained Naples, but Sicily now passed to the king of Aragon (1283). In these revolutions the way was paved for interminable dynastic quarrels and wars, which involved particularly Spain, France, and Germany.

shine and voluptuous pleasures. Although he took part in the Sixth Crusade, and fought hard for the recovery of Jerusalem, he declared that "if God had seen Sicily, he would never have selected Palestine for the abode of his people." Germany had for him very little attraction, and for a period of fifteen years he did not once set his foot in the country.

Consequences of the Hohenstaufen Policy. — By the close of the Hohenstaufen period Germany was divided into two hundred and seventy-six virtually independent states, the princes and nobles having taken advantage of the prolonged absences of the Emperors, or their troubles with the Popes and the Italian cities, to free themselves almost completely from the control of the crown. There was really no longer either a German kingdom or a Roman Empire. The royal as well as the Imperial title had become an empty name. Such were the lamentable consequences of the unfortunate ambition and mistaken policy of the proud Hohenstaufen. The princes of the House were all able rulers, some of them learned and large-minded men, and had they simply attended to the affairs of Germany, and not allowed themselves to be deluded by the Imperial phantom, they might have made themselves the strongest sovereigns in Europe. They would have been able, doubtless, to realize the less dazzling but more substantial ambition of rendering the German crown hereditary in their family, and thus have gained for their race the power and glory that came to be won by the famous House of Hapsburg.

Cathedral-building. — The age of the Hohenstaufen was the age of the Crusades, which is to say that it was the age of religious faith. The most striking expression of the spirit of the period, if we except the Holy Wars, is to be found in the sacred architecture of the times. The enthusiasm for church-building, though most earnest and passionate in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, began to manifest itself as early as the eleventh. A monkish chronicler, writing at the opening of that century, says, "It was as if the earth, rousing itself and casting away its old robes, clothed itself with the white garment of churches."

The style of architecture first employed was the Romanesque, characterized by the rounded arch and the dome; but towards the close of the twelfth century this was superseded by the Gothic, distinguished by the pointed arch, the slender spire, and rich ornamentation.

The mediæval cathedrals were, like the Crusades, the outgrowth of a faith and enthusiasm that animated all classes alike. Many of the structures were the result of the united toil of generation after generation. The expense was met in various ways. Rich monasteries made large contributions; city councils voted constant appropriations; kings made grants, or exempted from taxation cities and provinces that would undertake the erection of a church or cathedral; the Church collected vast sums by the sale of indulgences; while the bequests of the dying, and the offerings of the people, in labor and products, swelled the streams of contribution.

Nothing is more expressive of spirit than the mediæval Gothic cathedral. In every part it is instinct with the faith and hope of the builder. It is a prayer, a holy aspiration in stone. "Is it not an expression," asks the Church historian Alzog, "of that deep and pervading sentiment of the human soul which struggles with a holy and yearning enthusiasm to mount to the throne of the Most High? . . . The same spirit breathes in the pointed cathedral arch as in the pages of the 'Following of Christ.'"

The enthusiasm, we have said, was universal; yet nowhere did it find nobler or more sustained expression than in Germany. Among the most noted of the German cathedrals are the one at Strasburg, begun in the eleventh century, and that at Cologne, commenced in 1248, but not finished until our own day (in 1880). This latter structure has been made to epitomize German history as well as Gothic art. "In its long, wearisome, and frequently interrupted growth, it may be regarded as a symbol of the history of the German nation, so long divided and weak, at length united and strong."

Germany during the Interregnum (1254–1273).

The Seven Electors. — In order that we may understand the transactions of this period, we must say a word here about the Electors of the Empire. When, in the beginning of the tenth century, the German Carolingian line became extinct, the great nobles of the kingdom assumed the right of choosing the successor of the last of the House, and Germany thus became an elective feudal monarchy. In the course of time a few of the leading nobles usurped the right of choosing the king, and these princes became known as Electors. There were, at the end of the Hohenstaufen period, seven princes who enjoyed this important privilege, four of whom were secular princes and three spiritual. This electoral body really held the destinies of Germany in its hands.

Sale of the Imperial Crown. — We are now in a position to understand the most shameful transaction of the sale of the Imperial crown. The Electors, like the pretorians of ancient Rome, put the bauble up for sale. There were two bidders, both foreigners, Richard of Cornwall, brother of the English king, Henry III., and Alphonso, king of Castile. Both candidates offered to the Electors large bribes, and so both were elected. Although Alphonso had manifested so much anxiety to secure the honor, he never once set his foot within the limits of Germany, and Richard contented himself with an occasional visit to the country.

Of course neither of the nominal kings or Emperors possessed any real authority in Germany, or in any of the countries claimed as parts of the Empire. The period is known in German history as the Interregnum. Anarchy prevailed throughout the country. Princes made themselves petty despots in their dominions, while the lesser nobles became robbers, and preyed upon travelers and traders.

Towns and Free Imperial Cities. — The kingly power having fallen into such utter contempt that all general government was practically in abeyance, the towns, which through the gradual expansion of their trade had grown vastly in population, wealth, and

consequent importance, found it necessary, in order to protect themselves against the violence and oppression of the princes and barons, to form confederations, and take their defense in their own hands. Thus during this anarchical period the Hanseatic League, organized about the middle of the thirteenth century, grew rapidly in strength and influence. About the same time that the Hanse Confederation was established, was formed the famous Rhenish League, which finally came to embrace more than seventy towns.

It will be well for us here to say a word about the two classes, "mediate" and "immediate," into which the towns were divided. The first depended upon some prince or lord, who was in turn dependent upon the king. The second were dependent solely upon the king, were his immediate vassals. In these latter cities the king was represented by a special officer, but during the course of the thirteenth century many of these immediate towns, through the favor of their suzerain, were relieved of the presence of the royal bailiff, and became what are known as Free Imperial Cities. They of course still acknowledged the suzerainty of the king, but were allowed to manage their local affairs to suit themselves, and thus became practically little commonwealths, somewhat like the city-republics of Italy.

A century or two after these cities had secured freedom from the royal superintendence, they acquired the right of representation in the Diet, or national legislative body. This was the natural consequence of their growing power, just as in England the increasing weight of the towns led, in the thirteenth century, to the admission of their representatives to Parliament. These deputies of the Free Cities constituted what was known as the "Third College" of the national assembly.

Germany under Different Houses.

Character of the Period (1273–1438). — The Interregnum was ended by the Electors choosing as king Rudolf (1273–1291), Count of Hapsburg, an insignificant state in Switzerland. He received the royal crown at Aachen, but did not think it worth his

while to cross the Alps that he might receive the Imperial crown at the hands of the Pope. "Rome," he said, "is like the lion's den in the fable — one may see the footsteps of many who have gone there, but of none who have come back."

There is nothing to lend unity to the century and a half upon which we now enter. The Imperial crown was passed from one family to another, the House of Luxemburg, however, being four times honored by the bestowal of the dignity upon its members. The German princes were opposed to a strong, centralized government, and the chief care of the Electors seemed to be to choose for the Imperial office weak princes, in order that their own independence might not be endangered. The office was openly bought and sold, and once there were as many as three rival emperors ruling or pretending to rule at the same time.

The most noteworthy circumstances of the period are the steadily growing power of the House of Hapsburg, the wars between the princes of this family and the Swiss, whom they attempted to subjugate, the promulgation of the Golden Bull by the Luxemburg Emperor Charles IV., and the religious movement of the Hussites in Bohemia, a warning note of the approaching Reformation.

Austria becomes a Possession of the Hapsburgs. — Rudolf's rival for the Imperial dignity was Ottocar, king of Bohemia, the most powerful prince of the Empire. He was greatly disappointed in not receiving the crown, and though repeatedly summoned to do so, steadfastly refused to acknowledge Rudolf as his superior and suzerain. The result of his obstinacy was a war which resulted in his death and the acquisition by Rudolf of Austria, Styria, Carniola and Carinthia, lands which Ottocar had ruled in addition to the kingdom of Bohemia. These countries Rudolf bestowed upon his two sons, the elder of whom, Albert, took the title of "Duke of Austria." Thus was laid the basis of the power and influence of the great House of Hapsburg.

The Swiss League and the Dukes of Austria. — A very considerable part of the story of the Dukes of Austria is intimately connected with the rise of the Swiss Republic. Lying among the

Western Empire
France
England
House of Austrid
Brandenburg
House of Luxemburg
Savoy
Swiss Confedn.
CENTRAL EUROPE 1360.
DENMARK
PRUSSIA
ENGLAND
HOLLAND
FRIESLAND
Bremen
HOLSTEIN
MECKLENBURG
POMERANIA
BRANDENBURG
Brandenburg
Magdeburg
LAUSITZ
SILESIA
Utrecht
WESTFALIA
Paderborn
SAXONY
Shuys
Bruges
Ghent
BRABANT
LUXEMBURG
AACHEN
Köln
Lüttich
Calais
Cressy
FLANDERS
KINGDOM OF BOHEMIA
Prag
MORAVIA
Rouen
Laon
Trier
Mainz
Würzburg
Frankfurt
Nurnberg
Regensburg
Rheims
LORRAINE
Strassburg
PARIS
Rennes
Le Mans
BRITTANY
Angers
BAVARIA
Salzburg
AUSTRIA
GERMANY
HUNGARY
Bourges
D. OF BURGUNDY
Dijon
Basel
Zurich
Luzern
SWITZERLAND
TYROL
Poitiers
Bern
Chur
Brixen
CARINTHIA
Geneva
Trent
Goerz
Trieste
Lyons
SAVOY
Turin
MILAN
VENICE
Verona
Grenoble
DAUPHINY
Pavia
SERVIA
Bordeaux
Genoa
Bayonne
Orange
Avignon
PROVENCE
Lucca
Florence
Toulouse
Nismes
Pisa
ITALY
NAVARRE
Narbonne
Perpignan
SPAIN
Barcelona
CORSICA
ROME
NAPLES
0
5
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15
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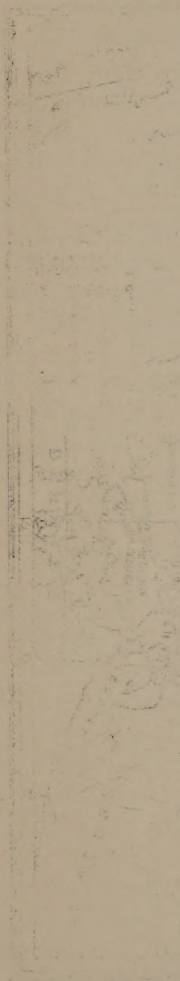

northeastern Alps, and embracing some of the castles and estates of the Dukes, were the cantons or districts of Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden. These mountain lands formed part of the Empire, but their liberty-loving people acknowledged no man as their master save the Emperor, under whose protection they were, and to whom they yielded a nominal obedience, like that of the Free Imperial Cities. Following the example of the times, they had formed a defensive union, which came to be known as the Old League of High Germany. The attempts of the Dukes of Austria to unite these cantons to their hereditary domains led to a most protracted and memorable struggle between them and the brave mountaineers; a contest which, in many of its features, reminds us of that carried on between the United Netherlands and their Spanish sovereigns.

The contest was begun by the Duke Albert whom we mentioned in the preceding paragraph, and who was at this time the German king. He succeeded in subjugating the three cantons; but the harshness of the rule of his bailiff caused an uprising, which resulted in the expulsion of the Austrians. To this period belongs the legend of William Tell, which historical criticism now pronounces a myth, with nothing but the revolt as the nucleus of fact.

In the early part of the fourteenth century the then Duke of Austria, Leopold by name, made another determined attempt upon the liberties of the Cantons; but at the famous battle of Morgarten Pass (1315) was defeated by the brave Swiss.

Seventy years later, in 1386, a descendant of Leopold, having marched an army among the mountains, sustained a terrible defeat on the memorable field of Sempach. It was here that Arnold of Winkelried broke the ranks of the Austrians, by collecting in his arms as many of their lances as he could, and, as they pierced his breast, bearing them with him to the ground, exclaiming, "Comrades, I will open a road for you."

Shortly after the battle of Sempach, the Eidgenossen, or Confederates, as the Swiss were at this time called, gained another victory over the Austrians at Näfels, which placed on a firm basis the growing power of the League.

One effect upon the Swiss of their long struggle for liberty was the fostering among them of such a love for fighting that, when, at a later period, there was lack of warlike occupation for them at home, the Swiss soldiers hired themselves out to the different sovereigns of Europe; and thus it happened that, though trained in the school of freedom, these sturdy mountaineers became the most noted mercenary supporters of despotism.

The Golden Bull (1356). — We have noticed how seven of the great princes of Germany usurped the privilege of choosing the Emperor. This right, however, was disputed by some of the other members of the Germanic body. In order to settle the matter forever, the Luxemburg Emperor Charles IV. (1347–1377), having first secured the action of a Diet, promulgated a decree called the Golden Bull, from the gold case in which its seal was kept, which confirmed the right of election in the princes (three ecclesiastical and four secular) who then exercised it, and defined clearly the powers and privileges of the electoral college. This noted edict remained the fundamental law of the German constitution so long as the Empire lasted — until 1806. It greatly enhanced the dignity and power of the Seven Electors, and proportionately weakened the Imperial authority.

The Hussites. — About the beginning of the fifteenth century the doctrines of the English reformer Wycliffe began to spread in Bohemia. The chief of the new sect was John Huss, a professor of the University of Prague. This leader was excommunicated by the Pope, and afterwards upon the meeting of the great Council of Constance, he was cited before it, just as Luther a century later was summoned to appear before the Diet of Worms. The doctrines of the reformer were condemned by the Council, and Huss himself was sentenced to the flames (1415). The following year Jerome of Prague, another reformer, was likewise burned at the stake by order of the same body.

The most infamous part of this affair was the imprisonment and harsh treatment of Huss before his conviction; for this was in direct violation of the safe-conduct which the Emperor Sigismund

had given him, relying upon which the reformer had come to the Council.

Shortly after the burning of Huss and Jerome, the throne of Bohemia became vacant through the death of Wenceslaus; and Sigismund, laying claim to the same, proclaimed a crusade against the followers of Huss. Then began a cruel, desolating war of fifteen years, the final outcome of which was the almost total extermination of the radical party among the Hussites. With the more moderate of the reformers, however, who were known as Calixtinians, a treaty was made which secured them freedom of worship.

Germany under the House of Austria (1438–1519).

The Imperial Crown becomes Hereditary. — In the year 1438 Albert II. of Austria was raised by the Electors to the Imperial throne. His accession marks an epoch in German history, for, from this time on, for four centuries, until the dissolution of the Empire by Napoleon, the Imperial crown was regarded as hereditary in the Hapsburg family, the Electors, although never failing to go through the formality of an election, almost always choosing one of its members as king.[1] "The election was merely a sanction given to hereditary right."

From the beginning of the virtually uninterrupted succession upon the Imperial throne of the princes of the House of Austria up to the close of the Middle Ages, the power and importance of the family steadily increased, until it seemed that Austria would overshadow all the other German states, and subject them to her sway; would, in a word, become Germany, much as Francia in Gaul had become France.

Maximilian I. (1493–1519). — The greatest of the Hapsburg line during the mediæval period was Maximilian I. He was a man calculated to win admiration and awaken hope, and was strong in the affections of the Germans. He was generous, bold, and chivalrous, but impulsive and sometimes imprudent. Yet his reign on

[1] The two exceptions were Charles VII. (of Bavaria), 1742–1745, and Francis I. (of Lorraine), 1745–1765.

the whole was a wise and able one, and contributed much to the consolidation of the Imperial power.

The Imperial Chamber. — It was the year after the accession of Maximilian that Charles VIII. of France made his reckless invasion of Italy. His movements were viewed with great jealousy by the Emperor, who lent a willing ear to the calls of the Italian cities and the Pope for help; for though these parties were very averse to yielding any obedience to the Emperor, they were ready enough to call upon him for assistance in times of trouble. Maximilian, in order that he might act with the whole power of Germany, assembled a Diet at Worms, which body, when gathered, persisted in first attending to home matters, before considering foreign affairs. There were in this assembly wise and patriotic princes and bishops, who, weary of the incessant private wars waged by the states against one another and neighboring powers, insisted upon the body adopting some measure which would bring security and internal order to the German nation. Notwithstanding the bitter opposition of many members of the Diet, who clung to their custom of levying war whenever and against whomsoever they liked as a pet privilege, a Perpetual National Peace was declared, and all the states and cities were strictly prohibited from waging private war. Every matter of dispute was to be referred to an Imperial Court, consisting of a president and sixteen councilors. The president was named by the Emperor, but the councilors were to be chosen by the states. The whole authority of the Empire was to be employed against any one who resisted the decisions of the Court. The expenses of the tribunal were to be met in the main by a tax levied upon all the states of the Germanic body.

The formation of this Court is a matter of interest and note; for though it did not fulfil all the expectations of those who urged its establishment, it at least revealed the profound longing among many throughout Germany for peace and unity. It was an effort for that unification of the "Fatherland" which France, England, and Spain had already in a fair degree attained, but which Ger-

many was destined to wait three centuries and more before seeing realized as to itself.

The Wars of Maximilian. — The greater number of the wars in which Maximilian was engaged were in some way connected with the attempts of the Spanish and French sovereigns to establish their authority in Italy. His efforts to secure the coöperation of the various German states were not very successful, as they held that the Emperor had no claims upon their assistance save in wars affecting directly the interests of the German kingdom; and consequently he was obliged to carry on his campaigns, for the most part, with such resources as were yielded by his hereditary possessions. These being inadequate to enable him to act effectively, the part which he played upon the public arena of Europe was neither very conspicuous nor successful.

In a war against the Swiss League, to punish them for extending aid to France in Italy, and to force them to recognize the authority of the Imperial Court, Maximilian was defeated, and was forced to sign a treaty which acknowledged the League to be free from the jurisdiction of the Imperial Chamber (1499). This peace really established the independence of the Swiss Confederation, and gave it a place as a distinct state among the powers of Europe. Yet it was not *formally* separated from the Empire until the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

The Ten Districts. — The better to maintain order, to enforce the decrees of the Diet, and to carry into effect the decisions of the Imperial Chamber, all Germany was divided into Ten Circles, or Districts, each of which had a Board of Councilors and a judicial chief. This was another step towards unification, another movement aiming at the creation of a strong, centralized government. But everything was yet too local; there were yet too many conflicting interests and selfish ambitions among the different states to permit the measure to accomplish much in the way of the nationalization of the German body.

Maximilian's Reign a Transition Age. — The reign of Maximilian marks the close of the mediæval age in Germany. Max-

imilian is sometimes called the "Last of the Knights," but he may with equal propriety be regarded as the representative of the new order of things which characterizes the Modern Age. He created a permanent military force to take the place of the old feudal levies; introduced the post-office for the transmission of letters; and established a general police system. Thus his reign is in every way a noteworthy one for Germany, marking, as it does, a strong tendency to centralization, the material enhancement of the Imperial authority, and the secure establishment of that power as an hereditary possession in the hands of the princes of the ambitious House of Hapsburg.

Beginning of German Literature.

The Niebelungen Lied. — It was under the patronage of the Hohenstaufen that Germany produced the first pieces of a national literature. The *Niebelungen Lied*, or the *Lay of the Niebelungen*, is the great German mediæval epic. It was reduced to writing about 1200, being a recast, by some Homeric genius perhaps, of ancient German and Scandinavian legends and lays dating from the sixth and seventh centuries. The hero of the story is Siegfried, the Achilles of Teutonic legend and song. The names and deeds of Attila, Theodoric, and other warriors of the age of the Wanderings of the Nations are mingled in its lines.

This great national epic romance may be likened to the poem *Beowulf* of our Saxon ancestors. It is harsh and brutal, filled with fierce fightings and horrible slaughters — a reflection of the rude times that gave it birth. But there is plainly manifested in it a spirit of sincerity and seriousness.

The Minnesingers. — Under the same Emperors, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Minnesingers, or lyric poets, flourished. They were the "Troubadours of Germany." Refined and tender and chivalrous and pure, the songs of these poets tended to soften the manners and lift the hearts of the German people.

V. Russia.

Beginnings of Russia. — We have already seen how, about the middle of the ninth century, the Swedish adventurer Ruric became the chief of some Slavonian and Finnish tribes dwelling near the Baltic, and there laid the foundation of what was to grow into one of the leading powers of Europe. The empire came to be known as Russia, from *Ruotsi*, the name given by the Finns to the foreigners. In the course of a few generations the Norse intruders were thoroughly Slavonized, becoming completely identified in speech, manners, tastes, and sympathies with the people over whom fortune had called them to rule. The descendants of Ruric gradually extended their authority over adjoining tribes, until nearly all the northwestern Slaves were embraced by their growing empire. In the tenth century Russia received Christianity, adopting the Greek form from Constantinople.

Disunion and Civil Wars. — In the eleventh century a sort of gavelkind law of inheritance came to prevail in the Russian monarchy, whereby the dominions of the successors of Ruric were divided and subdivided among the children of the successive sovereigns, and the unity and power of the empire thus completely destroyed. The monarchy became a mere confederacy of jealous and warring tribes. This state of things prepared the way for the overwhelming calamity which befell Russia in the thirteenth century.

The Tartar Conquest. — The misfortune to which we refer was the overrunning and conquest of the country by the Tartar hordes of Ginghis Khan and his successors. The barbarian conquerors inflicted the most horrible atrocities upon the unfortunate land, and for more than two hundred years held the Russian princes in a degrading bondage, forcing them to pay homage and tribute. This period, like that of the Shepherd Kings in the story of Egypt, is a perfect blank in Russian history. The misfortune delayed for centuries the nationalization of the Slavonian peoples.

The Rise of Muscovy. — During the period of Tartar domination, the Slavonian state of Muscovy, so called from Moscow, its

centre and capital, was growing into power and prominence. Its supremacy over the other Russian states was formally recognized by the Mongol chief, who appointed its ruler Grand Duke (about 1340). While it and the other petty Russian principalities were still subject to the Khan of the Golden Horde, as the head of the Tartar tribes was called, it had gradually extended its dominions until it became easily the first among all the Slavonian states. In 1470 the prince of Moscow annexed Novgorod the Mighty to his dominions. This new Russian power now felt strong enough to throw off the Tartar yoke.

Russia freed from the Mongols. — It was under Ivan the Great (1462–1505) that Russia, — now frequently called Muscovy from the fact that it had been reorganized with Moscow as a centre, — after a terrible struggle, succeeded in freeing itself from the hateful Tartar domination, and began to assume the character of a well-consolidated monarchy.

Ivan was the first to take the title of "Czar and Autocrat of all the Russias." He improved the laws, and labored to introduce into his kingdom the civilization of the more advanced European nations. Through his marriage to a niece of Constantine Palæologus, the last Byzantine Emperor, Russia was drawn into connection with Greek culture and learning. Moscow, in as true a sense as the cities of Italy, became an asylum for those Greek scholars whom the progress of the Ottoman power during the closing mediæval century drove from the schools and universities of the East.

Thus by the end of the Middle Ages, Russia had become a really great power; but she was as yet too completely hemmed in by hostile states to be able to make her influence felt in the affairs of Europe. Between her and the Caspian and Euxine were the Tartars; shutting her out from the Baltic were the Swedes and other peoples; and between her and Germany were the Lithuanians and Poles.

VI. Italy.

No National Government. — In marked contrast to all those countries of which we have thus far spoken, unless we except Ger-

many, Italy came to the close of the Middle Ages without a national or regular government. This is to be attributed in large part to that unfortunate rivalry between Pope and Emperor which resulted in dividing Italy into the two hostile camps of Guelph and Ghibelline. And yet the mediæval period did not pass without attempts on the part of patriot spirits to effect some sort of political union among the different cities and states of the peninsula. The most noteworthy of these movements, and one which gave assurance that the spark of patriotism which was in time to flame into an inextinguishable passion for national unity was kindling in the Italian heart, was that headed by the famous hero Rienzi in the fourteenth century.

Rienzi, Tribune of Rome (1347). — During the greater part of the fourteenth century the seat of the Papal See was at Avignon, beyond the Alps. Throughout this period of the "Babylonish captivity," Rome, deprived of her natural guardians, was in a state of the greatest confusion. The nobles, prominent among whom were the families of the Orsini and Colonna, terrorized the country about the capital, and kept the streets of the city itself in constant turmoil with their bitter feuds. Every part of the capital was dominated by their fortified residences. The ancient monuments were made to serve as strongholds, and thus these memorials of antiquity suffered greater damage from the mediæval barons than had ever been inflicted upon them by barbarian conquerors.

In the midst of these disorders there appeared from among the lowest ranks of the people a deliverer in the person of one Nicola di Rienzi. With imagination all inflamed from long study of the records and monuments of the freedom and glory of ancient Rome, he conceived the magnificent idea of not only delivering the capital from the wretchedness of the prevailing anarchy, but also of restoring the city to its former proud position as head of Italy and mistress of the world.

Possessed of considerable talent and great eloquence, Rienzi easily incited the people to a revolt against the rule, or rather misrule, of the nobles, and succeeded in having himself, with the title

of Tribune, placed at the head of a new government for Rome. In this position his power was virtually absolute. He forced the nobles into submission, and in a short time effected a most wonderful transformation in the city and surrounding country. Order and security took the place of disorder and violence. The best days of republican Rome seemed to have been suddenly restored. The enthusiasm of the Roman populace knew no limits. The remarkable revolution drew the attention of all Italy, and of the world beyond the peninsula as well.

Encouraged by the success that had thus far attended his schemes, Rienzi now began to concert measures for the union of all the principalities and commonwealths of Italy in a great republic, with Rome as its capital. He sent ambassadors throughout Italy to plead, at the courts of the princes and in the council-chambers of the municipalities, the cause of Italian unity and freedom.

The splendid dream of Rienzi was shared by other Italian patriots besides himself, among whom was the poet Petrarch, who was the friend and encourager of the "plebeian hero." "Could passion have listened to reason," says Gibbon, "could private welfare have yielded to the public welfare, the supreme tribunal and confederate union of the Italian republic might have healed the intestine discord, and closed the Alps against the barbarians of the North."

But the moment for Italy's unification had not yet come. Not only were there hindrances to the national movement in the ambitions and passions of rival parties and classes, but there were still greater impediments in the character of the plebeian patriot himself. Rienzi proved to be an unworthy leader. His sudden elevation and surprising success completely turned his head, and he soon began to exhibit the most incredible vanity and weakness. He caused himself to be crowned with seven crowns, emblematic of the seven gifts of the spirit, and assumed the title of "Deliverer of Rome; Defender of Italy; Friend of Mankind, and of Liberty, Peace, and Justice; Tribune August."

The natural consequences of the Tribune's extravagant follies were soon reached. The people withdrew from him their support; the Pope, now that it was safe to do so, excommunicated him as a rebel and heretic; and the nobles rose against him. Abdicating his office, Rienzi now went into exile. After an absence from the city of six years, he was sent back by the Pope (he had become reconciled with the Church) as his minister, with the title of Senator; but after a rule of a few months he was assassinated, in a sudden uprising of the people.

Thus vanished the dream of Rienzi and Petrarch, of the hero and the poet. Centuries of division, of shameful subjection to foreign princes, — French, Spanish, and Austrian, — of wars and suffering, were yet before the Italian people ere Rome should become the centre of a free, orderly, and united Italy.

The Renaissance. — Though the Middle Ages closed in Italy without the rise there of a national government, still before the end of the period much had been done to awaken those common ideas and sentiments upon which political unity can alone safely repose. Literature and art here performed the part that war did in other countries in arousing a national pride and spirit. The Renaissance, with its revelations and achievements, discovering the Italians to themselves, did much towards creating among them a common pride in race and country; and thus this splendid literary and artistic enthusiasm was the first step in a course of national development which was to lead the Italian people to a common political life.

Upon the literary phase of the Italian Renaissance we have said something in the chapter on the Revival of Learning; we will here say just a word respecting the artistic side of the movement.[1]

The most splendid period of the art revival covered the latter part of the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth. The characteristic art of the Renaissance in Italy was painting, although the æsthetic genius of the Italians also expressed itself both in

[1] For what follows, we are largely indebted to Symonds's admirable work, *The Fine Arts*, in his series entitled *The Renaissance in Italy*.

architecture and sculpture.[1] The mediæval artists devoted themselves to painting instead of sculpture, for the reason that it best expresses the ideas and sentiments of Christianity. The art that would be the handmaid of the Church needed to be able to represent faith and hope, ecstasy and suffering, — none of which things can well be expressed by sculpture, which is essentially the art of repose. Sculpture was the chief art of the Greeks, because among them the aim of the artist was to represent physical beauty or strength. But the problem of the Christian artist is to express spiritual emotion or feeling, through the medium of the body. This cannot be represented in cold, colorless marble. Thus, as Symonds asks, "How could the Last Judgment be expressed in plastic form?" The chief events of Christ's life removed Him beyond the reach of sculpture.

Therefore, because sculpture has so little power to express emotion, painting, which runs so easily the entire gamut of feeling, became the chosen medium of expression of the Italian artist. His subjects at first were drawn chiefly from the legends of mediæval Christianity. He sought to portray the raptures of the saint, the sweet charm of the Madonna, the intense passion of the Christ, the moving terrors of the Last Judgment.

With the Renaissance, classical elements were blended with Christian ideals, and art became paganized. At the same time it was liberalized, and in insisting upon beauty as being an end worthy in itself, it antagonized the teachings of ascetic Chris-

[1] The four supreme masters of the Italian Renaissance were Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), Michael Angelo (1475–1564), Raphael (1483–1520), and Titian (1477–1576). All were great painters. Perhaps the one of greatest, at least of most varied, genius, was Michael Angelo, who was at once architect, painter, and sculptor. His grandest architectural triumph was the majestic dome of St. Peter's, — which work, however, he did not live to see completed. His best paintings, probably, are the wonderful frescoes of the Last Judgment, in the Sistine Chapel at Rome. As a sculptor, he forced sculpture to do what it is not wont to do, — to use the emotional language of painting; that is, he cut in marble thoughts and feelings that less masterful genius than his must needs express by means of painting.

tianity, and helped to lift men into the freedom of the new age. Thus teaching the world the joyousness of physical existence, the art of the Renaissance was one of the angels that led man out of the dungeon in which Monasticism had immured him.

Savonarola (1452–1498). — A word must here be said respecting the Florentine monk and reformer Girolamo Savonarola, who stands as the most noteworthy personage in Italy during the closing years of the mediæval period.

Savonarola was at once Roman censor and Hebrew prophet. Such a preacher of righteousness the world had not seen since the days of Elijah. He denounced the Medici as the enslavers and corrupters of Florence; thundered against the iniquities of the infamous Borgias at Rome; fought to counteract the pagan tendencies of the Renaissance; hurled denunciations against the profligacy of the monks; and prophesied the wrath of God on Florence, Italy, and all the world on account of the degeneracy of the Church and the paganism and vices of the times.

His powerful preaching alarmed the conscience of the Florentines. At his suggestion the women brought their finery and ornaments, and others their beautiful works of art, and piling them in great heaps in the streets of Florence, burned them as vanities. Savonarola even urged that the government of Florence be made a theocracy, and Christ be proclaimed king. But, finally, the activity of his Florentine enemies and the machinations of the Pope, the detestable Alexander VI., brought about the reformer's downfall, and he was condemned to death, executed, and his body burned.

Savonarola may be regarded as the last great mediæval forerunner of the reformers of the sixteenth century. With the flames of his martyrdom went out the light of religious reform in Europe until rekindled once more by the holy fervor of a monk beyond the Alps.

VII. The Northern Countries.

The Union of Calmar. — The great Scandinavian Exodus of the ninth and tenth centuries drained the Northern lands of some of the best elements of their population. For this reason these countries did not play as prominent a part in mediæval history as they would otherwise have done. The constant contentions between their sovereigns and the nobility were also another cause of internal weakness.

In the year 1397, by what is known as the Union of Calmar, the three kingdoms of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden were united under Margaret of Denmark, "the Semiramis of the North." The treaty provided that each country should make its own laws. But the treaty was violated, and though the friends of the measure had hoped much from it, it brought only jealousies, feuds, and wars.

The Swedes arose again and again in revolt, and finally, under the lead of an heroic nobleman, Gustavus Vasa, made good their independence (1523). The patriot Gustavus awakened in his countrymen a deep sense of nationality, and thus helped vastly to bring Sweden prominently forward among the forming nations of Europe. During the seventeenth century, under the descendants and successors of the Liberator, Sweden was destined to play an important part in the affairs of the continent.

Norway became virtually a province of Denmark, and the Norwegian nobles were driven into exile or killed. The country remained attached to the Danish Crown until the present century.

Part II.

MODERN HISTORY.

INTRODUCTION.

Beginning of the Modern Age. — The discovery of America by Columbus in 1492 is usually allowed to mark the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Modern Era. And this was an event of such transcendent importance, — the effect upon civilization of the opening up of fresh continents was so great, — that we may very properly accord to the achievement of the Genoese the honor proposed. Yet we must bear in mind that no single circumstance or event actually marks the end of the old order of things and the beginning of the new. The finding of the Western Hemisphere did not make the new age; the new age discovered the New World. The undertaking of Columbus was the natural outcome of that spirit of commercial enterprise which for centuries — ever since the Crusades — had been gradually expanding the scope of mercantile adventure, and broadening the horizon of the European world. His fortunate expedition was only one of several brilliant nautical exploits which distinguished the close of the fifteenth and the opening of the sixteenth century.

This same period was also marked by significant intellectual, political, and religious movements, which indicated that civilization was about to enter — indeed had already entered — upon a new phase of its development. In the intellectual world was going on, as we have seen, the wonderful Revival of Learning,

producing everywhere unwonted thought, stir, and enterprise; in the political world the tendency to centralization that had long been at work was culminating in the formation of great nations and strong monarchical governments, founded upon the ruins of Feudalism; in the religious world there were unrest, dissatisfaction, inquiry, complaint, — premonitory symptoms of the tremendous revolution that was destined to render the sixteenth century memorable in the religious records of mankind.

And in connection with these movements we must not fail to notice how they were being aided by various great inventions and discoveries. Thus the intellectual and religious revival was greatly promoted by the new art of printing; the kings in their struggle with the nobles were materially aided by the use of gunpowder, which rendered useless armor and castle, and transformed the feudal levy into a regular standing army; while the great ocean voyages of the times were rendered possible only by the improvement of the mariner's compass,[1] whose trusty guidance emboldened the navigator to quit the shore and push out upon hitherto untraversed seas.

The Two Periods: their Chief Characteristics. — Standing at the opening of the new age, and casting a glance over the broadening field of history, we are bewildered by the infinite number and variety of circumstances which rise to view, and make up the quickly shifting scenes of the deepening drama. We shall avoid utter confusion amidst the multitude of details that crowd upon us, only by fixing our attention upon the chief characteristics of the age, — by noting what are the leading ideas and principles at work. These we have already indicated in the general introduction to our work, where we divided modern history into two

[1] It is a disputed question to what people should be given the credit of the discovery or invention of the magnetic needle. The instrument was certainly known in Europe among the Mediterranean navigators as early as the thirteenth century; but it does not appear to have been much used by them until they sailed beyond the Pillars of Hercules, in the fourteenth century, and opened trade with the countries of the Baltic.

periods, the *Era of the Protestant Reformation* and the *Era of the Political Revolution*, and so it is not necessary to dwell upon them here. We need simply to remind the reader that the first period, extending from the opening of the sixteenth century to the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, is characterized by the revolt of the nations of Northern Europe against the spiritual jurisdiction of Rome, and the great combat between Protestantism and Catholicism; and that the second period, running from the Peace of Westphalia to our own day, is distinguished by the contest between the People and their rulers, or, in other words, by the conflict between liberal and despotic principles of government.

These two revolutionary epochs are intimately connected. "Rebellion and heresy," as Buckle observes, "are but different forms of the same disregard of tradition, the same bold and independent spirit. Both are of the nature of a protest made by modern ideas against old associations."

As introductory to the history of the Modern Age, we shall speak briefly of the great geographical discoveries of Columbus, Vasco da Gama, and Magellan, and of the beginning of European conquests and settlements in the New World, as these great events lie at the opening of the era and form the prelude of its story. These matters, though seemingly disconnected from the general course of events in Europe, were in fact most significantly related to European history. These discoveries, widening and liberalizing men's thoughts, helped on greatly the mental and religious revolution of the times; the finding of new pathways for commerce promoted vastly the commercial enterprise of the European world, and changed entirely the relations and relative importance of nations; while the opening up in the Western Hemisphere of virgin continents for the development of new social and political institutions, potent in their reflex influence upon Europe, had a most important bearing upon the Old-World conflicts of creeds and theories of government.

Discovery of the New World by Columbus (1492). — Christopher Columbus was one of those Genoese navigators who, when

Genoa's Asiatic lines of trade were broken by the irruption of the Turks, conceived the idea of reaching India by an ocean route. While others were endeavoring to reach that country by sailing around the southern point of Africa, he proposed the bolder plan of reaching this eastern land by sailing directly westward.

The sphericity of the earth was a doctrine held by many at this time; but it was contrary to prevalent theological views, and so it was not safe for one to publish too openly one's belief in the notion.

Everybody knows how Columbus in his endeavors to secure a patron for his enterprise met at first with repeated repulse and disappointment; how at last he gained the ear of Queen Isabella of Spain; how the little fleet was fitted out for the explorer; and how the New World was found.

The return of Columbus to Spain with his vessels loaded with the strange animal and vegetable products of the new land he had found, together with several specimens of the inhabitants, — a new race of men to Europeans, — produced the profoundest sensation among all classes. Curiosity was unbounded. The spirit of adventure awakened among Spanish navigators and knights by the surprising discovery, led to those subsequent nautical, military, and colonial undertakings by Castilian adventurers which make up the most thrilling pages of Spanish history.

Columbus never received a fitting recognition of the great service he had rendered the world. Even the continent he had discovered, instead of being called after him as a perpetual memorial, was named from a Florentine navigator, Amerigo Vespucci, whose chief claim to this distinction was his having written the first account of the new lands.

The Voyage of Vasco da Gama (1497–1498). — While Columbus was seeking India by sailing westward, Portuguese navigators were endeavoring to reach it by sailing around the southern cape of Africa. The favorable position of Portugal upon the Atlantic seaboard naturally led her sovereigns to conceive the idea of competing with the Italian cities for the trade of the East Indies, by

opening up an ocean route to those lands. During all the latter part of the fifteenth century Portuguese sailors were year after year penetrating a little further into the mysterious tropical seas, and exploring new reaches of the western coast of Africa.

Finally, in 1487, Bartholomew Diaz succeeded in reaching the most southern point of the continent, which was named Cape of Good Hope, as the possibility of reaching India by sea now seemed assured. A decade later Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese admiral, doubled the Cape, crossed the Indian Sea, and finally landed on the coast of Malabar (1498).

The discovery of a water-path to India effected, as we have already noticed, most important changes in the traffic of the world. It made the ports of Portugal and of other countries on the Atlantic seaboard the depots of the Eastern trade. "The front of Europe was suddenly changed." The Italian merchants were ruined. The great warehouses of Egypt and Syria were left empty. The traffic of the Mediterranean dwindled to insignificant proportions. Portugal established factories and colonies in the East, and built up there a great empire, — like that which England is maintaining in the same region at the present day, — and, through the extraordinary impulse thus given to the enterprise and ambition of her citizens, now entered upon the most splendid era of her history.

The Voyage around the Globe by Magellan (1519–1522). — Remarkable and bold as were the voyages of Columbus and Vasco da Gama, these were now to be eclipsed by the still more adventurous enterprise of the circumnavigation of the globe by the Portuguese navigator Magellan.

The voyage of Magellan was inspired by the following circumstances. Upon the return of Columbus from his successful expedition, Pope Alexander VI., with a view to adjusting the conflicting claims of Spain and Portugal, issued a bull, wherein he divided the world by a meridian line drawn through the Atlantic one hundred leagues west of the Azores (the line was afterwards moved 270 leagues further west), and gave to the Spanish sovereigns all unclaimed pagan lands that their subjects might find west of this line,

and to the Portuguese kings all new pagan lands discovered by Portuguese navigators east of the designated meridian. These grants were made on the principle at this time maintained by the Popes that the sovereignty of the world, and preëminently that part of it occupied by pagans, had been given to them, and that they might bestow it upon whomsoever they would.

Sooner or later, of course, disputes between Spain and Portugal were bound to arise respecting the title to lands discovered by Spanish navigators sailing westward, and also reached by Portuguese ships sailing to the east.

It was a contention regarding the valuable Spice Islands of the Pacific which led to the famous voyage of Magellan. These islands were claimed by the Portuguese, but were coveted by the king of Spain. If they could only be reached by a ship sailing to the west, then Spain could make a good title to them under the terms of the Papal bull. To accomplish this an expedition was organized and entrusted to the command of Magellan, a Portuguese admiral, who had left the service of his native country on account of some personal slight. The little fleet of five vessels sailed from Spain in the year 1519, and began the most adventurous voyage in the entire record of nautical enterprise.

Magellan directed his fleet in a south-westerly course across the Atlantic, hoping to find towards the south a break in the land discovered by Columbus, through which he could force his ships into the waters beyond. Near the most southern point of Patagonia he found the narrow strait that now bears his name. Through this channel the bold sailor pushed his vessels, and found himself upon a great sea, with a blank horizon to the west. From the calm, unruffled face of the new ocean, so different from the stormy Atlantic, he gave to it the name *Pacific*.

The voyage of these first intruders from the Old World upon the unknown sea, beneath the strange constellations of the southern skies, was one of almost incredible sufferings, endured with the bravest fortitude. "In the whole history of human undertakings," says Draper, "there is nothing that exceeds, if, indeed,

there is anything that equals, this voyage of Magellan's. That of Columbus dwindles away in comparison."

Finally, on November 8th, 1521, the fleet reached one of the Spice Islands, and the following year arrived home, after an absence of three years and one month. Envious fortune did not allow Magellan to enjoy the triumph of the success of the expedition. He was killed, either by his mutinous sailors, or by the natives of one of the South Sea islands, at which the fleet touched. His lieutenant, who conducted the fleet home, was presented by the Spanish sovereign with a medal, in the form of a globe, fitly encircled with this legend: *Primus circumdedisti me* — "You first went around me."

Results of Magellan's Voyage. — The results of the circumnavigation of the earth were chiefly of an intellectual or moral character. It broadened the mental even more than the physical horizon of the world. All the old narrow geographical ideas were pushed aside. It settled forever the question as to the shape of the earth and its place in the universe. It revolutionized whole systems of thought and belief. And since mediaeval theology had either contributed to or shared in the popular misconceptions respecting the relation of the earth to the sun and the stars, the new geographical knowledge, in connection with the new views of astronomy which followed, tended to discredit ecclesiastical authority where, passing outside the sphere of religion and morals, it had assumed the character of a censorship over the opinions and beliefs of men in matters purely scientific.

The Conquest of Mexico (1519–1521). — The accounts of Spanish explorations and conquests in the lands opened up by the fortunate voyage of Columbus, read more like a romance than any other chapter in history. They tell of men growing old while hunting through strange lands for the Fountain of Youth; of expeditions lost for years to the knowledge of men, while searching beneath gloomy forests for *El Dorado*, the "Golden Land"; of explorations upon seas and amidst mountains never before looked upon by men of the Old World; of voyages on ocean-

like rivers which led, no one knew where; and of ancient and opulent empires conquered, and their enormous accumulations of gold and silver seized by a few score of adventurous knights.[1]

Perhaps the most brilliant exploit in which the Spanish cavaliers engaged during this period of daring and romantic adventure was the conquest of Mexico.

Reports of a powerful and affluent "empire" upon the mainland to the west, were constantly spread among the Spanish colonists who very soon after the discovery of the New World settled the islands in the Gulf of Mexico. These stories inflamed the imagination of adventurous spirits among the settlers, and an expedition was organized and placed under the command of Hernando Cortez for the conquest and "conversion" of the heathen nation.

Before telling of the fortunes of the expedition, we must say a word about the State against which it was directed.

What appears in the accounts of the Spanish chroniclers as the "Mexican Monarchy," or the "Empire of the Montezumas," was really only a sort of league, or confederacy, — something like the Iroquois confederacy in the North, — formed of three Indian tribes.[2] Of these the Aztecs were the leading tribe, and gave name to the confederacy. At the head of the league stood a sachem, or war-chief.

The Aztecs, at the time of the discovery of America, had reached what is called the "middle state" of barbarism. They employed a system of picture-writing somewhat like the hiero-

[1] Juan Ponce de Leon started on his romantic expedition in search of the fabled spring in 1512; Vasco de Balboa discovered the Pacific in 1513; Hernando de Soto, while searching for *El Dorado*, found the Mississippi, in 1541; and the same year Francisco Orellana descended the eastern slope of the Andes to the Napo, floated down that stream to the Amazon, and then drifted on down to the sea.

[2] It is now very generally conceded that Prescott's conception of the Mexican State, especially as to its political organization, must be very materially modified to bring it into harmony with the actual facts. Consult Morgan's *Ancient Society*, chap. VII.

glyphical system of the Iroquois, and of other North-American Indian tribes. Their religion was a sort of sun-worship. They were cannibals, and offered human victims in their sacrifices. They had no knowledge of the horse or ox, and were totally ignorant of the use of fire-arms. They held their lands in common, and lived in communal or joint-tenement houses, which were large enough to accommodate from ten to one hundred families. It was these immense structures which the Spanish writers described as "palaces" and "public edifices." These buildings were, doubtless, the same in plan as those to be seen at the present day among the Pueblo Indians of the southwestern part of the United States.

The Pueblo of Mexico, the chief city of the Aztec tribe, was founded, according to tradition, in 1325. It was situated upon an island in the midst of the largest of the lakes that diversify the noted valley of Mexico. Long causeways, running through the shallow swamps, connected the city with the mainland. The population of the town at the time of the Spanish invasion was probably about 20,000 or 30,000.

Such was the State which Cortez, with a force of five or six hundred foot-soldiers, twelve light cannon, and sixteen horsemen, set out to conquer. If this little company seems to us out of all proportion to the proposed undertaking, we must recall that with the Spanish cavaliers the days of chivalry were not yet over. Prospective toil and danger only tended to raise to a higher pitch of enthusiasm the adventurous spirits of these knights of fortune.

There were, however, several circumstances in favor of the adventurers; but of these the daring cavaliers knew nothing when they set out upon their enterprise. One of these was the real weakness of the Indian State, which, as we have seen, was not a great military monarchy as the Spaniards supposed, but simply a feeble league with easily-broken bonds. Furthermore, the surrounding tribes were hostile to the confederacy, and ready to join the Spaniards in their attack upon it. And still a third circumstance favoring the invaders, was the state of religious feeling

among the Indians. About this time they were expecting the return of a good deity, who, as their traditions told, had long before sailed away from the country, towards the rising sun, leaving behind him the promise that he would one day return to resume the sceptre and set up a glorious reign.

We shall see how, by making allies of the enemies of the confederacy, and by a deceptive use of the religious expectations of the Aztecs themselves, the Spaniards, though in number but a mere handful, were enabled quickly to subjugate the State.

We can give here only the merest outline of the experiences and exploits of Cortez and his companions. With his little army augmented by the addition of several thousand friendly natives from among the Tlascalans, a tribe first encountered by the Spaniards, Cortez marched towards Mexico. Although Montezuma, the war-chief of the confederacy, was trembling with fear at the Spaniards' approach, he dared not openly oppose their march, and upon their arrival at Mexico received the strangers from another world as his guests. They represented that they were the envoys of a mighty sovereign, who reigned in lands toward the rising sun, and who rightly claimed allegiance of all the peoples of the earth. The weak Montezuma was made to believe that this great monarch was the good deity (Quetalcoatl) of whom the traditions of his race told.

Worked upon thus by fear and religious feeling, Montezuma swore allegiance to the Spanish monarch, and then sent collectors to the various pueblos of the confederacy and its dependencies to gather tribute for his new master. A vast treasure was collected, chiefly in costly articles of gold and silver, amounting, it is said, to $6,000,000. Reserving a small portion of the treasure as the royal share, Cortez divided the remainder among his companions.

Fearing an uprising of the Indians, the Spaniards now seized Montezuma in his own palace, and held him as a hostage for the good conduct of his people. But driven to desperation, the Indians elected a new chief, and made an attack upon the Spanish quarters, in the course of which Montezuma was killed. Cortez

now resolved upon a retreat from the city, under cover of night. The flight, however, was discovered, and the Spaniards were able to make good their escape only after terrific losses. Fortunately they found a temporary refuge among the friendly Indians of Tlascala.

Having recruited his thinned ranks, Cortez once more advanced upon the capital. After a long siege the city fell into his hands. The chief, Guatimozin, was captured, and afterwards put to death. Those of the natives that the siege had spared were permitted to leave the city. It was then cleansed, and the empty houses were taken possession of by the Spaniards and their allies. The heathen temples were torn down, and Christian chapels erected upon their sites. The issue of the siege inclined the superstitious natives to abandon the worship of their own gods, that had proved so powerless or treacherous in the hour of need, and to crowd in multitudes to be baptized and to receive the sign of the cross.

Thus almost in a day did Mexico become a Christian city, and a possession of the Spanish crown.

The Conquest of Peru (1532–1536). — The story of the conquest of Peru by Francisco Pizarro is almost a repetition of the story of the conquest of Mexico by Cortez, save that it is a record stained with greater heartlessness and treachery.

The civilization of the Peruvians was superior to that of the Aztecs. Not only were the great cities of the empire filled with splendid temples and palaces, but throughout the country were to be seen magnificent works of public utility, such as roads,[1] bridges,

[1] There were two roads running from Quito to Cuzco, the two chief cities of the empire, one leading down the Andean plateau, and the other conducting the traveler over the lowlands of the coast. Each was from fifteen hundred to two thousand miles in length. The average width was twenty feet. The more difficult sections were paved with enormous blocks of stone, or were coated with a bituminous cement. The roadways were carried across rivers and torrents by means of suspension bridges formed of twisted *lianoes*, or vines. Respecting these great highways Humboldt the traveler declares that "they are among the most stupendous works ever executed by man." Like the similar roads of the Romans, these highways have fallen into decay, and

and aqueducts.[1] The government of the Incas, the royal or ruling race, was a mild, parental autocracy.

Glowing reports of the enormous wealth of the Incas, the commonest articles in whose palaces, it was asserted, were of solid gold, reached the Spaniards by way of the Isthmus of Darien, and it was not long before an expedition was organized for the conquest of the country. The leader of the band was Francisco Pizarro, an iron-hearted, cruel, unscrupulous, perfidious, and illiterate adventurer.

It so happened that just at this time the kingdom of the Incas was weakened by internal dissensions. Two brothers, Huascar and Atahualpa by name, to whom their royal father had given the empire in equal shares, were engaged in civil war. The latter had defeated and was holding in captivity his brother, when Pizarro, advancing boldly into the country, with less than two hundred men, made, through treachery, a prisoner of Atahualpa right in the very presence of his army; and then, to strike terror into the minds of the natives, massacred a large number of them.

The captive Inca offered, as a ransom for his release, to fill the room in which he was confined "as high as he could reach" with vessels of gold. Pizarro accepted the offer, and the palaces and temples throughout the empire were stripped of their golden vessels, and the apartment was filled with the precious relics. The value of the treasure is estimated at over $17,000,000. When this vast wealth was once under the control of the Spaniards, they seized it all, and then treacherously put the Inca to death (1533).

With the death of Atahualpa the power of the Inca dynasty passed away forever; and within a few years after the Spaniards

at the present time only a fragment here and there bears evidence of the labor and care involved in their construction.

[1] The populousness of the empire led to the careful cultivation of every patch of the mountain soil, the steep flanks of the hills being terraced as high up as vegetation flourishes. Irrigation was secured by means of an extensive system of aqueducts and canals. Some of these conduits were from four hundred to five hundred miles in length.

had first set foot upon the continent, all the extensive realms once embraced within the limits of the Peruvian monarchy had become a part of the domains of the Spanish king.[1]

Spanish Colonization in the New World. — Not until more than one hundred years after the discovery of the Western Hemisphere by Columbus, was there established a single permanent English settlement within the limits of what is now the United States, the portion of the New World destined to be taken possession of by the peoples of Northern Europe, and to become the home of civil and religious freedom.

But into those parts of the new lands opened up by Spanish exploration and conquest there began to pour at once a tremendous stream of Spanish adventurers and colonists in search of fortune and fame. It was a sort of Spanish migration. What took place was something like the inrush of a Greek population into Western Asia after the Macedonian conquests, or like the influx of Roman traders and colonists into Gaul, Spain, and other countries opened up by the arms of Rome. Or, again, the movement might be compared to the rush of population from the Eastern States to California, after the announcement of the discovery there of gold, in 1848–9.

Upon the West India Islands, in Mexico, in Central America, all along the Pacific slope of the Andes, and everywhere upon the lofty and pleasant table-lands that had formed the heart of the empire of the Incas, there sprang up rapidly great cities as the centres of mining and agricultural industries, of commerce and of trade. Often, as in the case of Mexico, Quito, and Cuzco, these new cities were simply the renovated, enlarged, and rebuilt capitals or towns of the conquered natives; while in other in-

[1] For years, however, the empire was the scene of the most bitter rivalries and contentions among the adventurers who had conquered it, and others who, attracted by the stories of the wealth that had been found, crowded into the country to share the spoils. In one of these quarrels which arose between Pizarro and some of his officers, he was killed at Lima (which city he had founded), in the seventieth year of his age (1541).

stances, as in the case of Panama, Guayaquil, and Santiago, the Spanish cities were laid upon entirely new foundations.

Thus did a Greater Spain grow up in the New World. Before the close of the sixteenth century the dominions of the Spanish monarch in the Western Hemisphere formed of themselves a magnificent empire, and were the source, chiefly through the wealth of their gold and silver mines, of a vast revenue to the royal exchequer. It was, in a large measure, the treasures derived from these new possessions that enabled the sovereigns of Spain to play the imposing part they did in the affairs of Europe during the century following the discovery of America.[1]

Having thus hurriedly examined one source of Spanish greatness and reputation, it will be one of our aims in a following chapter to give some idea of the way in which this power and influence and prestige were used by the sovereigns of Spain in the maintenance of ecclesiastical and civil despotism.

[1] After having robbed the Indians of their wealth in gold and silver, the slow accumulations of centuries, the Spaniards further enriched themselves by the enforced labor of the unfortunate natives. Unused to such toil as was exacted of them under the lash of worse than Egyptian task-masters, the Indians wasted away by millions in the mines of Mexico and Peru, and upon the sugar plantations of the West Indies. More than half of the native population of Peru is thought to have been consumed in the Peruvian mines. To save the Indians, negroes were introduced as a substitute for native laborers. This was the beginning of the African slave-trade in the New World. The traffic was especially encouraged by a benevolent priest named Las Casas (1474–1566), known as the "Apostle of the Indians." Thus the gigantic evil of African slavery in the Western Hemisphere, like the gladiatorial shows of the Romans, was brought into existence, or, rather, in its beginning was fostered, by a philanthropic desire and effort to mitigate human suffering.

THIRD PERIOD. — THE ERA OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION.

(FROM THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA TO THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA, IN 1648.)

CHAPTER I.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE REFORMATION UNDER LUTHER.

Introductory. — While Columbus and other adventurers were exploring the earth's unknown seas and opening up a New Hemisphere for civilization, the distinguished Copernicus was exploring the heavens and discovering the true system of the universe.[1] Thus, at nearly the same time, were men's views of the earth and their conceptions of the heavens surprisingly modified and enlarged.

We bring together these great discoveries in the physical realm, in order simply to help the memory by connecting them with the far more significant discoveries made at about the same time in the spiritual world. The sixteenth century had but fairly opened when Luther discovered the New World of the Spirit, and by leading men out into its freedom ushered in a new age — the ever-memorable *Era of the Protestant Reformation.* The events of this new era we are now to study.

[1] Nicholas Copernicus (1473–1543) had quite fully matured his heliocentric theory of the universe by the year 1507, but fearing the charge of heresy, he did not publish the great work embodying his views until thirty-six years later (in 1543).

The Reformation defined. — The Reformation in its essential characteristics was a *protest* against the formalism and abuses, and a *revolt* against the authority, of the Roman Catholic Church.

Viewed as to the first essential, it was a renascence of primitive Christianity, and bore the same relation to mediæval Christianity that the classical revival bore to mediæval Scholasticism. Just as the Humanists charged the Schoolmen with having corrupted and misinterpreted the classical languages, literatures, and philosophy, and to sustain the indictment produced the original manuscripts; so did the reformers complain that the Roman Catholic Church had corrupted and made of none effect by its traditions and ceremonies the Word of God, and to prove the charge produced the original Hebrew and Greek Testaments. Thus the Reformation on this side was a movement of the human spirit seeking a purer and freer, a more personal and spiritual worship.

Viewed as to the second essential, it was an insurrection against Papal and priestly authority, a severance by half the nations of Europe of the bonds that united them to the ecclesiastical empire of Rome, and a transfer of their allegiance from the *Church* to the *Bible*. The decrees of Popes and the decisions of Councils were no longer to be regarded as having divine and binding force; the Scriptures alone were to be held as possessing divine and infallible authority, and this rule and standard of faith and belief the reformers were to interpret for themselves.

Extent of Rome's Spiritual Authority at the opening of the Sixteenth Century. — In a preceding chapter on the Papacy it was shown how perfect at one time was the obedience of the West not only to the spiritual, but to the temporal, authority of the Pope. It was also shown how the Papal claim of the right to dictate in temporal or governmental affairs was practically rejected by the princes and sovereigns of Europe as early as the fourteenth century. But previous to the opening of the sixteenth century there had been comparatively few — though there had been some, like the Albigenses in the south of France, the Wickliffites in England, and the Hussites in Bohemia — so hardy as to deny the supreme and

infallible authority of the Bishops of Rome in all matters touching religion. All murmurs and dissent had been suppressed by the sword and the fagot, so that speaking in a very general manner it would be correct to say that at the close of the fifteenth century all the nations of Western Europe professed the faith of the Latin or Roman Church and yielded spiritual obedience to the Papal See.

Causes of the Reformation. — The causes which brought about the Reformation were many. Among others may be mentioned the great mental awakening which marked the close of the mediæval and the opening of the modern age. The effect of this intellectual revival was twofold. The Humanists either fell into religious indifference and skepticism, or, restating their creeds, which they found in conflict with the new learning, reached worthier and higher beliefs. We see the same thing going on to-day. The rapid advance of science is creating an apparent conflict between knowledge and belief. The result is either the flinging aside of all creeds, or the modification of them so as to bring faith into harmony with present knowledge. Now this is just what happened at the time of the Renaissance. The Humanists of Italy threw aside all beliefs, while the Luthers and Colets and Mores and Erasmuses and Melanchthons of the more serious North, reformed and thus preserved their creeds. And all this was inevitable. Much that was held in mediæval belief was unreasonable, and everything unreasonable must give way before awakening reason. Thus the intellectual revival, though often spoken of, in so far as it concerned the Northern nations, as an effect of the religious revival, was in reality at once cause and effect. It hastened the Reformation, and was itself hastened by it.

A second cause was the open and shameless profligacy of the clergy and monastic orders, and the dissolute and rapacious character of many of the Popes themselves,[1] which greatly tended to

[1] The Papacy reached its deepest degradation in the pontificate of Alexander VI. (Roderigo Borgia, 1493–1503), who seated himself in the Papal chair through the most shameless bribery. His conduct was simply execrable. In his efforts to advance the interests of his infamous son Cæsar, he stopped short of no crime.

destroy in men's minds the reverence they had been accustomed to entertain for representatives of the Church, and to lead to questioning and criticism. Further, the claims of the Popes to the right to interfere in the internal, governmental affairs of a nation, — for, although these claims had been rejected by the sovereigns of Europe, they were nevertheless persistently maintained by the Roman Bishops, — fostered the jealousy and opposition of the temporal princes.

Again, the art of printing, just now brought to perfection, had a powerful effect in hastening on the revolution. It scattered broadcast over Europe the Bible, and, as men began to read the book for themselves, they began to doubt the Scriptural authority for many of the doctrines and ceremonies of the church — such as the veneration of the Virgin, the supplication of saints, the use of images, confession to a priest, the nature of the elements in the eucharist, and various other matters in belief and practice.

But foremost among the proximate causes, and the actual *occasion* of the revolution, was the controversy which arose about the doctrine of indulgences.

Indulgences, as defined by Roman Catholic theology, are remissions, to penitents, of punishment due for sin, upon the performance of some work of mercy or piety, or the payment of a sum of money. It is, and always has been, the theory of the Roman Catholic Church that the indulgence remits merely temporal penalties, — that is, penances imposed by ecclesiastical authority, and the pains of Purgatory; and that it can take effect only upon certain conditions, among which is that of sincere repentance.

Before the time of the Reformation, indulgences had been frequently granted by various Pontiffs, with different objects in view. Thus in the time of the Crusades, they were offered to all who would assume the Cross and engage in the enterprise of rescuing the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the Mohammedans. Again, they were resorted to as a means of raising funds for the prosecution of pious undertakings. A considerable portion of the money

for building the Cathedral of St. Peter at Rome was raised in this manner.

Tetzel and the Preaching of Indulgences. — Leo X. upon his election to the Papal dignity, in 1513, found the coffers of the Church almost empty, and being in pressing need of money to carry on his various undertakings, among which was work upon St. Peter's, he had recourse to the now common expedient of a grant of indulgences. He delegated the power of dispensing these in Germany to the archbishop of Magdeburg, who employed a Dominican friar by the name of Tetzel as his deputy in Saxony.[1]

The archbishop was unfortunate in the selection of his agent. Tetzel carried out his commission in such a way as to give rise to a great scandal. The language that he, or at least his subordinates, used in exhorting the people to comply with the conditions of gaining the indulgences, — one of which was a donation of money, — was unseemly and exaggerated.

The result was that erroneous views as to the effect of indulgences began to spread among the simple and credulous, some being so far misled as to think that if they only contributed this money to the building of St. Peter's at Rome, they would be exempt from all penalty for sins, paying little heed to the other

[1] The form of these indulgences was as follows: "May our Lord Jesus Christ have mercy upon thee, and absolve thee by the merits of his most holy passion. And I, by his authority, that of his blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and of the most holy pope, granted and committed to me in these parts, do absolve thee, first from all ecclesiastical censures, in whatever manner they have been incurred, and then from all thy sins, transgressions, and excesses, how enormous soever they may be, even from such as are reserved for the cognizance of the holy see; and as far as the Keys of the Holy Church extend, I remit to you all punishment which you deserve in purgatory on their account, and I restore you to the holy sacraments of the Church, to the unity of the faithful, and to that innocence and purity which you possessed at baptism; so that, when you die, the gates of punishment shall be shut, and the gates of the paradise of delight shall be opened; and if you shall not die at present, this grace shall remain in full force when you are at the point of death. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Prescott's Robertson's *Charles the Fifth*, Vol. I. p. 461, note. (Phila. 1881.)

conditions, such as sorrow for sin and purpose of amendment. Hence, many were led to proclaim against the procedure of the zealous friar. These protests were the near mutterings of a storm that had long been gathering, and that was soon to shake all Europe from the Baltic to the Mediterranean.

Martin Luther. — Foremost among those who opposed and denounced the traffic carried on by Tetzel was Martin Luther, an Augustine monk, and a teacher of theology in the University of Wittenberg. This great reformer was born in Saxony in 1483. He was of humble parentage, his father being a poor miner. The boy possessed a good voice, and frequently, while a student, earned his bread by singing from door to door. "This is God's way," he himself afterwards wrote, "of beggars to make men of power, just as he made the world of nothing." He seems to have stood in need of frequent correction, for we are told of his being whipped fifteen times in a single forenoon. The natural bent of his mind, and, if we may believe a somewhat doubtful legend, the death of a friend struck down at his side by lightning, led him to resolve to enter a monastery and devote himself to the service of the Church. Before Tetzel appeared in Germany, Luther had already earned a wide reputation for learning and piety.

But years of study, reflection, and mental conflict within the cloister, had awakened in Luther's mind doubts and questionings as to many of the doctrines of the Church. Especially was there gradually maturing within him a conviction that the entire system of ecclesiastical penances and indulgences was unbiblical and wrong. His last lingering doubt respecting this matter appears to have been removed while, during an official visit to Rome in 1510, he was penitentially ascending on his knees the sacred stairs (*scala santa*) of the Lateran, when he seemed to hear an inner voice declaring, "The just shall live by faith."

The Ninety-five Theses. — The form which Church penances had taken in the hands of Tetzel and his associates, making sins past and prospective an article of merchandise, was so opposed to reason and the teachings of the Scriptures, that Luther determined

to make an appeal to the conscience and intelligence of the world. He drew up ninety-five theses, or articles, wherein he fearlessly stated his views respecting indulgences. These theses, written in Latin, he nailed to the door of the Church at Wittenberg, and invited all scholars to examine and criticise them, and to point out if in any respect they were opposed to the teachings of the Word of God, or of the early fathers of the Church (1517).

By means of the press the theses were scattered with incredible rapidity throughout every country in Europe, and the eagerness with which they were read and commented upon by all classes showed how thoroughly events had prepared men's minds for the reception of the truths so boldly and eloquently proclaimed by Luther. The eyes of all Europe were turned upon the man who thus dared to throw down the gauntlet to the Pope, and brave the thunders of the Church. The Reformation had found its leader and champion.

Burning of the Papal Bull (1520). — All Europe was now plunged into a perfect tumult of controversy. Luther, growing bolder, was soon attacking the entire system and body of teachings of the Roman Church. The sympathies of a great part of the people, particularly in Northern Europe, were plainly on his side. Finally, in 1520, Leo issued a bull against the reformer. His writings were condemned as heretical, and all persons were forbidden to read them; and he himself, if he did not recant his errors within sixty days, was to be seized and delivered to the Church for punishment.

Luther was not dismayed. He denounced Leo as the Antichrist of Revelation, and publicly burnt the papal bull at one of the gates of Wittenberg.

The Diet of Worms (1521). — Leo now invoked the aid of the recently elected Emperor Charles the Fifth in extirpating the spreading heresy. The Emperor, to whom the friendship of the Pope was a matter of much concern and importance, complied by summoning Luther before the Diet of Worms, an assembly of the princes, nobles, and clergy of Germany, convened for

deliberating upon the affairs of Germany, and especially upon matters touching the great religious controversy. Replying to friends who tried to dissuade him from exposing himself by obeying the summons, Luther made this notable utterance: "I would go, though there were as many devils there as there are tiles on the roofs of the houses."

Called upon in the Imperial assembly to recant his errors, Luther steadily refused to do so, unless his teachings could be shown to be inconsistent with the Bible. Although some wished to deliver the reformer to the flames, the safe-conduct of the Emperor under which he had come to the Diet protected him, Charles, when urged to arrest him, replying, "No, I will not blush like Sigismund at Constance."[1] So Luther was allowed to depart in safety, but was followed by a decree of the assembly which pronounced him a heretic and outlaw.

But Luther had powerful friends among the princes of Germany, one of whom was his own prince, Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony. Solicitous for the safety of the reformer, the prince caused him to be seized on his way from the Diet by a company of masked horsemen, who carried him to the castle of the Wartburg, where he was kept about a year, his retreat being known only to a few friends. During this period of forced retirement from the world, Luther was hard at work upon his celebrated translation of the Bible.

The Peasants' War (1524–1525).— Before quite a year had passed, Luther was called from the Wartburg by the troubles caused by a new sect that had appeared, known as the Anabaptists, whose excesses were casting great discredit upon the whole reform movement. Luther's sudden appearance at Wittenberg gave a temporary check to the agitation.

But in the course of two or three years the trouble broke out afresh, and in a more complex and aggravated form. To understand properly the new trouble, we must take a glance at the

[1] See above, p. 336.

condition of the German peasantry. In no other country of Europe was the lot of the peasant so hard as in Germany. Whilst almost everywhere else he had become free, here he was a serf — the slave of his feudal lord. He was forbidden to hunt or to fish. Fine days he must work for his lord, and take rainy days to tend to his own crops. On holidays he was liable to be ordered to pick berries or gather snails "for the folks at the castle." When he died, his lord came and took away from the widow and her children the customary *heriot* — the best animal or implement. The clergy, instead of exerting themselves to render more tolerable the lot of the poor peasants, only made it harder by the tithes they exacted, and by the vexatious and burdensome charges they imposed for services that should have been the free services of love.[1]

Stung to madness by the oppressions under which they groaned, stirred by the religious excitement that filled the air, and influenced by the incendiary preaching of their prophets Carlstadt and Münzer, the peasants of Suabia and Franconia rose in revolt against the nobles and priests. Castles and monasteries were sacked and burned, and horrible outrages were committed. The rebellion was finally crushed, but not until 100,000 lives had been sacrificed, a large part of South Germany ravaged, and great reproach cast upon the reformers, whose teachings were held by their enemies to be the whole cause of the ferment, — another illustration of how easy it is for partisans to confuse *occasion* with *cause*.

The Reformers are called Protestants. — Notwithstanding all the efforts that were made to suppress the doctrines of Luther, they gained ground rapidly, and in the year 1529 another assembly, known as the Second Diet of Spires, was called to consider the matter. This body issued an edict forbidding all persons from doing anything to promote the spread of the new doctrines, until a general council of the Church should have investigated them and pronounced authoritatively upon them.

[1] Seebohm's *Era of the Protestant Revolution*, p. 34.

Seven of the German princes, and a large number of the cities of the Empire, issued a formal *protest* against the action of the Diet, denying its power or authority thus to bind men's judgment and conscience. Because of this protest, the reformers from this time began to be known as *Protestants*.

Death and Character of Luther. — Luther died in the year 1546, leaving behind him his wife, whom twenty years before he had married, as he declared, "to please his father, to tease the Pope, and to vex the Devil." Beyond all controversy, he was the greatest man of the sixteenth century. By his iron will and rugged strength he drew one half of Europe from the communion of the Roman Church, and gave an impulse to free thought which has profoundly affected all political as well as religious history from his day to our own. "His character is easily understood. Whatever he said and did, he said and did with all his might. Throughout his whole life he was an open-hearted German."

It was in the reformer's rude strength, bold energy, and terrible earnestness that his greatness lay. His preëminence consisted not in his scholarship and learning, for the reformer Calvin was his superior in these; not in prudence, for his friend Melanchthon excelled him here. He describes himself — and no one has done it so well as he — "as rough, boisterous, stormy, and altogether warlike, born to fight innumerable devils and monsters, to remove stumps and stones, to cut down thistles and thorns, and to clear the wild woods."

Causes that checked the Progress of the Reformation. — Even before the death of Luther,[1] the Reformation had gained a strong

[1] After the death of Luther the leadership of the Reformation in Germany fell to Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560), one of Luther's friends and fellow-workers. Melanchthon's disposition was exactly the opposite of Luther's. "He differed from him as the quiet stream of the meadows from the wild mountain torrent, or as the gentle St. John from the fiery St. Paul. . . . The one was the Hero, and the other the Theologian of the German Reformation." Melanchthon often reproved Luther for his indiscretion and vehemence, and was constantly laboring to effect, through mutual concessions, a reconciliation between the Roman Catholics and Protestants. Although he lived to see the

foothold in most of the countries of Western Christendom, save in Spain and Italy, and even in these parts the new doctrines had made some progress. It seemed as if the revolt from Rome was destined to become universal, and the old ecclesiastical empire to be completely broken up.

But several causes now conspired to check the hitherto triumphant advance of Protestantism, and to confine the movement to the Northern nations. Chief among these were the *divisions among the Protestants*, the *increased activity of the Inquisition*, and the *rise of the Order of the Jesuits*.

Divisions among the Protestants. — Early in the contest with Rome, the Protestants unfortunately became divided into numerous and hostile sects. In Switzerland arose the Zwinglians (followers of Ulrich Zwingle, 1484–1531), who differed from the Lutherans in their views regarding the Eucharist, and on some other points of doctrine. In the same country arose also the noted sect of the Calvinists, followers of John Calvin (1509–1564), a Frenchman by birth, who, forced to flee from France on account of persecution, found a refuge at Geneva, of which city he became finally a sort of Protestant pope.[1]

The great Protestant communions finally broke up into a large number of denominations, or churches, each holding to some minor point of doctrine, or adhering to some form of worship disregarded by the others, yet all agreeing in the central doctrine of the Reformation, "Justification by faith."

controversy issue in war between the two parties, still he died in the hope that the unity of the severed Church would yet be restored.

[1] Calvin was, next after Luther, the greatest of the reformers. The so-called "five points of Calvinism are these: Unconditional election; limited atonement (designed for the elect only); the complete impotency of the human will; irresistible grace; and the perseverance of believers." Fisher's *History of the Reformation*, p. 474. The doctrines of Calvin came to prevail very widely, and have exerted a most remarkable influence upon the general course of history. "The Huguenots of France, the Covenanters of Scotland, the Puritans of England, and the Pilgrim Fathers of New England, were all the offspring of Calvinism."

Now the contentions between these different sects were sharp and bitter. The liberal-minded reformer had occasion to lament the same state of things as that which troubled the apostle Paul in the early days of Christianity. One said, I am of Luther; another said, I am of Calvin; and another said, I am of Zwingle. Even Luther himself denounced Zwingle as a heretic; and the Calvinists would have no dealings with the Lutherans.

The influence of these sectarian strifes and divisions upon the progress of the reform movement was most disastrous. They weakened the Protestant party in the presence of a united and vigilant enemy. They afforded the Catholics a strong and effective argument against the entire movement as tending to uncertainty and discord. "The variations of Protestants," as Fisher observes, "were depicted in such a way as to inspire the feeling that, to renounce the old church was to embark on a tempestuous sea, with no star to guide one's path. The timid among the reformers were thus alarmed, drew back, and placed their necks again under the yoke of ecclesiastical authority."

The Protestants being thus weakened by their divisions, the Roman Catholics were able, through the employment of extraordinary means, not only to check the progress of the revolt, but even to regain much of the ground that had been lost. The first of these means was the Inquisition, or Holy Office.

The Inquisition. — This was an ecclesiastical tribunal, the officers of which were appointed directly or indirectly by the Pope to inquire or search after heretics. Although the Church from the time of Constantine had claimed and exercised the right to punish heretics, it was not until the great defection of the Albigenses, as we have already learned, that the Inquisition proper had its beginning. After the crusaders under Simon de Montfort had done their work upon those apostates, the Pope, Gregory IX., appointed a number of monks to search out such as might have escaped the sword; and these officials may be considered as the first regular inquisitors (1232). During the latter part of the fifteenth century the Inquisition, as we have seen, was set up in Spain, the principal

victims of its activity there being the Jews, who, partly because of their affiliation with the infidel Moors, were objects of the intensest popular hatred.

When the heresy of Luther overspread Europe and threatened completely to undermine the Papal throne, the Holy Office naturally assumed new vigor and activity to meet the alarming danger. In 1542, only a few years before the death of the great reformer, the Roman See resolved, in order to combat effectively the spreading heresy, to establish the Inquisition in every part of Europe. A Papal bull issued that year appointed six cardinals as inquisitors-general, with power to search out heretics "on both sides the Alps." The tribunal was assisted in the execution of its sentences by the secular authorities in all the Romance countries, but outside of these it was not generally recognized by the temporal princes, though it did succeed in establishing itself for a time in the Netherlands and in some parts of Germany.

The entire machinery and mode of procedure of the inquisitorial courts were most atrocious. Their appurtenances were dungeons, chains, and ingenious instruments of torture; their law, unrelenting severity towards all misbelievers, death and loss of property being the penalty of obstinate heresy. Parents were commanded to inform against their children, and children against their parents. He who knew of heresy anywhere and did not reveal it, imperiled his own temporal and eternal interests.

The trial of the accused was the merest mockery. Even the name of the person making the charge was withheld from him. By the torture of the rack, applied in the subterranean dungeons of the tribunal that the cries of the victim might not reach the ears of the outside world, were wrung from him confession of crimes he had never thought of committing. Death by burning was the favorite mode of execution, as the temporal flames appropriately emblemized the eternal fire awaiting the heretic. The property of the condemned was usually divided among the inquisitors, the Papal See, and the temporal princes who executed the sentences of the Holy Office.

This terrible instrument of the Inquisition was employed by the Roman See with tremendous effect. Its terrifying processes did much to check the advance of the Reformation in Southern Europe, and probably did more than any other agency in holding Italy and Spain compactly obedient to the Romish faith.

The Jesuits. — The Order of Jesuits, or Society of Jesus, was the next most powerful auxiliary concerned in the reëstablishment of the tottering throne of the Papal See. The founder of the institution was St. Ignatius Loyola (1491–1556), a native of Spain. The life and work of this zealous monk left a profound mark upon the world. He has been called the "shadow of the Reformation." His object was to form a society the devotion and energy of whose members should meet the zeal and activity of the reformers, and rescue the endangered fortunes of the Papacy. The new order was instituted by a bull of Paul III. in 1540.

To the ordinary monastic vows, the Jesuits added one of implicit obedience to the Pope. The members of the society must go wherever ordered by their superior. And strangely diverse were the offices and commissions which might fall to them; for the policy of the order was to control the affairs of the world in the interest of the Roman See, by having its members in all social, educational, and governmental positions. They became professors and private tutors, courtiers, physicians, scientists, merchants, servants, beggars, and missionaries.

And most effectively was the work of the Jesuits done. As the well disciplined, watchful, and bitter foes of the Protestant reformers, now unfortunately divided into many and often hostile sects, they did very much to bring about a reaction, to retrieve the failing fortunes of the Papal power in Europe, and to extend the authority and doctrines of the Roman Church in all other parts of the world.

Most distinguished of all the missionaries of the order to pagan lands was Francis Xavier (1506–1562), known as the Apostle of the Indies. His labors in India, Japan, and other lands of the East were attended with astonishing results. He is said to have made 1,000,000 converts.

It may here be added, that the principles and methods of the Jesuits were destined ultimately, through the jealousy and opposition awakened not only among temporal princes, but among the other orders of the Roman Catholic Church as well, to inflict disaster upon the cause they represented, and to bring much trouble upon the Jesuits themselves.

General Results of the Reformation. — As in following chapters we are to trace the effects of the Reformation in the leading European countries, we will here say only a word regarding the general results of the movement.

The first and perhaps most important result of the Reformation was the severance of the nations of Northern Europe from the ecclesiastical empire of Rome. This was a sort of reversal of the work of the early mediæval centuries; for the most significant result of the conversion to Christianity of the Northern peoples was the bringing of them, as was remarked in an early chapter, within this spiritual empire. This was then a great advantage to them. The parental government which Rome established over these self-willed and barbarous peoples was a wholesome and needed restraint. But now what was once, in the words of Macaulay, "a legitimate and salutary guardianship, had become an unjust and noxious tyranny." These nations, grown to mature and thoughtful manhood, must now be left free to work out each its own destiny, without foreign control or interference. What this separation from Rome meant is well stated by Seebohm: "It was the claiming by the civil power in each nation of those rights which the Pope had hitherto claimed within it as head of the great ecclesiastical empire. The clergy and monks had hitherto been regarded more or less as foreigners — *i.e.*, as subjects of the Pope's ecclesiastical empire. Where there was a revolt from Rome the allegiance of these persons to the Pope was annulled, and the civil power claimed as full a sovereignty over them as it had over its lay subjects. Matters relating to marriage and wills still for the most part remained under ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but then, as the ecclesiastical courts themselves became national courts and

ceased to be Roman or Papal, all these matters came under the control of the civil power. Even in matters of religious doctrine and practice and public worship, the civil power often claimed the final authority hitherto claimed by the Pope." [1]

It is noteworthy that, very broadly viewed, the revolt from Rome was made only by Teutonic nations; that is, by Northern Germany, by portions of Switzerland and of the Netherlands, by Denmark, Norway, Sweden, England, and Scotland: while the Romance nations — that is, Italy, France, and Spain, together with Celtic Ireland — adhered to the old Church. The doctrines of the reformers did, indeed, spread into the Latin or Romance nations, but in all of them they were more or less thoroughly uprooted by persecution. Thus the entire movement may be viewed as another expression and illustration of that independent, freedom-loving spirit that we have seen to be the distinguishing characteristic of the Teutonic race.

The second most important result of the Reformation was the bringing in by it of the principle of religious toleration. It is true that, notwithstanding some of the reformers denounced religious persecution, declaring that it was cruel, wrong, and useless to burn or torture a man on account of his belief, the Protestants as a rule did not recognize the right of a man to form his own creed, and when they had the power became as violent persecutors as the Catholics themselves. They believed with the Catholics that heresy should be punished, only they defined it differently. As Seebohm puts it, "Heretics were still to be burned, but speaking against the Pope was declared no longer to be heresy." But the path upon which the reformers had entered led straight to religious toleration, notwithstanding the Protestants did not see clearly whither it tended. In deciding for themselves that the Bible and not the Church is the ultimate authority in matters of faith, the reformers, as has been remarked, made a bold exercise of the right of private judgment, and established a principle that was bound, through a logical necessity, ultimately to result in the broadest

[1] *The Era of the Protestant Revolution*, p. 162.

religious liberty. But the times were not yet ripe for the triumph of so beneficent a principle. The mental horizon of men was still too narrow, their conception of the relation of State and Church too faulty, and their ideas as to the eternal danger and criminality of error in religious belief, even though honest, too immature and perverse.

A third result of the Reformation was its influence upon liberal government. The movement was favorable to political liberty. The Protestant Church is democratic in its constitution and tendencies; and ecclesiastical democracy has fostered political democracy. "It can be said with truth," affirms Fisher, "that the Reformation made the free Netherlands; the Reformation made free England, or was an essential agent in this work; the Reformation made the free Republic of America." Speaking generally, we may say that Protestantism placed itself on the side of Liberty, while Roman Catholicism became the ally of Despotism. Consequently the nations that accepted Protestantism advanced rapidly, and for the most part without long or disastrous revolutions, into political freedom; while those that remained under the ecclesiastical yoke of Rome secured for themselves civil and constitutional liberty only after long delay, or through the throes of terrible social upheavals and revolutions, as witness Italy, Spain, and France.

Further, the Reformation was favorable to intellectual progress, and had a wholesome and inspiring effect upon literature and popular education. Having been itself fostered by the intellectual revival, it in turn gave a fresh impulse to the mental progress of the world. The reformers, in order to reach the masses, threw aside the Latin of the Schoolmen, and used the language of the people. This gave an immense impulse to the national languages of Northern Europe, especially to English and German. The influence of Tyndale's New Testament upon the English language can hardly be overestimated. Luther's Bible almost created the German out of a chaos of dialects. The intellectual quickening of Holland, England, and Scotland under the influence of Protestantism was simply surprising. "The Reformation in Germany trans-

ferred literary activity from the South to the North. Since that time the literary achievements on the Catholic side have been, in comparison with those of the Protestants, insignificant." [1] And regarding Europe in general, we find that Catholic countries have fettered knowledge by a long index of prohibited books, while Protestant nations have, as a rule, left the press comparatively free.

Again, the Reformation had a purifying effect upon morals. It abolished, in the countries which embraced the new creed, the monasteries, which, once the nurseries of Christian virtues, had now in many cases become the hot-beds of Epicurean vices. It did away with the celibacy of the clergy which had been the occasion of great immorality. And then the holy fervor enkindled in many souls, also tended to exalt and purify the life, as witness the Puritans of England, the Huguenots of France, and the Covenanters of Scotland.

The Reformation, furthermore, has been favorable to material progress, which may be illustrated by a comparison of Protestant with Roman Catholic countries.[2] The former have been characterized by enterprise and invention, by industrial and material progress; while the countries that have remained most completely under the yoke of the ecclesiastical dominion of Rome, as Spain and Italy, have been marked by a strange torpidity of national life, and an almost perfect paralysis of individual enterprise.

But the effects of the Protestant Revolution are by no means to be sought for in Protestant countries alone. The movement produced what is called the Catholic Counter-Reformation; that is, a reformation within the Roman Church herself. She underwent a thorough purification in head and members, — instituted those moral reforms the long delay of which had resulted in the schism of the Church. "Had Protestantism," declares Draper in his *Intellectual Development of Europe*, "produced no other result than this, it would have been an unspeakable blessing to the world."

[1] Fisher's *History of the Reformation*, p. 534.

[2] On this point, as well as the preceding ones, read Macaulay's well-known paragraph in his *History of England*, Vol. I. Chap. I.

But unfortunately the Counter-Reformation was accompanied by a reaction towards despotism. The Roman Church purified itself, and then demanded of all a more implicit obedience than hitherto. Heresy was more sternly dealt with, and the civil power in those countries that still remained, as a whole, loyal to Rome, allying itself with the Church, executed more promptly and willingly than ever before the sentences of the ecclesiastical tribunals. "Henceforth, both in France and in Spain, the nation was more than ever enthralled under the double despotism of Crown and Church. The Inquisition may be taken as the symbol of the one kind of despotism, and the French Bastile of the other."[1]

[1] Seebohm's *The Era of the Protestant Revolution*, p. 218.

The above views of the general effects of the great religious movement of the sixteenth century are of course the views of those to whom the Protestant Reformation presents itself as a forward, and not a backward, step in the course of civilization. To these interpretations, the views of the friends of the Old Church, to whom the great schism presents itself only as a world-disaster, are in every respect diametrically opposed. In classes composed of students of sufficiently mature minds to profit by the discussion, the opposing views of Protestants and Roman Catholics might reasonably be compared and made the subject of debate. Among authoritative and easily accessible works by English writers, or works in English translations, giving the Roman Catholic side of the question, reference may be made to the following: Balmes' *European Civilization: Protestantism and Catholicity Compared in their Effects on the Civilization of Europe;* Audin's *Life of Luther;* Alzog's *Manual of Universal Church History;* and Spalding's *History of the Protestant Reformation.*

CHAPTER II.

THE ASCENDENCY OF SPAIN.

I. Reign of the Emperor Charles V. (1519–1556).

Charles's Dominions. — In the year 1500 there was born in the city of Ghent, in the Netherlands, a prince who was destined to play a great part in the history of the sixteenth century. This was Charles, — son of Philip the Handsome, Archduke of Austria, and Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, — destined to be known to fame as Emperor Charles V.

Charles was "the converging point and heir of four great royal lines, which had become united by a series of happy matrimonial alliances."[1] These were the houses of Austria, Burgundy, Castile, and Aragon. Castile and Aragon were joined by the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile; Austria and Burgundy, by the marriage of Maximilian of Austria to Mary, the daughter and heir of Charles the Bold, the last Duke of Burgundy: then these double lines were brought together by the marriage of Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, to Philip, son of Maximilian and Mary.

Before Charles had completed his nineteenth year, there were heaped upon his head, through the removal of his ancestors by death, the crowns of the four dynasties. In 1506, by the death of his father, Charles fell heir to the Netherlands; in 1516, the death of his grandfather Ferdinand transferred to him the crowns of Spain and Naples, and the sovereignty of vast, indefinite regions

[1] The practice of the House of Austria to make conquests through politic marriages, is celebrated by Matthias Corvinus in the following lines, quoted by Stirling in his *Cloister Life of Charles V.*, p. 3: —

Bella gerant alii; tu felix Austria nube!
Nam quæ Mars aliis dat tibi regna Venus.

THE
SPANISH KINGDOMS
And their European dependencies
under Charles the Fifth
Mussulmans
Navarre
Castile and Leon
France
Portugal
ENGLAND
FRANCE
Amsterdam
The Hague
Utrecht
Antwerp
Ghent
Liege
Flanders
Cambray
Luxemburg
Schmalkald
Crespy
Paris
St. Cloud
Longjumeau
LORRAINE
Augsburg
R. Danube
D. BURGUND
SWITZERLAND
Milan
Venice
Parma
Bologna
Ravenna
Pisa
Orange
Albi
Toulouse
Aix
Marseilles
Narbonne
Carcassonne
Rousillon
Perpignan
Pampeluna
NAVARRE
Oviedo
Compostella
Burgos
Portucale
Zaragoza
CATALONIA
Barcelona
Madrid
Toledo
Valencia
Lisbon
Cordova
Jaen
Seville
Malaga
Granada
Carthagena
Gibraltar
Ceuta
Tangier
Oran
Algiers
Tunis
MAJORCA
MINORCA
SARDINIA
CORSICA
Rome
TUSCANY
ELBA
Amalfi
Salerno
Otranto
Lepanto
Messina
Reggio
Palermo
Syracuse
MALTA
TWO SICILIES
STATES OF THE CHURCH

in the New World; and in 1519, by the death of his grandfather Maximilian, he inherited the duchy of Austria and all its dependencies. Thus, in the words of Prescott, "did a long train of circumstances open the way for this prince to the inheritance of more extensive dominions than any European monarch since Charlemagne had possessed."

But vast as were these *hereditary* possessions of the young prince, there was straightway added to these (in 1519), by the vote of the Electors of Germany, the sovereignty of the Holy Roman Empire. After this election he was known as *Emperor Charles V.*, whereas hitherto he had borne the title of *Don Carlos I.* of Spain.

The suzerainty of the great confederation of free cities, principalities, dukedoms, and marquisates which at this time made up the so-called "Empire," was scarcely more than a title of honor, a sort of vexatious over-lordship; yet the conferring of it upon the Spanish king involved him, as we shall see, in almost interminable wars with the French king, Francis I., who was his disappointed rival in the race for the Imperial crown. It also drew him into many quarrels with his refractory German vassals, and involved him deeply in the great religious dispute which had already begun in Germany.

Charles and the Reformation. — It is, in fact, Charles's relations to the Lutheran movement which constitute the significant feature of his life and work. Here his policies and acts concerned universal history. It would hardly be asserting too much to say that Charles, at the moment he ascended the Imperial throne, held in his hands the fortunes of the Reformation, so far as regards the countries of Southern Europe. Whether these were to be saved to Rome or not, seemed at this time to depend largely upon the attitude which Charles should assume towards the reform movement.

Fortunately for the Roman Catholic Church, unfortunately for Protestantism, and, we must yet add, unfortunately for civilization, the young Emperor placed himself at the head of the Catholic

party, and not only during his own reign employed the strength and resources of his empire in uprooting the heresy of the reformers, but also transmitted to his successors upon the Spanish throne his own intolerant and persecuting policy.

Charles, in declaring for the old faith and against the new, was swayed both by conviction and by considerations of policy. Although suspicious and jealous of the *Papacy*, he was strongly attached to the Roman Catholic Church and creed, and sincerely believed that the first duty of a prince was to uproot heresy in his dominions. Moreover, he was strongly imbued with the idea that the Church and the Empire were indissoluble, — that their fortunes, somehow, were bound up together, and that, resting as they did upon the same maxims and principles, to disturb the basis of the ecclesiastical power was to sap likewise the foundations of the Imperial authority.

His Two Chief Enemies. — Had Charles been free from the outset to devote all his energies to the work of suppressing the Lutheran heresy, it is difficult to see what could have saved the reform doctrines within his dominions from total extirpation. But fortunately for the cause of the reformers, Charles's attention, during all the first part of his reign, was drawn away from the serious consideration of Church questions, by the attacks upon his dominions of two of the most powerful monarchs of the times, — Francis I. (1515–1547) of France, and Solyman the Magnificent (1520–1566), Sultan of Turkey. Whenever Charles was inclined to proceed to severe measures against the Protestant princes of Germany, the threatening movements of one or both of these enemies, at times acting in concert and alliance, forced him to postpone his proposed crusade against heretics for a campaign against foreign foes.

Of course, Francis and Solyman were not the Emperor's only enemies. Henry VIII. of England and the Pope, though sometimes his allies, were quite as apt to be found acting against him. Troubles, too, he had with his subjects in Spain and the Netherlands. Nevertheless, by keeping in mind the main points of the

general situation of affairs as indicated above, we shall experience no confusion while following the leading events of his reign, which we will now proceed to give in very brief outline.

First War between Charles and Francis (1521–1526). — Francis I., as we have said, was the rival of Charles in the contest for the Imperial dignity. When the Electors conferred the title upon the Spanish monarch, Francis was sorely disappointed, and during all the remainder of his reign kept up a jealous and almost incessant warfare with Charles, whose enormous possessions now nearly surrounded the French kingdom.

But, though jealousy was the real cause of the wars waged between Charles and Francis, the *occasion* of them was Charles's claims to Milan, as part of his Imperial possessions, and to the duchy of Burgundy as a part of his hereditary possessions; and the counterclaims of Francis to Spanish Navarre and Naples.

What is known as the *First War* between Francis and the Emperor broke out in 1521.[1] This was the very year of the Diet of Worms, the body that tried Luther for heresy. It was a critical moment for Protestantism. Charles was ready to use force to suppress the reformers, and had he not been compelled by the hostile movements of his rival Francis to defer until a more convenient season the execution of his designs against them, the Reformation in Germany might have been strangled in its cradle.

The war was full of misfortunes for Francis. His army was driven out of Northern Italy by the Imperial forces; his most skillful and trusted commander, the Constable of Bourbon, turned traitor and went over to Charles; and another of his most valiant nobles, the celebrated Chevalier Bayard, the knight *sans peur, sans reproche*, "without fear and without reproach," was killed; while,

[1] Before beginning the war, Francis cast about for an ally. The young king of England, Henry VIII., seemed the most desirable friend. He accordingly invited Henry to a conference in France, at which was to be considered the matter of an alliance against the Emperor. The two kings, each attended by a magnificent train of courtiers, met near Calais (1520). The meeting is known in history as "The Field of the Cloth of Gold." Nothing came of the interview, and Charles finally succeeded in winning Henry over to his side.

to crown all, Francis, who had led a large army into Italy to retrieve his misfortunes, was, after suffering a crushing defeat at Pavia, wounded and taken prisoner (1525). In his letter to his mother informing her of the disaster, he laconically wrote, "All is lost save honor."

Francis languished in prison at Madrid nearly a year, when, after signing a treaty known as the Peace of Madrid (1526), in which he agreed, among various other concessions, to give up all claims to Milan and Naples, and to cede to Charles the duchy of Burgundy, he was released. His exultant and repeated exclamation as he touched French soil was, "Once more I am a king."

Second War between Charles and Francis (1527–1529). — That Francis was again a king, Charles soon had unmistakable evidence. When the French king signed the Treaty of Madrid, he had no idea of abiding by it. No sooner was he at liberty than he secured from the Pope — who claimed and freely exercised the power of annulling oaths — an absolution from the promises he had made to Charles, and then set to work to form a league against him. He succeeded in uniting in the confederacy the Pope, Henry VIII. of England, and several of the States of Italy. Henry turned against his former friend because of a personal slight, while the Pope and the Italian cities were moved by jealousy of the growing Imperial power in Italy.

The Italian peninsula was, as usual, the battle-ground of the combatants. The most memorable incident of the war was the sack of Rome by the Imperial forces. The traitor Bourbon, who led the assaulting column, was killed while in the act of scaling the walls. Being thus left without the restraint of their leader, the soldiers rioted in slaughter and pillage. Rome had not witnessed such scenes since the terrible days of the Goth and Vandal.

Finally, after the French and their allies had suffered many defeats, the war was ended by the treaty known as the "Ladies' Peace of Cambray," from the circumstance that its terms were arranged by an aunt of Charles and the mother of Francis (1529).

The Diet of Augsburg (1530). — The respite from his wars

with Francis which the Ladies' Peace gave Charles, was employed by him in coronation ceremonies at Bologna, in composing Italian affairs, and in presiding at the celebrated Diet of Augsburg, called to consider the state of the Church in Germany. It was at this time that the Protestants, alarmed by the attitude assumed towards them by the Emperor, formed the celebrated League of Schmalkald.

The Turks. — Charles was actually on the point of crushing the reformers by force, when a deliverer came in the person of the Turkish Sultan, Solyman the Magnificent, who, driven back from Vienna, which capital he had subjected to a severe siege (1529), was now marching upon Germany with an enormous army. This threatening danger compelled Charles to come to some accommodation with the Protestants, in order that he might employ the undivided strength of Germany in repelling the invaders. Accordingly, by what was known as the Religious Peace of Nuremberg, the Protestants were given freedom of worship until the meeting of a new council. Protestants and Catholics now rallied to the Imperial standard, and at the head of a splendid army Charles marched against the Turks. Solyman prudently retreated and sheltered himself behind the desolated provinces of Hungary (1532).

Charles's Expedition against Tunis (1535). — Germany being thus relieved of immediate danger of invasion by the Turks, Charles now turned his attention to the same foe in the Mediterranean. Alarming as had been the progress of the Turks in Eastern Europe, still more alarming was the growth of their power in the South. The Mediterranean with its coasts had fallen almost completely under their control. In the year 1522 a Turkish fleet and army of 200,000 men assaulted the island of Rhodes, where, it will be recalled, the Knights of St. John had established themselves after their expulsion from Palestine, and the brave knights, after a most heroic defense of the island, were forced to surrender that bulwark of Christianity in the Mediterranean (1522). Charles, whose war with Francis had prevented his giving to the Hospitalers such support as they had a right to expect from the most

powerful sovereign of Christendom, made what amends it remained in his power to make after the calamity had fallen, by giving the survivors of the order the island of Malta, where the knights reorganized their society (1530).

The worst feature of this advance of the Sultan's authority in the Mediterranean was the growth, under his protection, of the power of the Algerine pirates. These corsairs terrorized the Mediterranean and all its shores. "From Cadiz to Patros there was barely a spot which had not suffered, and none which felt itself safe, from the wild marauders from the shores of Numidia. . . . Sailing in great fleets, they laid waste entire districts, and carried off entire populations. . . . Barbarossa [an Algerine pirate, to whom the Sultan had given the command of the Turkish fleet] sold at one time, at his beautiful home on the Bosphorus, . . . no less than 16,000 Christian captives in slavery. It was not only the seaman, the merchant, or the traveler, who was exposed to this calamitous fate. The peasant of Aragon or Provence, who returned at sunset from pruning his vines or his olives far from the sound of the waves, might on the morrow be ploughing the main, chained to a Barbary oar. Sometimes a whole brotherhood of friars, from telling their beads at ease at Valencia found themselves hoeing in the rice-fields of Tripoli; sometimes the vestals of a Sicilian nunnery were parceled out amongst the harems of Fez."[1]

One of the chief strongholds of these pirates on the African coast was Tunis, which was held by the famous Barbarossa. With a large army and fleet, Charles made an assault upon this place, defeated the corsair, and set free 20,000 Christian captives. For this brilliant and knightly achievement, the Emperor received great applause throughout Europe.

Third War between Charles and Francis (1536–1538). — Taking advantage of the Emperor's preoccupation with the Numidian corsairs, Francis renewed his claims to Milan, and precipitated the third war with his rival. In this war Francis shocked all Christendom by forming an alliance with the Turkish Sultan, who

[1] Stirling, *The Cloister Life of Charles the Fifth*, p. 124.

ravaged with his fleets the Italian coasts, and sold his plunder and captives in the port of Marseilles. Thus was a Christian city shamefully opened to the Moslems as a refuge and slave-market.

The war was finally ended by the Truce of Nice, which was to last ten years.

Charles's Expeditions against Ghent and Algiers. — The short breathing-time between his third and fourth war with Francis, the Emperor employed in chastising the rebellious city of Ghent (1539–1540), of which matter we shall find a more convenient place to say a word in a succeeding chapter in connection with the affairs of the Netherlands.

The year after he had punished Ghent, Charles led an expedition against the pirates of Algiers, which place, since the reduction of Tunis, had been made the stronghold of the Moslem corsairs. The issue of the enterprise was very different from that of his previous undertaking against Tunis. The Imperial fleet had barely touched the African shore and landed the troops of the expedition, before a large part of the ships were destroyed by a tempest. Only after heavy losses, and great suffering among the survivors, did the Emperor succeed in drawing off his army and effecting a retreat from the coast.

Fourth War between Charles and Francis (1542–1544). — The unfortunate issue of Charles's expedition against Algiers encouraged Francis again to try the fortunes of war with the Emperor, notwithstanding only four years of the Ten Years' Truce had passed.

In this war Francis formed a fresh alliance with the Sultan, and thus stirred anew the indignation of Christendom. Charles was not slow to turn this feeling to his own advantage, and easily induced Henry VIII. to join him in an attack upon France. The country was invaded on three sides at once; but the energy of the French king, who succeeded in crushing one of the invading armies, and the failure of the English to carry out the part assigned to them, led Charles, when almost within sight of Paris, to conclude with Francis the Peace of Crespy (1544). By the terms of

this treaty, Francis renounced his claims to Naples and the suzerainty of Flanders and Artois, while Charles, on his part, gave up all claims to Burgundy.

Thus ended the fourth and last war between the rivals. It left their respective possessions substantially the same as at the beginning of the strife, in 1521.

Disastrous Effects of the Wars. — The direct and indirect results of these royal contentions had been extremely calamitous. For a quarter of a century they had kept nearly all Europe in a perfect turmoil. Counting from the time when Charles VIII. began the Italian wars by his invasion of Italy, France had lost 2,000,000 men, and had inflicted, probably, an equal loss upon her enemies.

But the indirect consequences of the wars were even more lamentable. By preventing alliances of the Christian states, these quarrels had really been the occasion of the severe losses which Christendom during this period suffered at the hands of the Turks. Hungary had been ravaged with fire and sword; Rhodes had been captured; and all the Mediterranean shores pillaged, and thousands of Christian captives chained to the oars of Turkish galleys.

Persecution of the French Protestants by Francis. — The cessation of the wars between Francis and Charles left each free to give his attention to his heretic subjects. And both had work enough on hand; for, while "The Most Christian King" and "His Most Catholic Brother" had been fighting each other, the doctrines of the reformers had been spreading rapidly in all directions and among all classes.

Francis had already displayed his zeal for the old faith by cruel persecutions of his Protestant subjects; but political considerations (chiefly the fear of alienating the Protestant German princes) had prevented his carrying his measures of repression to such extremes as he would otherwise have done. One motive that now prompted Francis to renewed activity in the work of torturing and burning heretics seems to have been his desire to make atonement for his wicked alliances with the infidel Turk. This thing had subjected

him to the severest criticism. He would now set himself right in the eyes of Europe by an exhibition of his devotion to the ancient Church.

The severest blow fell upon the Vaudois, or Waldenses,[1] the simple, inoffensive inhabitants of a number of hamlets in Piedmont and Provence. The order having been given for their extermination, in 1545 an army entered the country of the heretics, and then were repeated all the atrocities of the Albigensian persecution. Thousands were put to death by the sword, thousands more were burned at the stake, and the land was reduced to a wilderness. Only a miserable remnant, who found an asylum among the mountains, were left to hand down their faith to later times.

Charles's Wars with the Protestant German Princes. — Charles, on his part, turned his attention to the reformers in Germany. Inspired by the religious motives and convictions of which we have already spoken, and apprehensive, further, of the effect upon his authority in Germany of the growth there of such an empire within an empire as the League of Schmalkald was becoming, he resolved to crush the Protestant princes.

Accordingly, in the very year that Luther died (1546), the Emperor, aided by the German Catholics, attacked the Protestant League. The desertion to the Imperial side of one of the most powerful of the Protestant princes, Maurice of Saxony, so paralyzed the movements of the League that its forces were quickly dispersed, the organization dissolved, and its leaders punished. The Emperor treated the conquered confederates with extreme harshness, imposing enormous fines upon the cities, and carrying about with him, as a sort of spectacle to illustrate the Imperial power, two of the prominent Protestant chiefs, John Frederick, Elector of Saxony, and Philip, Landgrave of Hesse.

The harshness and intolerance that marked the conduct of Charles soon led to an uprising of the Protestant princes, in which they were joined by the former deserter, Maurice. Henry II. of

[1] So called from the founder of the sect, Peter Waldo, or Pierre de Vaux, who lived about the beginning of the thirteenth century.

France, — son of Francis I., who died in 1547, — taking up the old quarrel of his father with Charles, gave aid to the Protestant princes. The war proved the most disastrous and humiliating to the Emperor of any in which he had engaged. Swift, successive defeats of his armies soon forced him to give up his undertaking to make all his German subjects think alike in matters of religion.

The Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555). — In the celebrated Diet of Augsburg, convened in 1555 to compose the distracted affairs of the German states, it was arranged and agreed that every prince should be allowed to choose between the Catholic religion and the Augsburg Confession,[1] and should have the right to make his religion the worship of his people. This, it will be noted, was simply toleration as concerns princes or governments. The people individually had no freedom of choice; every subject must follow his prince, and think and believe as he thought and believed. Of course, this was no real toleration.

Even to the article of toleration as stated above, the Diet made one important exception. The Catholics insisted that *ecclesiastical* princes, *i.e.*, bishops and abbots, on becoming Protestants, should lose their offices and revenues; and this important clause, under the name of the *Ecclesiastical Reservation*, was finally made a part of the treaty. This was a most fortunate article for the Catholics. It is said that but for it all Germany would have turned Protestant.

Abdication and Death of Charles. — While the Diet of Augsburg was arranging the Religious Peace, the Emperor Charles was enacting the part of a second Diocletian. There had long been forming in his mind the purpose of spending his last days in monastic seclusion. The disappointing issue of his contest with the Protestant princes of Germany, the weight of advancing years, to-

[1] The "Augsburg Confession" was the formula of belief of the adherents of Luther. It was drawn up by the scholar Melanchthon, and laid before the Imperial Diet assembled at Augsburg by Charles V. in 1530. It formed the basis of the Lutheran Church. The Peace of Augsburg, it is to be specially noted, made no provision for the Calvinists — that is, the confessors of the *Genevan* creed.

gether with menacing troubles which began "to thicken like dark clouds about the evening of his reign," now led the Emperor to carry this resolution into effect. Accordingly he abdicated in favor of his son Philip the crown of the Netherlands[1] (1555), and that of Spain and its colonies (1556), and then retired to the monastery of San Yuste, situated in a secluded region in the western part of Spain (1556).

The departure of the self-deposed monarch from Ghent to the place of his exile is thus contrasted, by the pen of a graceful historian, with his embarkation from the Netherlands more than a third of a century before, to receive the crown of Spain and the Indies, which had just descended to him by the death of his grandfather Ferdinand: "He was then in the morning of life; just entering on a career as splendid as ever opened to young ambition. How different must have been the reflections which now crowded on his mind, as, with wasted health, and spirits sorely depressed, he now embarked on the same voyage! He had run the race of glory, had won the prize, and found that all was vanity. He was now returning to the goal whence he had started, anxious only to reach some quiet spot where he might lay down his weary limbs and be at rest."[2]

In his retreat at Yuste, Charles passed the remaining short term of his life in participating with the monks in the exercises of religion, and in watching the current of events without; for Charles never lost interest in the affairs of the empire over which he had ruled, and Philip constantly had the benefit of his father's wisdom and experience.

Charles died in the year 1558, just a few weeks after having taken part in his own funeral ceremonies. Thus strangely closed

[1] Philip had received the crown of Naples the preceding year (1554), in order that his titular dignity might be the same as that of Queen Mary of England, to whom he was that year united in marriage. The Imperial crown went to Charles's brother, Ferdinand, who in 1536 had been elected King of the Romans, and crowned at Aachen.

[2] Prescott's Robertson's *Charles the Fifth*, Vol. III. p. 305 (Phila. ed., 1881).

the life of the Emperor Charles V., "the greatest monarch of the sixteenth century."

Charles's Last Instructions to Philip respecting the Protestants. — There is a tradition which tells how Charles, after vainly endeavoring to make some clocks that he had about him at Yuste run together, made the following reflection: "How foolish I have been to think I could make all men believe alike about religion, when here I cannot make even two clocks keep the same time."

This story is probably mythical. Charles seems never to have doubted either the practicability or the policy of securing uniformity of belief by force. While in retirement at Yuste, he expressed the deepest regret that he did not burn Luther at Worms. He was constantly urging Philip to use greater severity in dealing with his heretic subjects, and could scarcely restrain himself from leaving his retreat, in order to engage personally in the work of extirpating the pestilent doctrines, which he heard were spreading in Spain. In the codicil to his will, executed just before his death, "he enjoined upon his son to follow up and bring to justice any heretic in his dominions, and this without exception and without favor or mercy to any one. He conjured Philip to cherish the Holy Inquisition as the best means for accomplishing this good work. 'So,' he concludes, 'shall you have my blessing, and the Lord shall prosper all your undertakings.'"[1]

"No one of his line," comments the historian (Prescott) whom we have just quoted, "did so much to fasten the yoke of superstition on the necks of the Spaniards. He may be truly said to have stamped his character not only on his own generation, but on that which followed it. His example and his teachings directed the policy of the pitiless Philip the Second, and through him, of the imbecile Philip the Third."

And it was chiefly the influence of Charles's course and counsel that Stirling had in mind when he wrote as follows: "The year 1558 is memorable in the history of Spain. In that year was decided the question whether she was to join the intellectual move-

[1] Prescott's Roberston's *Charles the Fifth*, Vol. III. p. 435 (Phila. ed., 1881)

ment of the North or lag behind in the old path of mediæval faith; whether she was to be guided by the printing-press, or to hold fast by her manuscript missals." [1]

II. Spain under Philip II. (1556–1598).

Philip's Domains and Revenues. — With the abdication of Charles V. the Imperial crown passed out of the Spanish line of the House of Hapsburg. Yet the dominions of Philip were scarcely less extensive than those over which his father had ruled. All the hereditary possessions of the Spanish crown were of course his. Then just before the abdication of his father gave him these domains, he had become king-consort of England by marriage with Mary Tudor. And about the middle of his reign he conquered Portugal and added to his empire that kingdom and its rich dependencies in Africa and the East Indies, — an acquisition which more than made good to the Spanish crown the loss of the Imperial dignity. After this accession of territory, Philip's sovereignty was acknowledged by more than 100,000,000 persons — probably as large a number as was embraced within the limits of the Roman Empire at the time of its greatest extension.

Philip's revenues, too, were as ample as his domains. The mines of Mexico and Peru poured into the royal coffers a steady stream of the precious metals; the looms of Flanders created untold wealth for their Spanish master; while the flourishing state of Spanish trade, manufactures, and commerce, enabled Philip to levy upon the provinces and cities of the peninsula frequent and heavy taxes.

But notwithstanding that Philip's dominions were so extensive, his resources so enormous, and many of the outward circumstances of his reign so striking and brilliant, there were throughout the period causes at work which were rapidly undermining the greatness of Spain and preparing her fall. By wasteful wars and extravagant buildings Philip managed to dissipate the royal treasures; and

[1] *Cloister Life of Charles the Fifth*, p. 189.

by his bigoted and tyrannical course in respect of his Moorish, Jewish, and Protestant subjects, he ruined the industries of the most flourishing of the provinces of Spain, and drove the Netherlands into a desperate revolt, which ended in the separation of the most valuable of those provinces from the Spanish crown.

As the most important matters of Philip's reign — namely, his war against the revolted Netherlands, and his attempt upon England with his "Invincible Armada" — belong more properly to the respective histories of England and the Netherlands, and will be treated of in connection with the affairs of those countries, we shall give here only a very little space to the history of the period.

Philip's War with France. — Philip took up his father's quarrel with France. He was aided by the English, who were persuaded to this step by their queen, Mary Tudor, now the wife, it will be recalled, of Philip.

Fortune favored Philip. He defeated the French in a great battle before St. Quentin[1] (1557), an important town in the north of France, and then again at Gravelines (1558). The French king was forced to agree to the terms of a treaty (Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, 1559) so advantageous to Philip as to give the latter great distinction in the eyes of all Europe.

Philip's Crusade against the Moors. — Philip was by nature bigoted, intolerant, and despotic. It was easy for him to obey the

[1] The monument built by Philip to commemorate the victory of St. Quentin is strikingly illustrative of his character. Before the battle, he vowed to erect to St. Lawrence the most splendid monastery the world had ever seen, if he would but give success to his arms. Philip kept his vow faithfully. A few years after the battle, he laid, near the city of Madrid, the foundation of the famous *Escurial*, a building which cost $15,000,000, and required a quarter of a century for its erection. The edifice was built in the form of a gridiron, from the circumstance that St. Lawrence suffered martyrdom by being broiled on such an instrument. Seventeen rows of stone buildings constitute the bars of the gridiron, and a projecting wing forms its handle, while the feet of the instrument (it is supposed to be inverted) are represented by the four corner towers. It is the Westminster of Spain: it holds the ashes of all the Spanish sovereigns from Charles V. onward.

injunctions of his father regarding the treatment of heretics. Of his persecutions in the Netherlands we shall have something to say in another place. While laboring to uproot heresy in those parts of his dominions, he was also engaged in a crusade against the Moors, or Moriscoes, of the peninsula. It will be recalled that after the conquest of Granada these people were still allowed the free exercise of their religion. Philip conceived it to be his duty to impose upon them conditions that should thoroughly obliterate all traces of their ancient faith and manners. So he issued a decree that the Moors should no longer use their native tongue; and that they should give their children Christian names, and send them to Christian schools. A determined revolt followed. Philip repressed the uprising with terrible severity (1571). The fairest provinces of Spain were almost depopulated, and large districts relapsed into primeval wildness.

Defeat of the Turkish Fleet at Lepanto (1571). — Philip rendered at least one service to civilization. This was in helping to stay the progress of the Turks in the Mediterranean. They had captured the important island of Cyprus, and had assaulted the Hospitalers at Malta, which island had been saved from falling into the hands of the infidels only by the splendid conduct of the knights. All Christendom was becoming alarmed. Pope Pius V. called upon the princes of Europe to rally to the defense of the Church. A martial enthusiasm, somewhat like that which stirred Europe at the time of the Crusades, was kindled everywhere, especially in the countries of the South that lay exposed to the ravages of the Moslem fleets. An alliance was formed, embracing the Pope, the Venetians, and Philip II. An immense fleet was equipped, and put under the command of Don John of Austria, Philip's half-brother, a young general whose consummate ability had been recently displayed in the crusade against the Moors.

The Christian fleet met the Turkish squadron in the Gulf of Lepanto, on the western coast of Greece. The battle was unequalled by anything the Mediterranean had seen since the naval encounters of the Romans and Carthaginians in the First Punic War. More

than 600 ships and 200,000 men mingled in the struggle. The Ottoman fleet was almost totally destroyed. Thousands of Christian captives, who were found chained to the oars of the Turkish galleys, were liberated. All Christendom rejoiced as when Jerusalem was captured by the first crusaders. The Pope is said to have shed tears of joy, and embracing the messenger who brought him the news, exclaimed, — with reference, of course, to the name of the commander of the Christian fleet, — "There was a man sent from God, and his name was JOHN!"

The battle of Lepanto holds an important place in history, because it marks the turning-point of the long struggle between the Mohammedans and Christians, which had now been going on for nearly one thousand years. Though the Moslems had received many checks, there really was no time previous to this great victory when the Mohammedan power, represented first by the Arabs and afterwards by the Turks, did not hang like a threatening cloud along the southern or eastern border of Christendom. The victory of Lepanto disarmed the cloud of its terrors. The Ottoman Turks, though they afterwards made progress in some quarters, never recovered the prestige they lost in that disaster, and their authority and power thenceforward steadily declined.

Conquest of Portugal. — When, in 1580, the throne of Portugal became vacant by the death of Don Henry the Cardinal, Philip laid claim to the kingdom, and made good his pretensions by an army sent into the country, under the command of the famous Duke of Alva.

The importance of this conquest consisted not so much in the extension of Spanish authority throughout the Peninsula, as in the bringing under Spanish control of the greater part of the colonial possessions of Portugal in South America, in Africa, and in the East Indies.

The Death of Philip: Later Events. — In the year 1588 Philip made his memorable attempt with the so-called "Invincible Armada" upon England, at this time the stronghold of Protestantism. As we shall see a little later, he failed utterly in the undertaking.

Ten years after this he died in the palace of the Escurial. With his death closed that splendid era of Spanish history which began with the magnificent discovery of the New World by Columbus. From this time forward the nation steadily declined in power, reputation, and influence. This was due very largely to the bigotry and tyranny of her rulers.

Thus, under the bigot Philip III. (1598–1621), a severe loss, and one from which they never recovered, was inflicted upon the manufactures and various other industries of Spain, by the expulsion of the Moors, or Moriscoes. More than half a million of the most intelligent, skillful, and industrious inhabitants of the Peninsula were driven into exile. The empty dwellings and neglected fields of once populous and garden-like provinces told how fatal a blow Spain had received from the hand of bigotry.

And then, in 1609, the Protestant Netherlands, whose revolt against the tyranny of Philip II. has been mentioned, virtually achieved their independence.[1] In the secession of these provinces the Spanish crown lost, through misgovernment and religious persecution, her most valuable possessions, and she now sank rapidly to the position of a third or fourth rate power.

[1] The loss of the Netherlands was followed in 1639 by the loss of Portugal. During the latter part of the seventeenth century Spain was involved in disastrous wars with France, and suffered a decline of 8,000,000 in her population. After the revolt of her American colonies, in the early part of the present century, and her cession to the United States of Florida (in 1819), Spain was almost shorn — she still held Cuba and a few other patches of territory scattered about the world — of those rich and magnificent colonial possessions which had been her pride in the time of her ascendency.

CHAPTER III.

THE TUDORS AND THE ENGLISH REFORMATION (1485–1603).

I. Introductory.

The Tudor Period. — The Tudor period[1] in English history covers the sixteenth century, and overlaps a little the preceding and the following century. It was an eventful and stirring time for the English people. It witnessed among them great progress in art, science, and trade, and a literary outburst such as the world had not seen since the best days of Athens. But the great event of the period was the Reformation. It was under the sovereigns of this house that England was severed from the spiritual empire of Rome, and Protestantism firmly established in the island. To tell how these great results were effected will be our chief aim in the present chapter.

The English Reformation first a Revolt and then a Reform. — The Reformation in England was, more distinctly than elsewhere, a double movement. First, England was separated violently from the ecclesiastical empire of Rome. All Papal and priestly authority was cast off, but without any essential change being made in creed or mode of worship. This was accomplished under Henry VIII.

Second, the English Church, thus rendered independent of Rome, gradually changed its creed and ritual. This was effected

[1] The Tudor sovereigns were Henry VII. (1485–1509); Henry VIII. (1509–1547); Edward VI. (1547–1553); Mary (1553–1558); and Elizabeth (1558–1603).

chiefly under Edward VI. So the movement was first a *revolt* and then a *reform*.

The Revival of Learning in England. — The soil in England was, in a considerable measure, prepared for the seed of the Reformation by the labors of the Humanists. Three men stand preëminent as lovers and promoters of the New Learning. Their names were Colet, Erasmus, and More.

Colet was leader and master of the little band. His generous enthusiasm was kindled at Florence, in Italy. It was an important event in the history of the Reformation when Colet crossed the Alps to learn Greek at the feet of the Greek exiles; for Colet on his return to England brought back with him not only an increased love for classical learning, but a fervent zeal for religious reform, inspired, it would seem, by the stirring eloquence of Savonarola. Green declares that "the awakening of a rational Christianity, whether in England or in the Teutonic world at large, begins with the Italian studies of Colet." This great influence of Colet upon the world was exerted, for the most part, indirectly — through Erasmus and More, his disciples and fellow-workers. Colet inspired them, and their works stirred the world.

Erasmus was probably superior in classical scholarship to any other scholar of his times. "He bought Greek books first, and clothes afterwards." His Greek Testament, published in 1516, was one of the most powerful agents concerned in bringing about the Reformation. His famous satire entitled the "Praise of Folly" was directed especially against ecclesiastics, and did effective work. Indeed, the relation of Erasmus to the whole reform movement was most significant, and is well indicated by the charge made against him by the enemies of the Reformation, who declared that "Erasmus laid the egg, and Luther hatched it."

Thomas More was drawn, or rather forced, into political life, and of him and his writings we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, in connection with the reign of Henry VIII.

The Lollards. — Another special preparation for the entrance into England of the Reformation was the presence among the lower

classes there of a considerable body of Lollards, the name, it will be recalled, given to the followers of Wycliffe. Persecution had driven the sect into obscurity, but had not been able to extirpate the heresy. In holding the Scriptures as the sole rule of faith, and in the maintenance of other doctrines denounced by the Roman Catholic Church, the Lollards occupied a position similar to that held by the German reformers, and consequently, when the teachings of Luther were disseminated in England, they received them at once. And even where Lollardry had not rendered the English peasantry susceptible to the contagion of the new heresy, they were predisposed to the infection through other causes. Thus, although farther removed from feudal serfdom than the farm laborers of other countries, they were still in a wretched condition, and were ready to listen eagerly to the reformers, whose Gospel message seemed to them to whisper something about freedom and equality.

II. The Reign of Henry VII. (1485–1509).

The Two Impostors.— Henry VII. and his queen united the long-disputed titles of the two Roses.[1] But the bitter feelings engendered by the contentions of the rival families still existed. Particularly was there much smothered discontent among the Yorkists, which manifested itself in two remarkable attempts to place impostors upon the throne.

The first attempt was made in 1487. A boy by the name of Lambert Simnel, son of a baker, was persuaded to personate the young Earl of Warwick,[2] who was then a prisoner in the Tower of London. He appeared in Ireland, where his cause was enthusiastically espoused. Being proclaimed king by the Irish with the title of Edward VI., the impostor raised a small force, and invaded

[1] Henry represented the claims of the House of Lancaster, and soon after his coronation he married the Princess Elizabeth, a daughter of Edward IV., and the representative of the claims of the House of York.

[2] Edward, Earl of Warwick, was the son of George, Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV., and, after the queen and her children, was the nearest representative of the House of York.

England, but was straightway defeated, taken prisoner, and made a "scullion" in the king's kitchen.

The adventures of the second impostor were more varied than those of the first, and his end was certainly more pathetic. The readiness with which people had accepted the claims of Simnel encouraged the Duchess of Burgundy, a sister of Edward IV., to think that she could train up a boy who could successfully play the part of a prince. She chose a Jewish lad, named Perkin Warbeck, a youth of courtly manners and fascinating conversation, whom she tutored to personate Richard, Duke of York, the younger of the children murdered in the Tower by Richard III. The pretender made Henry much trouble, — the king's enemies being provokingly easy to be convinced of the genuineness of the boy's claims, — but was finally brought to the scaffold at Tyburn (1499).

Henry's Avarice and Despotism: Benevolences. — With the exception of the excitement caused by the claims of the impostors, Henry's reign was a very quiet one. His besetting sins were avarice and a Tudor love of despotic rule, and these vices colored all his acts. Much of his attention was given to heaping up a vast fortune. The various expedients to which he resorted in order to amass wealth were as ingenious as they were outrageous. Thus he would get Parliament to vote subsidies for a threatened war, and then settling the trouble by negotiations, would divert the money to his own private use.

Another means adopted by the king for wringing money from his wealthy subjects was what were euphoniously termed *Benevolences*. Magna Charta forbade the king to impose taxes without the consent of Parliament. But Henry did not like to convene Parliament, as he wished to rule like the kings of the Continent, guided simply by his own free will. So Benevolences were made to take the place of regular taxes. These were nothing more nor less than gifts extorted from the well-to-do by moral pressure. They were collected in much the same way that subscriptions for local or benevolent purposes are often raised. One of Henry's favorite ministers, named Morton, was particularly successful in his appeals

for gifts of this kind. To those who lived splendidly he would say that it was very evident they were quite able to make a generous donation to their sovereign; while to others who lived in a narrow and pinched way he would represent that their economical mode of life must have made them wealthy. This teasing dilemma received the name of "Morton's Fork."

The king found still another source of revenue in raking up long-forgotten claims of the crown, and in imposing fines for the violation of musty laws that everybody had forgotten. Two lawyers, named Empson and Dudley, became notorious through their industry and success in hunting up these "dusty records."

Among the various laws executed with unusual vigor, not so much to sustain the dignity of the crown as to increase its revenues, was one known as the *Statute of Liveries*, which forbade the great lords to keep liveried retainers. This statute was intended to take away from the baronage what little power and importance remained to them after the ruin wrought by the Wars of the Roses. Henry watched this matter very closely, and greatly increased the receipts of the royal exchequer by the enforcements of fines.[1]

Maritime Discoveries. — It was during this reign that great geographical discoveries enlarged the boundaries of the world. In 1492 Columbus announced to Europe the existence of land to the west. In 1497 Vasco da Gama sailed around the cape of Good Hope and found a water-road to the East Indies.

The year before this last enterprise, Henry had fitted out a fleet under the command of John Cabot, a venetian sailor doing business in England, for exploration in the western seas. Cabot first touched at Newfoundland, and then explored the coast he had run against, from that point to Virginia. He was the first European to

[1] "On a visit to the Earl of Oxford, one of the most devoted adherents of the Lancastrian cause, the king found two lines of liveried retainers drawn up to receive him. 'I thank you for your good cheer, my lord,' said Henry as they parted, 'but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight. My attorney must speak with you.' The Earl was glad to escape with a fine of £10,000." — Green's *History of the English People*, Vol. II. p. 70.

look upon the American continent; for Columbus at this time had seen only the islands in front of the Gulf of Mexico.

Foreign Matrimonial Alliances. — The marriages of Henry's children must be noted by us here, because of the great influence these alliances had upon the after-course of English history. A common fear of France caused Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain and Henry to form a protective alliance. To secure the permanency of the union it was deemed necessary to cement it by a marriage bond. The Spanish Infanta was accordingly betrothed to Arthur, Prince of Wales. Unfortunately, the prince died soon after the celebration of the nuptials. The Spanish sovereigns, still anxious to retain the advantages of an English alliance, now urged that the young widow be espoused by Arthur's brother Henry, and the English King, desirous on his side to preserve the friendship of Spain, assented to the betrothal. A rule of the Church, however, which forbade a man to marry his brother's widow, stood in the way of this arrangement; but the queen-mother Isabella managed to secure a decree from the Pope granting permission in this case, and so the young widow was betrothed to Prince Henry. This alliance of the royal families of England and Spain led to many important consequences, as we shall learn.

To relieve England of danger on her northern frontier, Henry steadily pursued the policy of a marriage alliance with Scotland. His wishes were realized when his eldest daughter Margaret became the wife of James IV., king of that realm. This was a most fortunate marriage, and finally led to the happy union of the two countries under a single crown.

III. England severed from the Papacy by Henry VIII. (1509–1547).

Opening of the Reign. — Henry VII. died in 1509. His son and successor, Henry VIII., was but eighteen years of age when the event of his father's death brought him to the throne of England. He was attractive in person, animated in manner, and

energetic in action. His tastes were literary, inclining him to look with favor upon the New Learning.

The circumstances attending his succession were full of promise. The kingdom he inherited was at peace with itself and with all the world; the royal coffers were full to overflowing with an enormous treasure; and the acclamations of the people were long and hearty, for the gloomy, avaricious, and tyrannical disposition of his father had caused them to anticipate somewhat impatiently the transfer of the crown by death. Never did a prince assume his sceptre under more auspicious auguries of a happy and prosperous reign.

Cardinal Wolsey. — We must here at the opening of Henry VIII.'s reign introduce his greatest minister, Thomas Wolsey (1471–1530), as during all the first half of the reign his is the most prominent figure that meets our view. This man was one of the most remarkable characters of his generation. His ability had been recognized by Henry VII., who made him his minister and trusted counselor. Henry VIII. elevated him to the office of Archbishop of York, and made him Lord Chancellor of the realm. By means of flattery and discreet indulgence of the king's weaknesses, the ambitious minister soon acquired complete ascendency over the mind of his youthful master.

The Pope, courting the influence of Wolsey, made him a cardinal, and afterwards Papal legate in England. He was now at the head of affairs in both State and Church. His revenues from his many offices were enormous, and enabled him to assume a style of living astonishingly magnificent. His household numbered five hundred persons; and a truly royal train, made up of bishops and nobles, attended him with great pomp and parade wherever he went. The splendor of his equipage and livery drew all eyes upon him. His munificence was unbounded. He built a costly palace at Hampton Court, a few miles from London, and as soon as the mansion was completed, made a present of it to Henry. It was so large and elegant that it was long a favorite residence of the kings of England.

Wolsey was a valuable friend of the New Learning. He laid the

foundation of a college at Oxford, which, after the Cardinal's death, was completed by Henry.

Henry's Continental Wars. — A few weeks after his accession Henry was married to the Spanish princess Catherine, which meant that he had resolved to foster the Spanish alliance. In 1512, joining what was known as the Holy League, — a union against the French king, of which the Pope was the head, — he made his first campaign in France, with scarcely any better object in view than to "win his spurs," and to gather fresh martial glory on the old fields of Crécy and Agincourt. The year following his first invasion, in an engagement known as the "Battle of the Spurs," he gained a bloodless victory over the French.

But these continental wars of Henry did England no good, and brought but little glory to himself. On the other hand, they alienated some of the king's best friends, especially lovers of the New Learning, who had looked to the young king to inaugurate an era of peace and reform.

The Battle of Flodden Field (1513). — Henry's invasion of France, however, led to a most important and decisive battle between the English and Scots, — the Battle of Flodden Field (1513), — which resulted in a memorable victory for the English. While Henry was across the Channel, James IV. of Scotland thought to give aid to the French king by invading England. So a Scottish army was sent across the frontiers to harry the northern counties. At Flodden, beneath the Cheviot Hills, it was met by an English army, and completely overwhelmed. King James was killed, and the flower of the Scottish nobility were left dead upon the field. It was the most terrible disaster that had ever fallen upon the Scottish nation. Scott, whose poem entitled *Marmion, a Tale of Flodden Field*, commemorates the battle, says, "Scarce a family of eminence but had an ancestor at Flodden, and there is no province of Scotland, even at this day, where the battle is mentioned without a sensation of terror and sorrow."

Henry as Defender of the Faith. — It was in the eighth year of Henry VIII.'s reign that the monk Martin Luther tacked upon the

door of the Wittenberg church his famous ninety-five theses. England was stirred with the rest of Western Christendom. Henry wrote a Latin treatise refuting the articles of the audacious monk. Henry maintained the divine authority of the Pope, because the validity of his marriage with Catherine depended upon the validity of the Papal act whereby the Levitical and canon law which forbade a man to marry his brother's widow was annulled, and permission given to Henry to marry the wife of his deceased brother Arthur; and that act was invalid unless the Pope has divine authority to dispense with a law laid down in the Bible.

The Pope, Leo X., rewarded Henry's Catholic zeal by conferring upon him the title of "Defender of the Faith" (1521). This title was retained by Henry after the secession of the Church of England from the Papal See, and is borne by his successors at this day, though they are "defenders" of quite a different faith from that in the defense of which Henry first earned the title.

Henry Seeks to be Divorced from Catherine. — We have now to relate some circumstances which changed Henry from a zealous supporter of the Papacy into its bitterest enemy.

Henry's marriage with Catherine of Aragon had been prompted by policy and not by love. Of the five children born of the union, all had died save a sickly daughter named Mary. In these successive afflictions which left him without a son to succeed him, Henry saw, or feigned to see, a certain sign of Heaven's displeasure because he had taken to wife the widow of his brother.

And now a new circumstance arose, if it had not existed for some time previous to this. Henry conceived a violent passion for Anne Boleyn, a beautiful and vivacious maid of honor in the queen's household. This new affection so quickened the King's conscience, that he soon became fully convinced that it was his duty to put Catherine aside.[1]

[1] Political considerations, without doubt, had much if not most to do in bringing Henry to this state of mind. He was ready to divorce Catherine and break openly with Spain, because the Emperor Charles V., to whom he had offered the hand of the Princess Mary, had married the Infanta of Portugal,

Accordingly Henry asked the Pope, Clement VII., to grant him a divorce.

The request placed Clement in a very embarrassing position; for if he refused to grant it, he would offend Henry; and if he granted it, he would greatly offend Charles V., who was Catherine's relative. Besides, all the countries of Northern Europe were ripe for revolt from the Papal See, and such an act as this — one Pope annulling that which had been sanctioned by a previous one — might tear in twain the Catholic Church. So Clement in his bewilderment was led to temporize, to make promises to Henry and then evade them. Finally, after a year's delay, he appointed Cardinal Wolsey and an Italian cardinal named Campeggio as commissioners to hold a sort of court in England to determine the validity of Henry's marriage to Catherine. A year or more dragged along without anything being accomplished, and then Clement, influenced by the Emperor Charles, ordered Henry and Catherine both to appear before him at Rome.

The Fall of Wolsey. — Henry's patience was now completely exhausted. Becoming persuaded that Wolsey was not exerting himself as he might to secure the divorce, he banished him from the court. The hatred of Anne Boleyn and of others pursued the fallen minister. He was deposed from all his offices save the archbishopric. His splendid palace at York Place, now known as Whitehall, was seized for the use of the king. Finally he was arrested on the charge of high treason. While on his way to London the unhappy minister, broken in spirits and in health, was prostrated by a fatal fever. As he lay dying in the arms of the kind monks of Leicester Abbey, he uttered these words, which have lived so long after him: "Had I served my God as diligently as I have served my king, He would not have given me over in my gray hairs" (1530).

The Opinion of the Universities. — Just before Wolsey's disgrace a young priest of Cambridge, named Thomas Cranmer, had suggested that the universities in England and upon the continent

and thus cast aside the English alliance. On this point consult Seebohm, *The Era of the Protestant Revolution*, pp. 178–180.

should be asked to give their opinion on the validity of the king's marriage with Catherine. If they all agreed that the union was invalid, then the Pope could hardly refuse to grant the divorce. The plan pleased Henry, and to the universities, accordingly, the case was submitted. The question at issue was simply this: Can the Pope annul the law of God, and thus make it lawful for a man to marry his brother's widow? This of course involved the question of the divine authority of the Pope, for confessedly only divine authority can dispense with a divine law.

The opinions of the learned doctors were so conflicting, and especially in the case of the English universities of Oxford and Cambridge so manifestly tainted with bribery, that nothing save delay resulted from this plan of settlement.

Thomas Cromwell. — A man of great power and mark now rises to our notice. Upon the disgrace of Wolsey, a faithful attendant of his named Thomas Cromwell straightway assumed in Henry's regard the place from which the Cardinal had fallen. He was just the opposite of Wolsey in caring nothing for pomp and parade. For the space of ten years this wonderful man shaped the policy of Henry's government. He was the English Richelieu. What he proposed to himself was the establishment of a royal despotism upon the ruin of every other power in the State. Parliament, Church, and everything were to be subjected to a single will, and that single will was to be Henry's.

Man of iron will that he was, Cromwell pursued with such terrible relentlessness his aims, that the period during which his power was supreme has been called the English Reign of Terror. The executioner's ax was constantly wet with the blood of those who stood in his way, or who in any manner incurred his displeasure.

It was to the bold suggestions of this man that Henry now listened, when all other means of gratifying his passion had been tried in vain. Cromwell's advice to the king was to waste no more time in negotiating with the Pope, but at once to renounce the jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff, proclaim himself Supreme

Head of the Church in England, and then get a decree of divorce from his own courts.

The Breach with Rome.—The advice of Cromwell was acted upon, and by a series of steps England was swiftly and forever carried out from under the authority of the Roman See. Henry first virtually cut the Gordian knot by a secret marriage with Anne Boleyn, notwithstanding a Papal decree threatening him with excommunication should he dare to do so. Parliament, which was entirely subservient to Henry's wishes, now passed a law known as the Statute of Appeals, which made it a crime for any Englishman to carry a case out of the kingdom to the courts at Rome. Cranmer, the Cambridge doctor who had advised the king to submit the question of the validity of his union with Catherine to the universities, and who had further served him by writing a book in favor of the divorce, was, in accordance with the new programme, made archbishop of Canterbury. He at once formed a court, tried the case, and of course declared the king's marriage with Catherine null and void from the very first, and his union with Anne legal and right.

The Act of Supremacy (1534). — The decisive step had now been taken: the Rubicon had been crossed. These high-handed measures produced a terrible excitement at Rome. The Pope in great wrath issued a decree excommunicating Henry and relieving his subjects from their allegiance. Whatever hope there may have existed up to this time of a reconciliation between the English sovereign and the Roman See was completely annihilated by this act. Henry resolved to destroy forever and at a single blow the power of Rome within his realm. Parliament was called, and a celebrated bill known as the Act of Supremacy was passed (1534). This statute made Henry the Supreme Head of the Church in England, vesting in him absolute control over all its offices, and turning into his hands the revenues which had hitherto flowed into the coffers of the Roman See. A denial of the title given the king by the statute was made high treason. This statute established the independence of the Anglican Church.

Henry as Supreme Head of the Church. — Henry now set up

in England a little Popedom of his own. Never did Roman Pontiff exercise authority in a more audacious or tyrannical manner. Appointing Cromwell his vicegerent in ecclesiastical affairs, Henry established a most vexatious censorship of the pulpit. What the clergy might and what they might not preach was carefully prescribed. Even the skeletons of their sermons were sometimes prepared for them. The king himself drew up a sort of creed which everybody must believe, or at least pretend to believe. The doctrines of Purgatory, of indulgences, of masses for the dead, of pilgrimages, of the worship of images and relics were condemned; but the doctrines of transubstantiation and of confession to a priest were retained. Every head of a family and every teacher was commanded to teach his children or pupils the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the new Creed.

The entire Bible was now (in 1535) first given in print to the English people in their native tongue. The person entrusted with this great work was Bishop Coverdale, who in the preparation of the work availed himself of the translation of Tyndale, who just before this time had put the New and a considerable part of the Old Testament into English.

Thus was the English Church cared for by its self-appointed shepherd. What it should be called under Henry it would be hard to say. It was not Protestant; and it was just as far from being Catholic. We can only say that it was in a transition state.

The Suppression of the Monasteries. — The suppression of the monasteries was one of Henry's most high-handed measures. Several things led him to resolve on the extinction of these religious houses. For one thing, he coveted their wealth, which at this time included probably one fifth of the lands of the realm. Then the monastic orders were openly or secretly opposed to Henry's claims of supremacy in religious matters; and this naturally caused him to regard them with jealousy and disfavor. Hence their ruin was planned. In this matter Thomas Cromwell took a prominent part.

In order to make the act appear as reasonable as possible, it was

planned to make the charge of immorality the ostensible ground of their suppression. Accordingly two royal commissioners were appointed to inspect the monasteries, and make a report upon what they might see and learn. If we may believe the report, and it was doubtless in the main truthful, the smaller houses were conducted in a most shameful manner, the monks being found guilty of all manner of crimes, — indolence, drunkenness, licentiousness, and simony. The larger houses were fairly free from these faults. Many of them served as schools, hospitals, and inns, and all distributed alms to the poor who knocked at their gates.

But the undoubted usefulness and irreproachable character of the larger foundations did not avail to avert the indiscriminate ruin of all. When the "Black Book," as the report of the commissioners was called, was read in the House of Commons, and the iniquities practiced in many of the monasteries under the guise of religion were exposed, the chamber was filled with cries of "Down with them! Down with them!" At once an act was passed which dissolved between three and four hundred of the smaller monasteries, and gave all their property to the king (1536).

The unscrupulous act stirred up a rebellion in the north of England, known as the "Pilgrimage of Grace." This was suppressed with great severity, and soon afterwards all the larger monasteries were also dissolved, their possessors generally surrendering the property voluntarily into the hands of the king, lest a worse thing than the loss of their houses and lands should come upon them. Altogether there were 90 colleges, 110 hospitals, 2,374 chantries and chapels, and 645 monasteries broken up. Pensions were granted to the dispossessed monks, which relieved in part the suffering and hardship caused by the proceeding.

A portion of the confiscated wealth of the houses was used in founding schools and colleges, and a part for the establishment of bishoprics; but by far the greater portion was distributed among the adherents and favorites of the king. The leading houses of the English aristocracy of to-day, may, according to Hallam, trace the title of their estates back to these confiscated lands of the religious

houses. Thus a new nobility was raised up whose interests led them to oppose any return to Rome; for in such an event their estates were liable of course to be restored to the monasteries.

Persecution of Catholics and Protestants. — Our disapproval of Henry's unscrupulous conduct in compassing the ruin of the religious houses flames into hot indignation when we come to speak of his atrocious crimes against the lives and consciences of his subjects.

The royal reformer persecuted alike Catholics and Protestants. Thus, on one occasion, three Catholics who denied that the king was the rightful head of the Church, and three Protestants who disputed the doctrine of the real presence in the sacrament (a dogma which Henry had retained in his creed) were dragged on the same sled to the place of execution.

The most illustrious of the king's victims were the learned Sir Thomas More and the aged Bishop Fisher, both of whom were brought to the block because their consciences would not allow them to acknowledge that the king was rightfully the Supreme Head of the Church of England.

Henry's Wives. — Henry's troubles with his wives form a curious and shameful page in the history of England's kings. Anne Boleyn retained the affections of her royal husband only a few months. She was charged with unfaithfulness and beheaded, leaving a daughter who became the famous Queen Elizabeth. The day after the execution of Anne the king married Jane Seymour, who died the following year. She left a son by the name of Edward.

The fourth marriage of the king was to Anne of Cleves, who enjoyed her queenly honors only a few months. The king becoming enamored of a young lady named Catherine Howard, Anne was divorced on the charge of a previous betrothal, and a new alliance formed. But Catherine was proved guilty of misconduct, and her head fell upon the block. The king improved the short interval between her death and his next marriage by composing a book entitled "A Necessary Doctrine for any Christian Man."

The sixth and last wife of this amatory monarch was Catherine Parr. She was a discreet woman, and managed to outlive her husband.

Henry's Death and Character. — Henry died in 1547. His many marriages and divorces had so complicated the question of the succession, that Parliament, to avoid disputes, had given Henry power (with some restrictions) to settle it. This he did, directing that the crown should descend to his son Edward and his heirs; in case Edward died childless, it was to go to Mary and her heirs, and then to Elizabeth and her heirs.

Very diverse views have been held of Henry's character. Lovers of the Church of Rome have pictured him as an atrocious monster, without a single redeeming virtue; while the friends of the Protestant cause have naturally exalted him to the first place among England's kings, and eulogized him as the most eminent champion of the Reformation.

If the plain truth be told, he was doubtless, if we except King John, the most cruel, capricious, arbitrary, self-willed, and remorseless tyrant that ever sat upon the English throne. As we said of John, so may we say of Henry, that the English people are greatly indebted to him, yet without owing him any thanks. He delivered England, indeed, from the power of the Papal See, and became the defender of the independence of the national Church; but in all this he was actuated rather by selfish motives than by a true regard for the welfare of his people, or by sympathy with the teachings of Luther.

Literature under Henry VIII.: More's Utopia. — The most prominent literary figure of this period is Sir Thomas More. The work upon which his fame as a writer mainly rests is his *Utopia*, or "Nowhere," a political romance like Plato's *Republic* or Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*. It pictures an imaginary kingdom away on an island beneath the equinoctial in the New World, then just discovered, where the laws, manners, and customs of the people were represented as being ideally perfect.

It was the wretchedness, the ignorance, the superstition, the social

tyranny, the religious intolerance, the despotic government of the times which inspired the *Utopia*. The New Learning was indeed stirring the minds of men, but it had not yet done its work; improvements had been made in domestic architecture, yet the great mass of the people were still living in miserable mud hovels, like those of the Irish tenants of to-day. Society was simply "a conspiracy of the rich against the poor." The government of Henry and his ministers was an Oriental tyranny.

It was this state of things that forced from the sensitive soul of More this complaint. "No such cry of pity for the poor," says Green, "had been heard since the days of Piers Ploughman." But More's was not simply such a cry of despair as was that of Langland. He saw a better future; and with a view of reforming them, pointed out the existing ills of society and their remedy. He did all this by telling how things were in "Nowhere," — how the houses and grounds were all inviting, the streets broad and clean; how everybody was taught to read and write, and no one obliged to work more than six hours a day; how drinking-houses, brawls, wars, and changing parties were unknown; how the criminal classes were treated with the view of effecting their reformation; how in this happy republic every person had a part in the government, and was allowed to follow what religion he chose.

In this wise way More suggested improvements in social, political, and religious matters. He did not expect, however, that Henry would follow all his suggestions, for he closes his account of the Utopians with this admission: "I confess that many things in the commonwealth of Utopia I rather *wish* than *hope* to see adopted in our own."

And, indeed, More himself, before his death, materially changed his views regarding religious persecution. Although in his book he had expressed his decided disapproval of persecution for conscience' sake, by crediting the Utopians with a law that condemned to banishment any person who should attempt to effect a change in another's opinion by any other means than that of persuasion,

yet he afterwards, driven into reaction by the terrible excesses of the Peasants' War in Germany, and by other popular tumults which seemed to be the outgrowth of the Protestant movement, favored persecution, and advised that unity of faith be preserved by the use of force.

IV. Changes in Creed and Ritual under Edward VI. (1547-1553).

Events at the Accession. — In accordance with the provisions of Henry's will, his only son, Edward, by Jane Seymour, succeeded him. As Edward was but a mere child of nine years, the government was conducted by a Council of Regency, at the head of which was the young king's uncle, the Earl of Hertford, who was afterwards created Duke of Somerset. Henry had taken care that this Council should be made up of an equal number of Protestants and Catholics; but Hertford, who was an unscrupulous and ambitious man, and a patron of the reformed religion, drove out the latter, and assumed royal power, under the title of Protector of the Realm.

The young king was carefully taught the doctrines of the reformers, and many changes were made in the creed and service of the English Church, which carried it farther away from the Church of Rome. It is these changes in the religion, effected partly under the rule of the Duke of Somerset and in part during the administration of his successor, the Duke of Northumberland, that constitute the events most worthy of our attention. They will show us what were the chief points on which the two great religious parties of the sixteenth century differed, and what constitute the essential distinctions between Protestantism and Catholicism.

Changes in the Religion. — By a royal decree all pictures and images and crosses were cleared from the churches: the frescoes were covered with whitewash, and the stained glass windows were broken in pieces; the robe and the surplice were cast away as "the livery of the Harlot of Babylon"; the use of tapers, holy water, and incense

were forbidden; the worship of the Virgin and the saints was prohibited; belief in Purgatory was denounced as a superstition kept up for purposes of gain, and prayers for the dead were interdicted; the real or bodily presence of Christ in the bread and wine of the sacrament was denied; the prohibition against the marriage of the clergy was annulled (a measure which pleased the clergy and reconciled them to the other sweeping innovations); and the services of the Church, which had hitherto been conducted in Latin, were ordered to be said in the language of the people.

In order that the provision last mentioned might be effectually carried out, the English Book of Common Prayer was prepared by Archbishop Cranmer, and the first copy issued in 1549. This book, which was in the main simply a translation of the old Latin "missal and breviary," with the subsequent change of a word here and a passage there to keep it in accord with the growing new doctrines, is the same that is used in the Anglican Church at the present time.

In 1552 were published the famous Forty-two Articles of Religion, which formed a compendious creed of the reformed faith. These Articles, reduced finally to thirty-nine, form the present standard of faith and doctrine in the Church of England.

Persecutions to secure Uniformity. — These sweeping changes and innovations in the old creed and in the services of the Church would have worked little hardship or wrong had only everybody, as in More's happy republic, been left free to favor and follow what religion he would. But unfortunately it was only away in "Nowhere" that men were allowed perfect freedom of conscience and worship. The idea of toleration had not yet dawned upon the world, save in the happier moments of some such generous and wide-horizoned soul as his who conceived the *Utopia*.

By royal edict all preachers and teachers were forced to sign the Forty-two Articles; and severe enactments, known as "Acts for the Uniformity of Service," punished with severe penalties any departure from the forms of the new prayer-book. The Princess Mary, who remained a firm and conscientious adherent of the old faith,

was not allowed to have the Roman service in her own private chapel. Even the powerful intercession of the Emperor Charles V. availed nothing. Idolatry in high places could not be tolerated.

Many persons during the reign were imprisoned for refusing to conform to the new worship; while two at least were given to the flames as "heretics and contemners of the Book of Common Prayer." Probably a large majority of the English people were at this time good Catholics at heart.

V. Reaction under Mary (1553–1558).

Lady Jane Grey. — The story of Lady Jane Grey is one of the saddest in English history, being all the more pathetic that her hard fate came to her through no fault of her own, but on account of the faults and ambitions of others. Told very briefly the story is as follows.

After the fall of Somerset — he was beheaded for treason in 1549 — the management of affairs came into the hands of the ambitious Duke of Northumberland. The aim of this unscrupulous minister was to raise one of his own family to the throne. As a part of his scheme he married his son, Guildford Dudley, to Lady Jane Grey, a grandniece of Henry VIII., whom he had persuaded the young king, now in failing health and manifestly near his end, to name as his successor, to the exclusion of the princesses Mary and Elizabeth. Edward's own feelings undoubtedly concurred with the wishes of Northumberland, because Mary was a zealous Catholic, while Jane Grey was an earnest Protestant. Scarcely had matters been thus arranged when Edward died, Northumberland not escaping suspicion of having hastened his end.

Immediately upon the king's death an effort was made to secure the persons of Mary and Elizabeth, but being warned, they escaped. Northumberland knew that he must now act boldly and openly: his daughter-in-law must at once be crowned, and proclaimed queen of the realm. She as yet knew nothing of the scheme that was to elevate her to a throne. When the plan was revealed to her, she was overcome with dismay and grief. She refused the

proffered crown, and entreated that the princesses Mary and Elizabeth should not be deprived of their birthright. But the shrinking girl was finally over-persuaded by the united entreaties of her husband and parents, and allowed the crown to be placed upon her head.

Lady Jane Grey was obliged to wear for only nine days the crown thus thrust upon her; for the people, believing that Mary was the rightful heir to the throne, rallied about her, and she was proclaimed queen amidst great demonstrations of loyalty. Northumberland and others concerned in crowning Lady Jane were tried for treason and executed. The youth and innocence of the "nine-day queen" protected her for the moment, though some clamored for her death. But the turn of events soon brought her to the scaffold. Mary having set about the restoring of the Roman Catholic worship, and, moreover, having engaged herself in marriage to Philip II. of Spain (a zealous Catholic, it will be recalled), a rebellion was organized, which had for its object the breaking of the Spanish alliance and the raising of the Princess Elizabeth or Lady Jane Grey to the throne. The uprising was suppressed, Elizabeth was confined in the Tower, and Lady Jane and her husband, though they had taken no part in the movement, were both condemned to be executed.

Writers of every party unite in commending the virtues and praising the rare beauty and accomplishments of the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey. She had a familiar knowledge of Latin and Greek, and could converse easily in various modern tongues. We are told how the marvelous range of her information, the brilliancy of her intellect, and the eloquence of her language excited the wonder and admiration of the learned men and philosophers whom the fame of her accomplishments and talents drew about her.

Reconciliation with Rome. — The severity of the punishment which was meted out to the leaders of the Protestant revolt so intimidated the nation that there was no further opposition manifested to the wishes of Mary in respect of the Spanish alliance. Parliament submissively approved the articles of the marriage. Philip, after some delay, for he had but little love for England and

still less for Mary, came over to the island, and the wedding ceremonies were celebrated with much pomp and parade.

The union of the bigotry of Philip with the zeal of Mary resulted in the full re-establishment of the Catholic worship throughout the realm. Negotiations with Rome ended in the sending of Cardinal Pole as the Legate of the Pope to receive the nation back within the folds of the true Church.

The Legate was welcomed in England with extravagant joy by the lovers of the ancient faith. "Thou art Pole," exclaimed an enthusiastic archdeacon in his speech of welcome, "thou art Pole, and thou art our Polar Star to light us to the kingdom of the heavens." Parliament voted that the nation should return to its obedience to the Papal See; and then the members of both houses fell upon their knees to receive at the hands of the Legate absolution from the sin of heresy and schism. The sincerity of their repentance was attested by their repeal of all the acts of Henry and Edward by which the new worship had been set up in the land. The joy at Rome was unbounded. The holy father, Pope Julius, throwing his arms about the messenger who brought the news, embraced him in transports of pious exultation. The prodigal had returned to his father's house.

But not quite everything done by the reformers was undone. Parliament refused to restore the confiscated Church lands, which was very natural, as much of this property was now in the hands of the lords and commoners. Mary, however, in her zeal for the ancient faith, restored a great part of the property still in the possession of the crown, and refounded many of the ruined monasteries and abbeys.

The Martyrs: Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer. — With the re-establishment of the Roman worship, the fires of persecution were kindled anew. The three most eminent victims of what is known as the Marian persecution were Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer.

One of the principal charges against Latimer and Ridley was their denial of transubstantiation, or the doctrine that the bread

and wine of the sacrament are, through the blessing of the priest, actually changed into the blood and flesh of Christ. Refusing to recant their heresy, they were condemned to the flames. Both were burnt at the same stake. As the torch was applied to the fagots, the aged Latimer — he was eighty years old — encouraged his companion with these memorable words: "Master Ridley, play the man: we shall this day, by God's grace, light such a candle in England as I trust shall never be put out." Latimer's bearing was in keeping with his exhortation. He died "bathing his hands in the flame as though it were water."

Cranmer possessed a less resolute spirit than Latimer. He shrank from the terrible ordeal, and to save his life declared that he believed all the doctrines of the Catholic Church. But in spite of his confession and recantation his enemies resolved that he should die, because of the prominent part he had taken in the setting up of the reformed worship.

Just before he was committed to the flames, the archbishop was given an opportunity to speak. Now came a most extraordinary scene. Instead of repeating the confession he had made to his judges, he declared that he had made that confession through fear of death, that it had troubled his conscience "more than any other thing that he had ever said or done in his life," and that "as for the Pope, with all his false doctrines, he utterly refused him, as Christ's enemy and Antichrist."

Cries from every side of "Pull him down," "Away with him," drowned the voice of the archbishop. Before he could say more he was hurried to the stake. The spirit that once had faltered was resolute enough now. Thrusting his right hand into the flames, and holding it there unflinchingly, he exclaimed, "This was the hand that wrote it [the recantation], therefore it shall first suffer punishment."

Altogether, between two and three hundred persons suffered martyrdom during the reign of Mary. Nearly one fourth of these were women and children. Hundreds of others endured imprisonment and various other penalties.

The effect of these persecutions was just the opposite of that intended. The constancy of the martyrs in the face of death drew multitudes to the faith for which they suffered. That for which a man dares to die is always sure to be thought by the living worthy of their attention.

Mary should not be judged too harshly for the part she took in the persecutions that disfigured her reign. It was not her fault, but the fault of the age, that these things were done. Punishment of heresy was then regarded, by both Catholics and Protestants alike, as a duty which could be neglected by those in authority only at the peril of Heaven's displeasure. And thinking as they did, that one's eternal happiness depends upon the correctness of one's opinion as to all the articles of a particular creed, the men of that age could consistently do nothing less than labor to exterminate heresy with ax, and sword, and fagot. It were far better, so they reasoned, that a few should be cast into temporal fire, than that not only these, but perhaps thousands of others whom they might lead into error, should hereafter be cast into everlasting flames.

The Loss of Calais. — The marriage of Philip and Mary had been earnestly wished for by the Emperor Charles V., in order that Philip, in those wars with France which he well knew must be a part of the bequest he should make to his son, might have the powerful aid of England. This was Philip's chief reason in seeking the alliance, and in due time he called upon Mary for assistance in a war against the French king. The English people were very reluctant to take any part in the quarrel; but Mary's Council at last yielded to her urgent solicitations, and aid was extended to Philip.

The result was the loss to England of Calais, which the French, by an unexpected attack, snatched out of the hands of its garrison (1558). The English had proudly held this place for a hundred years and more after all else in France had been lost, and it was a very great mortification to them to be thus pushed entirely off from French soil. Mary, in her distress, exclaimed, "When I die, Calais will be found written on my heart."

The unfortunate Queen, suffering in mind and in body, neglected by Philip and hated by her own people, did not live out the year that marked the loss of Calais.

VI. Final Establishment of Protestantism under Elizabeth (1558–1603).

The Queen. — Elizabeth was the daughter of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn. She seems to have inherited the characteristics of both parents; hence the inconsistencies of her disposition.

When the death of Mary called Elizabeth to the throne, she was twenty-five years of age. Like her father, she favored the reformed faith rather from policy than conviction. It was to the Protestants alone that she could look for support; her title to the crown was denied by every true Catholic in the realm, for she was the child of that marriage which the Pope had forbidden under pain of the anathemas of the Church.

Elizabeth possessed a strong will, indomitable courage, admirable judgment, and great political tact. It was these qualities which rendered her reign the strongest and most illustrious in the record of England's sovereigns, and raised the nation from a position of insignificance to a foremost place among the states of Europe.

An accomplished scholar, Elizabeth could speak with fluency two or three modern languages, and was able, on short notice, to "rub up her rusty Greek," so as to reply in that tongue to an address from one of the universities.

Along with her good and queenly qualities and accomplishments, Elizabeth had many unamiable traits and unwomanly ways. She was capricious, treacherous, unscrupulous, ungrateful, and cruel. She seemed almost wholly devoid of a moral or religious sense. Deception and falsehood were her usual weapons in diplomacy. "In the profusion and recklessness of her lies," declares Green, "Elizabeth stood without a peer in Christendom." She

was also a hard swearer, it being no unusual thing for her to stop the deliberations of her Council to swear at her ministers "like a fishwife." Her letters were often accentuated with terrific oaths. Her vanity and love of flattery rendered her ridiculous. She would toy with her rings in order to attract attention to the beauty of her hands. She loved pageants and display in dress, and was a coquette at seventy, dancing at that age with spirit, if not with grace. Her wardrobe, at the time of her death, contained, it is said, three thousand dresses. She very seldom wore the same dress twice.[1]

Yet, notwithstanding all the faults of this remarkable woman, in spite of the lack in her of all elevation of character, of all generous enthusiasms and sympathies, she was always popular. Her subjects' love is embalmed in the familiar title they bestowed upon her, — "Good Queen Bess."

Elizabeth never married, notwithstanding Parliament was constantly urging her to do so, and suitors, among whom was Philip II. of Spain, were as numerous as those who sought the hand of Penelope. She declared that on her coronation day she was married to the English realm, and that she would have no other husband.

Her Ministers. — One secret of the strength and popularity of Elizabeth's government was the admirable judgment she exercised in her choice of advisers. The courtiers with whom she crowded her receptions might be frivolous and worthless persons, for all Elizabeth desired of them was that they should minister to her pleasure; but about her Council-board she gathered the wisest and strongest men to be found in the realm.

[1] Elizabeth's fondness for dress and parade created a national extravagance in these matters. Young spendthrift nobles "sported manors on their backs." Both ladies and gentlemen wore enormous ruffs. Elizabeth decreed that these should not be over "a nayle of a yeard in depth." One would suppose that all might have managed to keep their ruffs within these limits, but it seems not; for we are told that Elizabeth stationed "serious persons" at the gates of London to cut down those exceeding the regulation width.

The most famous of the Queen's ministers was William Cecil, a man of great sagacity and ceaseless industry, to whose able counsel and prudent management is largely due the success of Elizabeth's reign. He stood at the head of the Queen's Council for forty years. His son Robert, Sir Nicholas Bacon, and Sir Francis Walsingham were also prominent among the Queen's advisers.

Re-establishment of the Reformed Church. — As Mary undid the work in religion of Henry and Edward, so now her work is undone by Elizabeth. The religious houses that had been re-established by Mary were again dissolved, and Parliament, by the two important Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, relaid the foundations of the Anglican Church.

The Act of Supremacy required all the clergy, and every person holding office under the crown, to take an oath declaring the Queen to be the supreme governor of the realm in all spiritual as well as temporal things, and renouncing the authority or jurisdiction of any foreign prince or prelate. Of course all this was aimed at the pretensions of the Roman See.

Of the fourteen bishops of the realm, all save one refused to take the oath, and were therefore removed from their offices. The minor clergy for the most part submitted, and were allowed to retain their benefices.

For refusal to take the oath, many Catholics during Elizabeth's reign suffered death, and many more endured within the Tower the worse horrors of the rack. The employment of this form of torture aroused much indignation among the Catholics throughout Europe. The Queen's minister, Lord Burleigh, replied to the charge of cruelty by stating in a public paper that the jailors were instructed to handle the rack "in as charitable a manner as such a thing might be," and that none of those put to the rack were asked "any question as to point of doctrine, but merely concerning their plots and conspiracies."

The Act of Uniformity was a more unjustifiable measure than the former, as it touched more positively matters of conscience. It forbade any clergyman to use any but the Anglican liturgy, and

required every person to attend the established Church on Sunday, and other holy days. For every absence a fine of one shilling was imposed. This harsh and unjust statute was rigidly enforced, although it is probable that Elizabeth herself cared but little what opinions persons entertained, provided they outwardly conformed to the established worship. The persecutions which arose under this law caused many Catholics to seek freedom of worship in other countries.

The Protestant Non-Conformists. — The Catholics were not the only persons among Elizabeth's subjects who were opposed to the Anglican worship. There were Protestant non-conformists — the Puritans and Separatists — who troubled her almost as much as the Romanists.

The Puritans were so named because they desired a *purer* form of worship than the Anglican. The term was applied to them in derision; but the sterling character of those thus designated at length turned the epithet of reproach into a badge of honorable distinction. To these earnest reformers the Church Elizabeth had established seemed but half-reformed. Many rites and ceremonies, such as wearing the surplice and making the cross in baptism, had been retained; and these things, in their eyes, appeared mere Popish superstitions. What they wanted was a more sweeping change, a form of worship more like that of the Calvinistic churches of Geneva, in which city very many of them had lived as exiles during the Marian persecution. They, however, did not withdraw from the Established Church, but remaining within its pale, labored to reform it, and to shape its doctrines and discipline to their notions. These Puritans were destined to play a prominent part in the later affairs of England. Under the Stuarts, as we shall see, they became strong enough to overturn State and Church, and remould both to suit their own ideas.

The Separatists were still more zealous reformers than the Puritans: in their hatred of everything that bore any resemblance to the Roman worship, they flung away the surplice and the Prayer-

book, severed all connection with the Established Church, and refused to have anything to do with it. They were known at first by different names, as Brownists or Barrowists, after prominent leaders, but later, as Independents. Under the Act of Uniformity they were persecuted with great severity, so that multitudes were led to seek an asylum upon the continent. It was from among these exiles gathered in Holland that a little later came the passengers of the Mayflower and Speedwell, — the Pilgrim Fathers, who laid the foundations of civil and religious liberty in the New World.

Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots. — A large part of the history of Elizabeth's reign is intertwined with the story of her cousin, Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, the "Modern Helen," "the most beautiful, the weakest, the most attractive, and most attracted of women." She was the daughter of James V. of Scotland, and to her *in right of birth* — according to all Catholics who denied the validity of Henry's marriage with Anne of Boleyn — belonged the English crown next after Mary Tudor. While yet a child, she was married to the Dauphin of France, son of Henry II. By the death of his father in 1559, the Dauphin came to the French throne with the title of Francis II. The young couple now added to their title of "King and Queen of France and Scotland" that of "King and Queen of England," by which act they naturally awakened the jealousy and resentment of Elizabeth.

Elizabeth watched closely the movements of these royal claimants of her crown, who very soon had a French army in Scotland to aid the Catholic party there in crushing the Reformation, which was at this time making rapid progress in that country, under the powerful preaching of the famous John Knox. Elizabeth very well understood that her own cause was bound up with that of the Protestants of Scotland, and accordingly she aided them with an English fleet and army. The result was the triumph of the reformers and the establishment of the Presbyterian form of worship throughout Scotland. The French withdrew from the country, Mary and Francis promising to renounce all claim to the crown of England.

Matters were barely thus arranged, when the death of Francis left Mary a widow. Upon invitation of her Scottish subjects she now returned to her native land, where she was warmly welcomed by the Scottish lords. Mary was now in her nineteenth year. The subtle charm of her beauty seems to have bewitched all who came into her presence — save the more zealous of the reformers, who could never forget that their young sovereign was a Catholic. The exercise of the Roman service in her private chapel caused the people to exclaim against her as an idolater. The stern old Knox made her life miserable by denouncing to her face her idolatrous worship and her worldly amusements. He was a veritable Elijah, in whose eyes Mary appeared a modern Jezebel. He called her a "Moabite," and the "Harlot of Babylon," till she wept from sheer vexation. She dared not punish the impudent preacher, for she knew too well the strength of the Protestant feeling among her subjects.

Other things now conspired with Mary's hated religion to alienate entirely the love of her people. In 1565 she married her cousin, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, whom she soon gave occasion to become jealous of one of her secretaries, an Italian named Rizzio. This favorite was assassinated by Darnley, who with some friends entered the Queen's apartments and dispatched him before her eyes. Mary swore that the insult and crime should be avenged. Within a year from the time of the murder, a house in which Darnley was sleeping was blown to pieces with gunpowder. The Queen was suspected of having some knowledge of the affair. This suspicion was confirmed when, very soon after the event, Mary married the Earl of Bothwell, a man whom rumor had denounced as the actual murderer of Darnley. The indignation of the people now broke forth in open revolt. Bothwell fled the country, while Mary was shut up a prisoner in Lochleven Castle, and forced to abdicate the crown in favor of her infant son James.

Mary escaped from her prison, made an unsuccessful attempt to rally her subjects to her standard, and then sought an asylum in

England (1568). Here she threw herself upon the generosity of her cousin Elizabeth, and entreated aid in recovering her throne. But the part which she was generally believed to have had in the murder of her husband, her disturbing claims to the English throne, and the fact that she was a Catholic, all conspired to determine her fate. She was placed in confinement, and for nineteen years remained a prisoner. During all this time Mary was the centre of innumerable plots and conspiracies on the part of the Catholics, which aimed at setting her upon the English throne. The Pope aided these conspirators by a bull excommunicating Elizabeth and denying her right to the crown she wore, and releasing her subjects from their allegiance.

Events just now occurring on the continent tended to inflame the Protestants of England with a deadly hatred against Mary and all her Catholic friends and abettors. In 1572 the Huguenots of France were slaughtered on St. Bartholomew's Day. In 1584 the Prince of Orange fell at the hands of a hired assassin. That there were daggers waiting to take the life of Elizabeth was well known. It was evident that so long as Mary lived the Queen's life was in constant danger. In the feverish state of the public mind, it was natural that the air should be filled with rumors of plots of every kind. Finally, a carefully-laid conspiracy to assassinate Elizabeth, and place Mary on the throne, was unearthed. Mary was tried for complicity in the plot, was declared guilty, and, after some hesitation, feigned or otherwise, on the part of Elizabeth, was ordered to the block. She received her sentence with perfect composure. To her executioner she said, "I pardon you, after the example of my Redeemer." Two blows severed her head from the body, and the executioner, holding it up before the people, cried out, "So perish the enemies of our Queen" (1587).

Respecting no other act of Elizabeth have so many and diverse opinions been rendered as upon her treatment of her sister sovereign and cousin, the Queen of Scots. But while our sympathies may be enlisted in behalf of the unfortunate victim, our judgment must pronounce her execution necessary not only to the stability

of Elizabeth's government, but to the security of the Protestant cause.

The Invincible Armada. — The execution of Mary Stuart led immediately to the memorable attempt against England by the Spanish Armada. Before her death the Queen of Scots had bequeathed to Philip II. of Spain her claims to the English crown. To enforce these rights, to avenge the death of Mary, to punish Elizabeth for rendering aid to his rebellious subjects in the Netherlands, and to deal a fatal blow to the Reformation in Europe by crushing the Protestants of England, Philip resolved upon making a tremendous effort for the conquest of the heretical and troublesome island. Vast preparations were made for carrying out the project. Great fleets were gathered in the harbors of Spain, and a large army was assembled in the Netherlands to coöperate with the naval armament. The Pope, Sixtus V., blessed the enterprise, which was thus rendered a sort of crusade.

These threatening preparations produced a perfect fever of excitement in England; for we must bear in mind that the Spanish king was at this time the most powerful potentate in Europe, commanding the resources of a large part of two worlds. Never did Roman citizens rise more splendidly to avert some terrible peril threatening the Republic than the English people now arose as a single man to defend their island-realm against the revengeful and ambitious project of Spain. The imminent danger served to unite all classes, the gentry and the yeomanry, Protestants and Catholics. The latter might intrigue to set a Mary Stuart on the English throne, but they were not ready to betray their land into the hands of the hated Spaniards. "In that memorable year," says Hallam, in a passage where his usually coldly judicial phrases flame into eloquence, "when the dark cloud gathered around our coasts, when Europe stood by in fearful suspense to behold what should be the result of that great cast in the game of human politics, what the craft of Rome, the power of Philip, the genius of Farnese, could achieve against the island-queen with her Drakes and Cecils — in that agony of the Prot-

estant faith and English name, they stood the trial of their spirit without swerving from their allegiance. It was then that the Catholics in every county repaired to the standard of the lord-lieutenant, imploring that they might not be suspected of bartering the national independence for their religion itself."

Elizabeth was not content with preparations for mere defense. She sent her best admiral, Sir Francis Drake, to desolate the Spanish coast. That bold sailor succeeded in inflicting great damage upon Philip's fleet, and in burning enormous quantities of military stores intended for the expedition of invasion. In his own words, he "singed the beard of the Spanish king."

It was not until the year after Drake's enterprise that Philip's preparations were completed. His fleet, consisting of 130 ships, the largest naval armament that had ever appeared upon the Atlantic, and boastfully called the "Invincible Armada," then set sail from Lisbon for the Channel, intending to touch at Dunkirk, for the purpose of conveying across the strait the Spanish troops under the Duke of Parma, collected in the Netherlands.

July 19, 1588, the Armada was first descried by the watchmen on the English cliffs. It swept up the Channel in the form of a great crescent, seven miles in width from tip to tip of horn. The English ships, whose light structure and swift movements gave them a decided advantage over the great unwieldy Spanish galleons, almost immediately began to obstruct their advance, and for seven days incessantly harassed the Armada. One night, as the damaged fleet lay off the harbor of Calais, the English sent fire-ships among the vessels, whereby a number were destroyed, and a panic created among the others. A determined attack the next day by Drake, Howard, and Lord Henry Seymour inflicted a still severer loss upon the fleet. The Spaniards, thinking now of nothing save escape, spread their sails in flight, proposing to get away by sailing northward around the British Isles. But the storms of the northern seas dashed many of the remaining ships to pieces on the Scottish or Irish shores. Barely one third of the ships of the Armada ever re-entered the harbors whence they

sailed. When intelligence of the woful disaster was carried to Philip, he simply said, "God's will be done; I sent my fleet to fight with the English, not with the elements."

The destruction of the Invincible Armada was not only a terrible blow to Spanish pride, but an equally heavy blow to Spanish supremacy among the states of Europe. From this time on, Spain's prestige and power rapidly declined.

As to England, she had been delivered from a great peril; and as to the cause of Protestantism, it was now safe.

Maritime and Colonial Enterprises. — The crippling of the naval power of Spain left England mistress of the seas. The little island-realm now entered upon the most splendid period of her history. The old Norse blood of her people, stirred by recent events, seemed to burn with a feverish impatience for maritime adventure and glory. Many a story of the daring exploits of English sea-rovers during the reign of Elizabeth seems like a repetition of some tale of the old Vikings.

Among all these sea-rovers, half explorer, half pirate, Sir Francis Drake (1545–1595) was pre-eminent. Before the Armada days he had sailed around the globe (1577–1579), and for the achievement had been knighted by Queen Elizabeth.

The whole life of this sixteenth century Viking was spent in fighting the fleets of his sovereign's enemy, Philip II., in capturing Spanish treasure-vessels on the high sea, and in pillaging the warehouses and settlements on every Spanish shore in the Old World and in the New. The hostile relations of England and Spain during almost the whole of Elizabeth's reign enabled the bold buccaneer to commit all his robberies and atrocities as a privateersman of the Queen.

One of the favorite enterprises of the English navigators of this period was the search for a northwest passage to the East Indies. While hunting for this amidst the ice-floes of the Arctic seas, Frobisher and Davis discovered the straits which bear their respective names.

Especially deserving of mention among the enterprises of these

stirring and romantic times are the undertakings and adventures of Sir Walter Raleigh (1552–1618). Several expeditions were sent out by him for the purpose of making explorations, and forming settlements in the New World. One of these, which explored the central coasts of North America, returned with such glowing accounts of the beauty and richness of the lands visited, that, in honor of the Virgin Queen, it was named "Virginia."

Raleigh attempted to establish a colony in the new land, but the settlement was unsuccessful. The colonists, however, when they returned home, carried back with them the tobacco-plant, then unknown in England. It was about this time also that the potato, a native product of the New World, was introduced into Europe.

The Queen's Death. — The closing days of Elizabeth's reign were, to her personally, dark and gloomy. She seemed to be burdened with a secret grief,[1] as well as by the growing infirmities of age. She fell at last into a state of profound melancholy. For ten days together she refused food of any kind. Being asked who her successor should be, she is said to have answered curtly, "No rascal, but a King," by which she meant her cousin, James VI. of Scotland. She died March 24, 1603, in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign. Thus ended the life of the Virgin Queen, "a life so great, so strange and lonely in its greatness." With her ended the Tudor line of English sovereigns.

Literature of the Elizabethan Era.

Influences Favorable to Literature. — The years covered by the reign of Elizabeth constitute the most momentous period in history. It was the age when Europe was most deeply stirred by the Reformation. It was, too, a period of marvelous physical and intellectual expansion and growth. The discoveries of

[1] In 1601 she sent to the block her chief favorite, the Earl of Essex, who had been found guilty of treason. She wished to spare him, and probably would have done so, had a token which he sent her from his prison reached her. Read the story as told in all the histories of England.

Columbus and Copernicus had created, as Froude affirms, "not in any metaphor, but in plain and literal speech, a new heaven and a new earth." The New Learning had, at the same time, discovered the old world, — had revealed an unsuspected treasure in the philosophies and literatures of the past.

Thus everything — the reformation of religion and the enfranchisement of thought, the wonders of the suddenly expanded heavens, the mystery of new lands and the knowledge of strange races of men, the restoration of the lost arts, and the opening of the long-closed libraries of the ancients — conspired to quicken men's intellect and stimulate their imagination. They felt again that same novelty and freshness of life and nature which so excited the Greek fancy in the world's childhood.

No people of Europe felt more deeply the stir and movement of the times, nor helped more to create this same stir and movement, than the English nation. There seemed to be nothing too great or arduous for them to undertake. They made good their resistance to the Roman See; they humbled the pride of the strongest monarch in Christendom; they sailed round the globe, and penetrated all its seas.

An age of such activity and achievement almost of necessity gives birth to a strong and vigorous literature. And thus is explained, in part at least, how the English people during this period should have developed a literature of such originality and richness and strength as to make it the prized inheritance of all the world. "The great writers who shine in the literary splendor of the Elizabethan age," Shaw asserts, "were the natural product of the newly awakened, thoughtful English nation of that day." And Fisher, emphasizing the effects of the Reformation, writes as follows: "That Protestantism was a life-giving element in the atmosphere in which the eminent authors of that [the age of Elizabeth] and of the following ages drew their inspiration, admits of no reasonable doubt. We have only to imagine that the reign of Mary and her religious system had continued through the sixteenth century, and we shall appreciate the indispensable part which Protestantism took in the creation of that great literary epoch."

The Writers. — To make special mention of all the great writers who adorned the Elizabethan era would carry us quite beyond the limits of our book. Having said something of the influence under which they wrote, we will simply add that this age was the age of Shakespeare and Spenser and Bacon.[1]

[1] William Shakespeare (1564–1616); Edmund Spenser (1552?–1599); Francis Bacon (1561–1626). Shakespeare and Bacon, it will be noticed, outlived Elizabeth.

Two other names hold a less prominent place, — that of Sir Philip Sidney (1554–1586), the courtly knight, who wrote the *Arcadia*, a sort of pastoral romance, and *A Defence of Poesy*, a work intended to counteract the Puritanical spirit then rising; and that of Richard Hooker (1553–1600), who, in his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, by relying in his argument upon reason rather than upon authority, did much to promote the cause of religious toleration. For once establish the principle that a man's belief should be determined by his own reason, and the conclusion is unavoidable that it is unreasonable to punish him for the opinions to which he may thus be led. The tendency of the book, though such was not its special aim, was to help quench the fires of persecution. "Seventeen years after the publication of the great work of Hooker, two men were publicly burned by the English bishops, for holding heretical opinions. But this was the last gasp of expiring bigotry; and since that memorable day [in 1611] the soil of England has never been stained by the blood of a man who has suffered for his religious creed." — BUCKLE, *History of Civilization in England*, Vol. I. p. 249.

CHAPTER IV.

THE REVOLT OF THE NETHERLANDS: RISE OF THE DUTCH REPUBLIC (1572–1609).

The Country. — The term Netherlands (low-lands) was formerly applied to all that low, marshy district in the northwest of Europe, sunk much of it below the level of the sea, now occupied by the kingdoms of Holland and Belgium. The entire strip of land is simply the delta accumulations of the Rhine and other rivers emptying into the North Sea. Originally it was often overflowed by its streams and inundated by the ocean.

But this unpromising morass, protected at last by heavy dykes seaward against the invasions of the ocean, and by great embankments inland against the overflow of its streams,[1] was destined to become the site of the richest and most potent cities of Europe, and the seat of one of the foremost commonwealths of modern times.

The People: Celt and German. — Much light is thrown upon the history of the Netherlands, by our keeping in mind the difference in race between the original population of the northern and that of the southern provinces of the country.[2]

When the Romans first came in contact with the inhabitants of this region, the southern portion of the land was held by Celtic tribes, known as the Belgæ, while the northern part was the home

[1] "Though upwards of fifteen hundred millions of dollars have been spent in constructing these gigantic bulwarks, it requires more than two millions yearly to maintain them." — YOUNG'S *History of the Netherlands*, p. 12.

[2] Motley's *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, Vol. I. pp. 4–11.

of German clans, chief among which were the Frisians and Batavians. These races, kept apart by difference in language and temperament, unfortunately were never fused into a single people; and when, finally, in the sixteenth century, there came a crisis in the life of the European nations, and they were each called upon to choose between the Old Church and the New, between unworthy subjection and freedom, the northern and southern Netherlanders made different choices, and went divergent ways. In the contrasted histories of the predominantly Gallic South and the predominantly German North, — the former represented to-day by the Catholic kingdom of Belgium and the latter by the Protestant kingdom of Holland, — we shall learn how potent are race influences in shaping the destinies of a people.

The Netherlands under the Dukes of Burgundy. — During a large part of the Middle Ages the Netherlands were divided into a number of petty feudal principalities, chief among which were Brabant, Flanders, Holland, and Zealand. The different heads of these little sovereignties were the nominal vassals either of the German Emperors or the kings of France.

Late in the fourteenth century Flanders came into the possession of the ducal house of Burgundy, and during the course of the following century, by marriage, bequest, purchase, and usurpation, all the other provinces were brought under the control of this powerful family. The famous Charles the Bold (1467–1477), the last duke of Burgundy, whose ambition it was to convert the mixed assemblage of loosely-knit provinces over which he ruled into a great kingdom that should embrace all the lands lying between Switzerland and the North Sea, was slain in battle with the Confederates, or Swiss, and his possessions were scattered. The Netherlands fell to his daughter Mary, whose marriage with Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, transferred them to the House of Hapsburg, and brought them finally into the possession of the grandson of Mary, the Emperor Charles V.

State of the Country at the Opening of the Modern Age. — No country in Europe made greater progress in civilization

during the mediæval era than the Netherlands. At the opening of the sixteenth century they contained a crowded and busy population of 3,000,000 souls. The ancient marshes had been transformed into carefully kept gardens and orchards. The walled cities numbered between two and three hundred, while thriving towns and villages were counted by the thousand. Innumerable villas of the lords and merchant princes lent to the entire country the appearance of the environs of a great metropolis. A belt of strong fortresses formed a protecting girdle about the land.

The great cities that dotted the country — such as Ghent, Dort, Bruges, Mechlin, Haarlem, Delft, Leyden, Amsterdam, Brussels, Antwerp, and Rotterdam — depended chiefly for their wealth and power upon their manufactures and commerce, the carrying trade of Northern Europe being largely in the hands of the bold and skilful Netherland sailors. It is said that between two and three hundred vessels entered the port of Antwerp daily. Bruges, of which we have had occasion to speak before as being the half-way station of the trade between the Italian and Hanse cities, was, as early as the thirteenth century, one of the leading cities in Europe.

While the Netherland cities were growing in wealth, they were of course growing in influence and power, and by the sword or with gold won from their feudal lords, from time to time, charters conferring valuable rights and privileges, which instruments were carefully preserved as the palladia of their municipal liberties. The chief cities of the Low Countries, when these lands became the possession of Charles V., were in reality city-republics. They regulated all their own local affairs, chose their own magistrates, and sent their representatives to the general assembly of the provinces. We shall in the following pages see how the Spanish sovereigns respected the rights and privileges of these cities over which destiny had called them to rule.

The Low Countries under Charles V. (1515–1555). — The Netherlands, it will be recalled, were part of those possessions over which Charles V. ruled by hereditary right. The character of his government in these provinces is well illustrated by his

treatment of Ghent. This was one of the first cities of the Low Countries: its walls were nine miles in circuit; its population approached a quarter of a million.

The city incurred the displeasure of Charles in the following way: The Emperor having demanded a large subsidy from the Netherlands, the citizens of Ghent dared to refuse payment of their allotted portion of it, claiming that by their charter they could be taxed only by their own vote. Charles resolved to make an example of the rebellious city. By the courtesy of Francis I. he was enabled to reach the Netherlands by a quick journey from Spain directly through France; and at the head of a large army he entered without resistance the gates of the capital. Nineteen of the leaders of the movement were beheaded; all the public buildings and property belonging to the city as a corporation were confiscated; all its charters and privileges were annulled; the tax resisted was to be paid immediately, and with it an enormous fine; the right of self-government was taken from the city, and all its magistrates were henceforth to be appointed by the Spanish sovereign; and then the crowning indignity was reached when the Imperial decree demanded that a certain number of the chief men of the city should appear before Charles "with halters about their necks," and upon their knees make humble confession of their treason and guilt.

The burghers were obliged to undergo this last humiliation, and to receive Charles's forgiveness for having presumed to maintain their time-honored liberties. Thus were the cities of the Netherlands taught how far it would be safe for them to go in exercising their municipal independence. The spirit of liberty was overawed. Despotism had succeeded in putting halters about the necks of others than the chief burghers of Ghent. But the Netherlanders were not the men to wear halters very long or very patiently.

Charles was quite as much opposed to his Flemish subjects claiming privileges in religious matters as in civil affairs. He saw that the principles of the Reformation were directly opposed to

his schemes of despotic government; and, though he could not control the movement in Germany, he resolved to root out the heresy from his hereditary possessions of the Netherlands. By an Imperial edict he condemned to death all persons presuming to read the Scriptures, or even to discuss religious topics. The Inquisition was introduced, and thousands perished at the stake and upon the scaffold, or were strangled, or buried alive.[1] But when Charles retired to the monastery at Yuste, the reformed doctrines were, notwithstanding all his efforts, far more widely spread and deeply rooted in the Netherlands than when he entered upon their extirpation by fire and sword.

Accession of Philip II. — In 1555, in the presence of an august and princely assembly at Brussels, and amidst the most imposing and dramatic ceremonies, Charles V. abdicated the crown whose weight he could no longer bear, and placed the same upon the head of his son Philip. Unfortunately that son, as we have already learned, was a despot by nature. He was a cold, scheming man, an "ideal bigot and fanatic."

Philip remained in the Netherlands after his coronation four years, employing much of his time in devising means to root out the heresy of Protestantism. In 1559 he set sail for Spain, never to return. His arrival in the peninsula was celebrated by an *auto-da-fé* at Valladolid, festivities consisting in the burning of thirteen persons whom the officers of the Inquisition had condemned as heretics. As one of the victims — a young man of noble birth — was passing to the stake, he demanded of the king, "How can you thus look on and permit me to be burned?" to which Philip replied, "I would carry the wood to burn my own son, were he as wicked as you."

"Long Live the Beggars." — Upon his departure from the Netherlands Philip entrusted their government to his half-sister Margaret, Duchess of Parma, as Regent.

[1] The number of victims of Charles's persecution has been placed as high as 100,000; but this is doubtless an exaggeration. Consult Fisher, *History of the Reformation*, p. 289.

Under the administration of Margaret (1559–1567) the persecution of the Protestants went on with renewed bitterness. Philip declared that "he would rather lose a hundred thousand lives, were they all his own, than allow the smallest deviation from the standards of the Roman Catholic Church." Thousands fled the country, many of the fugitives finding a home in England. At last the nobles leagued together for the purpose of resisting the Inquisition. They demanded of the Regent a redress of grievances. When the petition was presented to the Duchess, she displayed great agitation, whereupon one of her councilors exclaimed, "Madam, are you afraid of a pack of beggars?"

The expression was carried to the nobles, who were assembled at a banquet. Immediately one of their number, the impetuous Count Brederode, suspended a beggar's wallet from his neck, and filling a wooden bowl with wine, proposed the toast, "Long live the Beggars." The name was tumultuously adopted, and became the party designation of the patriot Netherlanders during their long struggle with the Spanish power.

The Iconoclasts (1566). — Affairs now rapidly verged towards violence and open revolt. The only reply of the government to the petition of the nobles was a decree termed the *Moderation*, which substituted hanging for burning in the case of condemned heretics. The Netherlanders very properly rechristened the farcical edict the "Murderation."

The pent-up indignation of the people at length burst forth in an uncontrollable fury. They gathered in great mobs, and arming themselves with whatever implements they could first seize, proceeded to demolish every image they could find in the churches throughout the country. The rage of the insurgents was turned in this direction, because in their eyes these churches represented the hated Inquisition under which they were suffering. Scarcely a church in all the Netherlands escaped. The images with which chapel and cathedral had become crowded were broken to pieces on the floor of the sacred edifices, or were dragged through the streets amidst the execrations of the multitude. The monasteries,

too, were sacked, their libraries burned, and the inmates driven from their cloisters.

The number of churches stripped and despoiled by this iconoclastic outbreak cannot be stated. It was certainly very large. In the province of Flanders alone there were four hundred sacred buildings visited by the mob, and sacked. The tempest destroyed innumerable art treasures, which have been as sincerely mourned by the lovers of the beautiful as the burned rolls of the Alexandrian Library have been lamented by the lovers of learning.

These image-breaking riots drove Margaret wild with terror, and threw Philip into a perfect transport of rage. He tore his beard, and exclaimed, "It shall cost them dear! I swear it by the soul of my father!"

For a moment, however, the reformers seemed to have secured their purpose. Under the stress of her fears Margaret signed an agreement with the nobles, abolishing the Inquisition, and according liberty of worship to all throughout the Netherlands. But the triumph of the people was short. The plotter in the Escurial was preparing to make good the vow which he had sworn by the soul of his father.

The Duke of Alva and the Blood Council. — The year following the outbreak of the Iconoclasts, Philip sent to the Netherlands a veteran Spanish army, headed by the Duke of Alva, a man after Philip's own heart, cruel, tyrannical, and unscrupulous. He was one of the ablest generals of the age; and the intelligence of his coming threw the provinces into a state of the greatest agitation and alarm. Those who could do so hastened to get out of the country. William the Silent, Prince of Orange, fled to Germany, where he began to gather an army of volunteers for the struggle which he now saw to be inevitable. Egmont and Horn, noblemen of high rank and great distinction, were seized, cast into prison, and afterwards beheaded (1568). The Duchess was relieved of the government, which was committed to the firmer hands of Alva, who to aid him in the management of affairs organized a most iniquitous tribunal, known in history as the "Council of Blood."

The Inquisition was now re-established, and a perfect reign of terror began. A decree was issued by the inquisitors, and confirmed by Philip, which condemned to death almost every person — man, woman, and child — in the Netherlands. The number of Alva's victims might almost persuade us that he purposed to execute literally the insane edict.

William of Orange. — The eyes of all Netherlanders were now turned to the Prince of Orange as their only deliverer. The Prince, on his part, believed himself called of Heaven to the work of rescuing his country from Spanish tyranny. Towards the close of the year 1568, he marched from Germany against Alva, at the head of an army of 30,000 men, which he had raised and equipped principally at his own expense.

The war was now fully joined. Never was there a more desperate struggle. Never did any people make a more heroic defense of their religious and civil liberties than did the Netherlanders. The struggle lasted for more than a generation, — for over forty years. The Spanish armies were commanded successively by the most experienced and distinguished generals of Europe, — the Duke of Alva, Don John of Austria (the conqueror of the Moors and the hero of the great naval fight of Lepanto), and the Duke of Parma; but the Prince of Orange coped ably with them all, and in the masterly service which he rendered his country, thus terribly assaulted, earned the title of "the Founder of Dutch Liberties."

Isolation of the Provinces. — The Netherlanders sustained the unequal contest almost single-handed; for, though they found much sympathy among the Protestants of Germany, France, and England, they never received material assistance from any of these countries, excepting England, and it was not until late in the struggle that aid came from this source. Elizabeth did, indeed, at first furnish the patriots with secret aid, and opened the ports of England to the "Beggars of the Sea"; but after a time the fear of involving herself in a war with Philip led her to withhold for a long period all contributions and favors. As regards the German states,

they were too much divided among themselves to render efficient aid; and just at the moment when the growing Protestant sentiment in France encouraged the Netherlanders to look for help from the Huguenot party there, the awful massacre of St. Bartholomew extinguished forever all hope of succor from that quarter.

So the little revolted provinces were left to carry on unaided, as best they might, a contest with the most powerful monarch of Christendom.

The details of this memorable struggle we must, of course, leave unnoticed. Of the sack of Haarlem and the relief of Leyden we will, however, speak very briefly, in order to illustrate the ferocity and stubbornness with which the war was waged and maintained.

The Siege and Sack of Haarlem (1572–1573). — Haarlem was one of the largest cities of the Netherlands. It stood upon a narrow neck of land, only ten miles from Amsterdam. The siege of this place by the Spaniards was one of the most memorable incidents of the war. Among its defenders was a body of three hundred women, who fought on the walls and before the gates of the city with a fierceness which made real the tales of the Amazons. Sortie and assault followed each other in uninterrupted succession during all the winter of 1572–73. Prisoners were slaughtered on both sides simply to give point to a jest.[1]

Finally, after the winter and spring had been consumed in the operations of the siege, the city was forced to surrender. Notwithstanding that the citizens had been promised their lives, a horrible massacre began immediately upon the entrance of the

[1] A relief party being scattered and its leader taken prisoner, "the Spaniards cut off his head and threw it over the walls into the city, with this inscription: 'This is the head of Captain de Koning, who is on his way with re-inforcements for the good city of Haarlem.' The citizens retorted with a practical jest, which was still more barbarous. They cut off the heads of eleven prisoners, and put them in a barrel, which they threw into the Spanish camp. A label upon the barrel contained these words: 'Deliver these ten heads to Duke Alva in payment of his tenpenny tax, with one additional head for interest.'" — MOTLEY'S *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, Vol. II. p. 435.

Spanish soldiers within the walls of the place, which lasted until more than two thousand of the inhabitants had been murdered.

When intelligence of the fall of Haarlem and the butchery of its citizens was carried to Philip, it so happened that he was suffering from a dangerous sickness; but the news, it is said, acted like a tonic, and the monarch began at once to amend.

The disaster was a heavy blow to the hopes of the Netherlanders; the undaunted spirit of the Prince of Orange alone kept them from sinking into utter despondency.

The Siege and Relief of Leyden (1573–1574).—Alva had succeeded in reducing Haarlem, but the stubborn resistance which he there met had convinced him that the Netherlanders could not be subdued by force; and this conviction, together with the consciousness that he was abhorred by the people whom he pretended to rule, led him to ask Philip to relieve him of the government of the provinces. Requesens, a man just the opposite in disposition of Alva, was appointed in his place (1573). The war was still to be carried on, but more moderate and conciliatory measures were to be adopted.

The most important event that characterized the short administration of Requesens was the siege of Leyden. The tale of the heroic defense and relief of this place, as told by the historian Motley, is one of the classics of historical narrations.

The beautiful city of Leyden was situated in the midst of a broad and level expanse of orchards and gardens. The siege of the place was begun by Alva, and, after a short interruption, continued by Requesens.

The Prince of Orange was untiring in his efforts to throw relief into the beleaguered city, and by repeated messages encouraged the inhabitants to a brave resistance. He entreated them not to forget that "they were not to contend for themselves alone; but that the fate of their countrymen and of unborn generations would, in all human probability, depend on the issue about to be tried. Eternal glory would be their portion if they manifested a courage worthy of their race, and of the sacred cause of religion and liberty."

In the month of June provisions began to fail the besieged. The Prince, despairing of getting relief to the city in any other way, resolved to cut the dykes, and let the sea in upon the land. The gardens and villages of the open country would of course be ruined; but the floods would force the Spaniards to raise the siege, or at least would enable relief-ships to approach the starving city.

The resolve was straightway executed. The dykes were cut, and the waters of the ocean rushed over the land. A relief-fleet, manned by veteran sailors, fierce "Beggars of the Sea," now advanced without difficulty to within five miles of Leyden, where it was stopped by a vast dyke, the outermost of a series of ramparts drawn about the city in concentric circles, to protect it in case the ocean should break through the great sea-wall.

The rescuing party cleared one after another of these dykes of its Spanish defenders, then leveled the rampart, and, as the waters rushed through the breach, guided their ships through the gap, and pushed them on over the submerged fields. As they advanced, the waters finally became too shallow to float the vessels of the fleet, and it seemed as though all hope of carrying the ocean to the city must be abandoned. But the winds were propitious. They rose and blew strongly from the north, and the waves were driven heavily upon the shore and on through the broken dykes. But scarcely were the vessels lifted up by the rising tide, before the winds suddenly changed, and again the fleet was stranded.

Within the city the starving inhabitants were alternating between hope and fear. Food had entirely failed. The streets were filled with the dead and dying. A crowd of despairing wretches surrounded the burgomaster, and entreated him to secure them relief by surrendering to the Spaniards. The reply of the inflexible old magistrate is memorable. "Here is my sword," said he; "plunge it into my breast, and divide my flesh among you; but expect no surrender so long as I remain alive." These stout words reanimated the discouraged people, and they vowed to defend their city and their liberties as long as life should last.

Once more the winds came to the rescue of the famishing city.

The waters rose and lifted the stranded ships. The remaining dykes were cut, the Spaniards were forced to raise the siege, and the fleet at last entered the canals of the city, with bread for the eager and starving inhabitants.

Mindful of the source whence deliverance had come, the entire remaining population of the place now proceeded to the Cathedral, and there, along with their rescuers, offered up fervent thanksgiving to Him who commands the winds and the waves.

The citizens of Leyden, through their heroic defence of their city, had preserved not only their own freedom, but the liberties of their country; and that country was now not slow to acknowledge its debt of gratitude. Besides conferring certain commercial privileges on the city, the states of Holland and Zealand made provision for the founding and endowment of a university within its limits. Thus came into being the University of Leyden, one of the most distinguished institutions of learning in Europe at the present day.

The Pacification of Ghent (1576). — Having now gained some idea of the nature of the struggle, we must hurry on to the issue of the matter. In so doing we shall pass unnoticed many sieges and battles, negotiations and treaties.

Requesens died in 1576. His death was marked by a revolt of the Spanish soldiers, on account of their not receiving their pay, the costly war having drained Philip's treasury. The mutinous army marched through the land, pillaging city after city, and paying themselves with the spoils. The beautiful city of Antwerp was ruined. The horrible massacre of its inhabitants, and the fiendish atrocities committed by the frenzied soldiers, caused the awful outbreak to be called the "Spanish Fury." In this city alone "many more were massacred than in the St. Bartholomew at Paris. Almost as many living human beings were dashed out of existence now as there had been statues destroyed in the memorable image-breaking of Antwerp ten years before, an event which sent such a thrill of horror through the heart of Catholic Christendom." — MOTLEY.

The terrible state of affairs led to an alliance between Holland and Zealand and the other fifteen provinces of the Netherlands, known in history as the Pacification of Ghent (1576). The resistance to the Spanish crown had thus far been carried on without concerted action among the several states, the Prince of Orange having hitherto found it impossible to bring the different provinces to agree to any plan of general defense. But the awful experiences of the Spanish Fury taught the necessity of union, and led all the seventeen provinces solemnly to agree to unite in driving the Spaniards from the Netherlands, and in securing full liberty for all in matters of faith and worship. William of Orange, with the title of Stadtholder, was placed at the head of the union. It was mainly the strong Catholic sentiment in the Southern provinces that had prevented such a union and pacification long before.

The Union of Utrecht (1579).—Upon the death of Requesens, Don John of Austria, the hero-victor of Lepanto, was appointed by Philip to the government of the revolted provinces. Before he could reach the Netherlands, however, William of Orange had succeeded in effecting the union of the provinces, and so unbroken now was the front which they presented in resistance to the Spaniards, that John was obliged to enter the country in disguise. But by treachery and dissimulation, the use of which means had been enjoined upon him by Philip, who told him to "promise everything but perform nothing," the Regent succeeded in getting possession of several fortresses and towns, and thus securing a base for operation.* He had scarcely entered upon his plan for subjugating the rebellious provinces, when, after a great victory gained over the revolutionary forces at Gemblour, he was carried off by a sudden illness (1578). In the death of John of Austria, Philip lost a general of great reputation and unbounded popularity; but his place was immediately filled by another commander of even more distinguished ability, Prince Alexander of Parma (1578–1592).

The war now went on with increased vigor, fortune, with many

vacillations, inclining to the side of the Spaniards. Disaffection arose among the Netherlanders, the outcome of which was the separation of the Northern and Southern provinces. The Prince of Orange, seeing the impossibility of uniting all the states, devoted his efforts to effecting a confederation of the Northern ones. His endeavors were fortunately crowned with success, and the seven Protestant states of the north,[1] the chief of which were Holland and Zealand, by the treaty of Utrecht (1579), were united in a permanent confederation, known as the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands. In this league was laid the foundation of the Dutch Republic.

Fortunate would it have been for the Netherlands, could all of the states at this time have been brought to act in concert. Under the leadership of the Prince of Orange, the seventeen provinces might have been consolidated into a powerful nation, that might now be reckoned among the great powers of Europe. However, it was destined to be otherwise. The ten Catholic provinces of the South, although they continued their contest with Philip a little longer, ultimately submitted to Spanish tyranny, and left to their sister states of the North the labor and honor of carrying on the heroic struggle in behalf of civil and religious freedom. A portion of these recreant provinces were absorbed by France, while the remainder, after varied fortunes amidst the revolutions and dynastic changes of the European states, finally became the present kingdom of Belgium. With their history we shall have no further concern at present, but turn now to follow the fortunes of the rising republic of the North.

The "Ban" and the "Apology." — William of Orange was, of course, the animating spirit of the confederacy formed by the treaty of Utrecht. In the eyes of Philip and his viceroys he appeared the sole obstacle in the way of the pacification of the provinces and their return to civil and ecclesiastical obedience. In vain had Philip sent against him the ablest and most distin-

[1] Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Gelderland, Gröningen, Friesland, and Overyssel.

guished commanders of the age; in vain had he endeavored to detach him from the cause of his country by magnificent bribes of titles, offices, and fortune: "Not for lands nor for life, for wife nor for children," was the Prince's reply to these offers, "would I mix in my cup a single drop of the poison of treason."

Philip now resolved to employ assassination for the removal of the invincible general and the incorruptible patriot. He published a ban against the Prince, declaring him an outlaw, and offering to any one who should kill him the pardon of all his sins, a title of nobility, and 25,000 gold crowns.

The Prince responded to the infamous edict in a remarkable paper, entitled "The Apology of the Prince of Orange," — the most terrible arraignment of tyranny that was ever penned. He denied to Philip the title of King of the Netherlands, declaring that, by the ancient constitution of the provinces, he had no right to exercise any authority over them, save that of Duke or Count, and even this right he declared he had utterly forfeited by his violation of the most sacred obligations, and by the unendurable oppression and wholesale murder of his subjects; he laid bare all the hideous deformity of Philip's private and public life; he "scorned and ridiculed the King's attempt to frighten him with a ban, inquiring if he supposed the rebel ignorant of the various bargains which had frequently been made before with cut-throats and poisoners to take away his life"; and then he closed with an appeal to his countrymen, resigning himself to death or exile, if thereby he might secure their deliverance from the tyranny that oppressed them. "If you, my masters," said he, "judge that my absence or my death can serve you, behold me ready to obey. Command me — send me to the ends of the earth — I will obey."[1]

The "Apology" was scattered throughout Europe, and everywhere produced a profound impression. The friends of the Prince, while admiring his boldness, were filled with alarm for his safety. Their apprehensions, as the issue shows, were not unfounded.

[1] Motley's *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, Vol. III. p. 496.

Assassination of the Prince of Orange. — "The Ban soon bore fruit." Upon the 10th day of July, 1584, after five previous unsuccessful attempts had been made upon his life, the Prince of Orange was fatally shot by an assassin named Balthasar Gérard. The heirs of the murderer received the reward which had been offered in the Ban, being enriched with the estates of the Prince, and honored by elevation to the ranks of the Spanish nobility.

The character of William the Silent is one of the most admirable portrayed in all history.[1] His steadfast and unselfish devotion to the cause of his country deservedly won for him the love of all classes. His people fondly called him "Father William." "As long as he lived, he was the guiding star of a whole brave nation; and when he died, the little children cried in the streets."

Prince Maurice: Sir Philip Sidney. — Severe as was the blow sustained by the Dutch patriots in the death of the Prince of Orange, they did not lose heart, but continued the struggle with the most admirable courage and steadfastness. Prince Maurice, a mere youth of seventeen years, the second son of William, was chosen Stadtholder in his place, and he proved himself a worthy son of the great chief and patriot.

The war now proceeded with unabated fury. The Southern provinces were, for the most part, in the hands of the Spaniards, while the revolutionists held control of the Northern states; some of the cities and fortresses of these latter provinces, however, were in the possession of the Spaniards.

Substantial aid from the English now came to the struggling Hollanders. Queen Elizabeth, alarmed by the murder of the Prince of Orange, — for she well knew that hired agents of the king of Spain watched likewise for her life, — openly espoused

[1] He was not, however, without faults. The most serious of these was his habit of dissimulation. Some charge to this the separation of the Northern and Southern provinces after the Pacification of Ghent. The Southern provinces would not trust the "double-dealer." For references to various writers on this point, consult Young's *History of the Netherlands*, p. 320.

the cause of the Dutch. Among the English knights who led the British forces sent into the Netherlands was the gallant Sir Philip Sidney, the "Flower of chivalry." At the siege of Zutphen (1586), through the generous loan of a portion of his armor to a companion officer, he exposed himself to a mortal wound. A little incident that occurred as he rode from the field, suffering from his terrible hurt, is always told as a memorial of the gentle knight. A cup of water having been brought him, he was about to lift it to his lips, when his hand was arrested by the longing glance of a wounded soldier who chanced at that moment to be carried past. "Give it to him," said the fainting knight; "his necessity is greater than mine."

Progress of the War: Treaty of 1609. — The circle of war grew more and more extended. France as well as England became involved, both fighting against Philip, who was now laying claims to the crowns of both these countries. The struggle was maintained on land and on sea, in the Old World and in the New. The English fleet, under the noted Sir Francis Drake, ravaged the Spanish settlements in Florida and the West Indies, and intercepted the treasure-ships of Philip returning from the mines of Mexico and Peru; the Dutch fleet wrested from Spain many of her possessions in the East Indies and among the islands of the South Pacific; while the combined naval armaments of the two countries destroyed a splendid Spanish fleet in the bay of Cadiz, and captured and sacked that important city.

But it would be a story without end, to tell of the battles on land lost and won, of the naval combats between the hostile fleets fought on almost every sea beneath the skies. From the death of the Prince of Orange in 1584 to the truce of 1609, almost all Christendom was shaken with the tumult of war. Philip II. died in 1598, but the contest was carried on by his successor, Philip III.

Europe finally grew weary of the seemingly interminable struggle, and the Spanish commanders becoming convinced that it was impossible to reduce the Dutch rebels to obedience by force of

arms, negotiations were entered into, and by the celebrated treaty of 1609, comparative peace was secured to Christendom.

The treaty of 1609 was in reality an acknowledgment by Spain of the independence of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, although the Spanish king was so unwilling to admit the fact of his being unable to reduce the rebel states to submission, that the treaty was termed simply "a truce for twelve years." Spain did not formally acknowledge their independence until forty years afterwards, in the Peace of Westphalia, at the end of the Thirty Years' War (1648).

Thus ended, after a continuance of about forty-one years, one of the most memorable contests of which history has to tell, one of the most heroic struggles that men ever maintained against ecclesiastical and civil despotism.

Development of the Provinces during the War. — One of the most remarkable features of the war for Dutch independence was the vast expansion of the trade and commerce of the revolted provinces, and their astonishing growth in population, wealth, and resources, while carrying on the bitter and protracted struggle. The contrast in this respect between the United Provinces of the North and the "obedient provinces," as they were called, of the South, is a most striking and instructive commentary on the advantages of freedom over despotism. The Southern provinces at the end of the war presented a scene of almost utter ruin: grass grew in the streets of the once crowded commercial cities, the most enterprising of the traders and artizans having sought homes in the free cities of the North, or migrated to other countries. The "rebel provinces," on the other hand, had increased so rapidly in population, notwithstanding the waste of war, that at the end of the struggle the number of inhabitants crowded on that little patch of sea-bottom and morass constituting the Dutch Republic, was equal to the entire population of England; that is to say, to three or four millions.

But the home-land was only a small part of the dominions of the commonwealth. Through the enterprise and audacity of its bold

sailors, it had made extensive acquisitions in the East Indies and other parts of the world, largely at the expense of the Spanish and Portuguese colonial possessions.

And in a larger sense than was ever true before this period, the Dutch cities had become the workshops and warehouses of the world. Products for distribution and manufacture from every land beneath the sun — from all parts of Europe, from Africa, Asia, and the Americas — were heaped upon their wharves. Their commerce had so expanded that more than one hundred thousand of their citizens found a home upon the sea. And these Dutch sailors were by far the boldest and the most skilful that navigated the seas. A Netherland ship would sail to the Indies and back while a Spanish vessel was making the voyage one way. Nearly one thousand ships were engaged in the sole industry of the herring fishery, which, we are assured, was made to yield more gold to the little Republic than all the mines of the New World poured into the coffers of the king of Spain.

It was during this period that the noted Dutch East India and West India companies were formed. These were associations of merchants chartered by the States-General, and given a monopoly of trade in the East and the West respectively, with the right to levy and maintain armies in order to secure and advance their trade. The East India Company, like the celebrated English association of the same name, was destined to build up in the East, dominions truly imperial in extent and power.

No idlers or beggars were allowed a place in the industrious little Commonwealth. Monasteries, convents, and abbeys were converted into charitable institutions for the unfortunate, for invalid soldiers, and for the children of those that fell in their country's service.

The intellectual progress of the people kept pace with their material advance. Throughout the United Provinces it was rare to meet a person who could not both read and write. Colleges and universities were established in all the leading cities, while common schools were set up everywhere in town and country.

In the natural and mechanical sciences, particularly in the departments of hydrostatics and hydraulics, — sciences which were urged upon the attention of the Netherlanders by the necessities of their situation, just as Geometry was forced upon that of the ancient Egyptians, — the United Provinces, during the latter part of the sixteenth and the first portion of the seventeenth century, gave birth to some of the most distinguished scholars of Europe.

CHAPTER V.

THE HUGUENOT WARS IN FRANCE (1562–1629).

The Renaissance in France. — The forerunner of the Reformation in France, as almost everywhere else, was the Renaissance. The Italian Wars, begun by Charles VIII.,[1] and kept up by his immediate successors, Louis XII., Francis I., and Henry II., by bringing the French in contact with the new intellectual life of the South, had the effect of spreading beyond the Alps the contagious enthusiasm for classical learning and art that had seized upon the Italians. Francis was so zealous a promoter of the intellectual revival that he earned the title of "Father of Letters and Arts." "France became an Italy more Italian than Italy itself." Under the influence of the movement, architecture was transformed. On every side the gloomy feudal strongholds gave place to splendid chateaux, while the old royal residences were replaced by palaces magnificent and sumptuous beyond anything Europe had ever seen before.

But it is the changed tone of French literature that we would especially note. As the representative of its freer and more skeptical spirit, stands the famous Rabelais (1483–1553), a writer of such power and originality that his works are among the few prose

[1] Charles VIII. was the last of the direct line of the Valois kings (see p. 309). The *Valois-Orleans* sovereigns, whose reigns cover the first part of the period treated in the present chapter, were Louis XII. (1498–1515), Francis I. (1515–1547), Henry II. (1547–1559), Francis II. (1559–1560), Charles IX. (1560–1574), Henry III. (1574–1589). The successor of Henry III. — Henry IV. — was the first of the Bourbons.

productions of the sixteenth century that command the attention of the reader of the present day. A spirit of skepticism pervades all his writings. His most noted work is a sort of political romance, in which he attacks particularly the ecclesiastics with the keenest satire and raillery. Thus the tendency of the intellectual revival was altogether antagonistic to the mediæval Church. Baird, in his "Rise of the Huguenots," makes the progress of letters, quickening intelligence and widening information, one of the chief causes of the rapid spread in France of the doctrines of the reformers.[1]

The Reformation in France. — As the intellectual revival in Italy brought forth a Savonarola, in England a Colet, in Germany a Luther and a Melanchthon, so in France did it bring forth for the religious reform movement a chief and champion. Intellectual enfranchisement — we cannot too often repeat it — is sure to lead to religious freedom.

The name of the leader of the French Protestants we have mentioned in a preceding chapter; before repeating it, we wish to say a word regarding the beginnings of the Reformation in France. The movement here, in its inception, was a national, spontaneous one. Before Luther posted his ninety-five theses at Wittenberg, there appeared in the University of Paris and elsewhere in France men who, from their study of the Scriptures, had come to entertain opinions very like those of the German reformer. The land which had been the home of the Albigenses is again filled with heretics. The movement thus begun received a fresh impulse from the uprising in Germany under Luther. But Luther could not become the acknowledged leader of the Reformation in France. He was too intensely German. The movement in France, as we have said, gave birth to its own chief. This was John Calvin (1509–1564), who, forced by persecution, as has been told already, to flee from France, found a refuge in Geneva, and made that city the cradle of French Protestantism.

[1] Vol. I. p. 400. See also Stephen's *Lectures on the History of France*, chaps. XV. and XVI.

The Reformed Faith under Francis I. and Henry II. — Francis I. (1515–1547) was alternately the friend and persecutor of his Protestant subjects. His most bitter persecutions, as we have seen, were carried on during the latter part of his reign, his hands then being free from his wars with the Emperor Charles V.

Henry II. (1547–1559), son and successor of Francis, revived the old quarrel with Spain, carrying it on first with Charles V., and afterwards with his son Philip II. These wars were finally brought to an end by the treaty of Cateau Cambrésis (1558). One thing that inclined both Henry and Philip to this peace was the desire of each to have his hands disengaged, in order that he might devote himself wholly to the work of rooting out heresy in his dominions.

It was Henry's cruel persecution of his Protestant subjects — a persecution which was largely instigated by his infamous mistress, Diana of Poitiers — that sowed the seeds of those long and woful civil and religious wars which he left as a terrible legacy to his three feeble sons, Francis, Charles, and Henry, who followed him in succession upon the throne.

Notwithstanding the persecutions of Francis I. and Henry II., the reformed faith gained ground rapidly in France during their reigns, so that by the time of Henry's death the confessors of the reformed creed numbered probably 400,000. The new doctrines had especially found adherents among the nobility and the higher classes, and had taken particularly deep root in the South, — the region of the old Albigensian heresy.

Francis II. (1559–1560). — Francis II. was a mentally and physically weak boy of sixteen years. When he came to the throne, he had just been married to the beautiful and fascinating Mary Stuart of Scotland. He was upon the throne, but the power behind the throne was his mother, the notorious Catherine de Medici, and the powerful chiefs of the family of the Guises. The boy-king we may pass in silence, but respecting these other persons we must say something.

Catherine de Medici and the Guises. — Catherine, the queen-

mother, was an intriguing, treacherous Italian. She was the very impersonation of all the abominable principles laid down by the celebrated Italian writer Machiavelli as those which should guide a prince in the conduct of state affairs. Some claim that she was a bigoted Catholic; but it seems more probable that she was almost or quite destitute of religious convictions of any kind. What she sought was power, and this she was ready to secure by any means. When it suited her purpose, she favored the Huguenots; and when it suited her purpose better, she incited the Catholics to massacre them. Perhaps no other woman ever made so much trouble in the world. She corrupted every one that came under her influence. She surrounded herself with a company of vivacious and beautiful young ladies, through the witchery of whose charms she beguiled, enslaved, or ruined the men whom she wished to use, or to get out of the way. She made France wretched through the three successive reigns of her sons, and brought her house to a shameful and miserable end.

At the head of the family of the Guises stood Francis, Duke of Guise, a famous commander, who had gained great credit and popularity among his countrymen by many military exploits, especially by his capture of Calais from the English in the recent Spanish wars. By his side stood a younger brother Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine. Both of these men were ardent Catholics. The Duke aspired to be king of France, the Cardinal to be Pope. Mary Stuart, the young queen, was their niece, and through her they ruled the boy-king. Their relation to the government has been well likened to that sustained by the Mayors of the Palace in Merovingian times. The Pope and the king of Spain were friends and allies of the Guises.

The Bourbon Princes and Admiral Coligny. — Opposed to the Guises were the Bourbon princes, Antoine, King of Navarre, and Louis, Prince of Condé, who could claim descent from St. Louis, and who, next after the brothers of Francis II., were heirs to the French throne. Unfortunately, Antoine was not a man of deep and earnest convictions; but he at first sided with the Protestants

because it was only through forming an alliance with them that he could carry on his opposition to the Guises. Indeed, every one of the princes of the family (save the Louis just mentioned) to whom the Protestants entrusted their cause during the course of the religious wars, either through fear or policy betrayed or abjured the faith to which he had at one time assented.

A man of very different character was Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France, "the military hero of the French Reformation." He had early in life embraced the doctrines of the reformers, and remained to the last the trusted and consistent, though ill-starred, champion of the Protestants. With the Bourbon princes and Admiral Coligny were the greater part of the nobility of France.

The Conspiracy of Amboise (1560). — The foregoing notice of parties and their chiefs will render intelligible the events which we now have to narrate. The harsh measures adopted against the reformers by Francis II., who of course was entirely under the influence of the Guises, led the chiefs of the persecuted party to lay a plan for wresting the government from the hands of these "new Mayors of the Palace." The Guises were to be arrested and imprisoned, and the charge of the young king given to the Prince of Condé. The plot was revealed to the Guises, and was avenged by fresh slaughters of the Huguenots.[1] More than a thousand supposed participators in the conspiracy were executed with every refinement of cruelty, the burnings and hangings being frequently arranged as after-dinner entertainments for the court ladies. Francis and his young queen were often spectators of these inhuman exhibitions.

Shortly after this the young king died, and this event probably was all that saved the lives of Condé and his brother. The widowed queen soon went to Scotland, where we have met her, and followed her to her tragic end on the block in England.

[1] It was at this time that the name *Huguenot* arose. The word is probably a corruption of the German *Eidgenossen*, meaning "oath-comrades."

Francis's brother Charles now came to the throne as Charles IX. He was only ten years of age, so the queen-mother assumed the government in his name. Pursuing her favorite maxim to rule by setting one party as a counterpoise to the other, she now gave the Bourbon princes a place in the government, and also by a royal edict gave the Huguenots a limited toleration, and forbade their further persecution. Thus they were given permission to hold meetings for worship, provided they gathered unarmed and outside of town walls. "This was the first official recognition of the principle of religious toleration in France."

The Massacre of Vassy (1562). — These concessions in favor of the Huguenots angered the Catholic chiefs, particularly the Guises; and it was the bold violation by the Duke of the edict of toleration that finally caused the growing animosities of the two parties to break out in civil war. While passing through the country with a body of armed attendants, he found, at a small place called Vassy, a company of Huguenots assembled in a barn for worship. His retainers first insulted and then attacked them, killing about forty of the company and wounding many more.

The Huguenots, through their leaders, demanded of the king that the perpetrators of the outrage be punished. When Antoine, the King of Navarre — the inconstant Antoine had gone over to the Catholic side — attempted to lay the blame upon the Huguenots, and declared that he should uphold the Duke of Guise, Theodore Beza, the speaker for the persecuted sect, made this memorable reply: "Sire, it is true that it is the lot of the Church of God, in the name of which I speak, to endure blows, and not to give them; but also may it please you to remember that it is *an anvil that has worn out many hammers*."

But there were those among the Huguenots who believed that the time for unresisting martyrdom had passed, and that the time had come for them to give as well as to receive blows. Accordingly, under the lead of Admiral Coligny and the Prince of Condé, the Huguenots now rose throughout France. Philip II. of Spain sent an army to aid the Catholics, while Elizabeth of England extended help to the Huguenots.

The Character of the War. — For eight years [1] the country was now kept in a perfect turmoil. Both parties displayed a ferocity of disposition more befitting pagans than Christians. But it should be borne in mind that many on both sides were actuated by political ambition, rather than by religious conviction, knowing little and caring less about the distinctions in the creeds for which they were ostensibly fighting.

Sieges, battles, and truces followed one another in rapid and confusing succession. The "massacre of images" on the part of the Huguenots was avenged by the massacre of heretics on the part of the Catholics.

Conspiracies, treacheries, and assassinations help to fill up the dreary records of the period. The King of Navarre fell in battle (1562); the Duke of Guise was assassinated (1563); the Prince of Condé was treacherously murdered (1569).

The Treaty of St. Germain (1570). — The Treaty of St. Germain brought a short but, as it proved, delusive peace. The terms of the treaty were very favorable to the Huguenots. They received four towns, — among which was La Rochelle, the stronghold of

[1] What are usually designated as the *First*, *Second*, and *Third Wars* were really one. The table below exhibits the wars of the entire period of which we are treating. Some make the Religious Wars proper end with the Edict of Nantes (1598); others, with the fall of La Rochelle (1628).

First War (ended by Peace of Amboise)	1562–1563.
Second War (ended by Peace of Longjumeau)	1567–1568.
Third War (ended by Peace of St. Germain)	1568–1570.
Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, Aug. 24	1572.
Fourth War (ended by Peace of La Rochelle)	1572–1573.
Fifth War (ended by Peace of Chastenoy)	1574–1576.
Sixth War (ended by Peace of Bergerac)	1577.
Seventh War (ended by Treaty of Fleix)	1579–1580.
Eighth War (War of the Three Henries)	1585–1589.
Henry of Bourbon, King of Navarre, secures the throne	1589.
Edict of Nantes	1598.
Siege and fall of La Rochelle	1627–1628.

By the fall of La Rochelle the political power of the Huguenots was completely prostrated.

the Huguenot faith, — which they might garrison and hold as places of safety and pledges of good faith.

To cement the treaty, Catherine de Medici now proposed that the Princess Marguerite, the sister of Charles IX., should be given in marriage to Henry of Bourbon, the new young King of Navarre. The announcement of the proposed alliance caused great rejoicing among both Catholics and Protestants, and the chiefs of both parties crowded to Paris to attend the wedding, which took place on the 18th of August, 1572.

The Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day (Aug. 24, 1572).— Before the festivities which followed the nuptial ceremonies were over, the world was shocked by one of the most awful crimes of which history has to tell, — the massacre of the Huguenots in Paris on St. Bartholomew's Day.

The circumstances which led to this fearful tragedy were as follows: Among the Protestant nobles who came up to Paris to attend the wedding was the Admiral Coligny. Upon coming in contact with Charles IX., the Admiral secured almost immediately an entire ascendency over his mind. This influence Coligny used to draw the king away from the queen-mother and the Guises. Fearing the loss of her influence over her son, Catherine resolved upon the death of the Admiral. The attempt miscarried, Coligny receiving only a slight wound from the assassin's ball.

The Huguenots now rallied about their wounded chief with loud threats of revenge. Catherine, driven on by insane fear and hatred, now determined upon the death of all the Huguenots in Paris as the only measure of safety. By the 23d of August, the plans for the massacre were all arranged. On the evening of that day, Catherine went to her son, and represented to him that the Huguenots had formed a plot for the assassination of the royal family and the leaders of the Catholic party, and that the utter ruin of their house and cause could be averted only by the immediate destruction of the Protestants within the city walls. The order for this massacre was then laid before him for his signature. The weak-minded king shrank in terror from the deed, and at

first refused to sign the decree, but, overcome at last by the representations of his mother, he exclaimed, "I agree to the scheme, provided not one Huguenot be left alive in France to reproach me with the deed."

A little past the hour of midnight on St. Bartholomew's Day (Aug. 24, 1572), at a preconcerted signal, — the tolling of a bell, — the Catholics, distinguished by white scarfs on their left arms, and white crosses on their caps, fell upon the Huguenots, and massacred, without distinction of age or sex, all previously marked for the slaughter.

Coligny was one of the first victims. After his assassins had done their work, they tossed the body out of the window of the chamber in which it lay into the street, in order that the Duke of Guise, who stood below, might satisfy himself that his enemy was really dead. The head was then cut off and sent to Rome as a present to the Pope and the Cardinal of Lorraine, while the mutilated body was for three days trailed by boys through the streets of Paris. With the noble-hearted Coligny expired the last hope of the French Reformation.

For three days and nights the orgies of death went on within the city. All who were suspected of sympathizing with the reformers were killed without mercy. King Charles himself is said to have joined in the work, and from one of the windows of the Palace of the Louvre to have fired upon the Huguenots as they fled past. The number of victims in Paris is variously estimated at from 3,000 to 10,000. The dead bodies were dragged through the streets, and flung into the Seine.[1]

With the capitol cleared of Huguenots, orders were issued to the principal cities of France to purge themselves in like manner of heretics. In many places the instincts of humanity prevailed over fear of the royal resentment, and the decree was disobeyed. But in other places the orders were carried out, and frightful massacres took place. The entire number of victims throughout the country was probably between 20,000 and 30,000.

[1] The King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé saved their lives by consenting to attend mass.

The massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day raised a cry of execration in almost every part of the civilized world save at Rome and in Spain. Queen Elizabeth put her court in mourning, and her Council denounced the slaughter as "the most heinous act that had occurred in the world since the crucifixion of Jesus Christ." The Protestants in the Netherlands, who, in their struggle with Philip II., had been entertaining hopes of help from their French brethren, were plunged almost into despair at the unexpected and awful blow.

On the other hand, Philip, when the news reached him, "seemed more delighted than with all the good fortune or happy incidents which had ever before occurred to him," and for the first time in his life the taciturn schemer is said to have laughed aloud; while at Rome the Pope returned public thanks to God for his manifest favor to the Holy Church, causing a *Te Deum* in commemoration of the event to be performed in the church of St. Mark. He also had a medal struck, bearing on one side his own effigy, and on the other a picture of a destroying angel slaying the Huguenots.

Charles, who lived not quite two years after the massacre, suffered the keenest remorse for the part he had taken in the awful tragedy. His body was often bathed in a bloody sweat, and visions of the slaughtered Huguenots constantly haunted his troubled sleep.

Reign of Henry III. (1574–1589). — The massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, instead of exterminating heresy in France, only served to rouse the Huguenots to a more determined defense of their faith. Throughout the last two years of the reign of Charles IX., and the fifteen succeeding years of the reign of his brother Henry III., the country was in a state of turmoil and war. By granting privileges to the Huguenots, Henry angered the Catholics, who, for the maintenance of the ancient Church, formed what was known as the Holy League, the head of which was the Duke of Guise. Finally, in 1589, the king, who, jealous of the growing power and popularity of the Duke of Guise, had caused him to be assassinated, was himself struck down by the avenging dagger of a

fanatic Dominican monk. With him ended the House of Valois-Orleans. "Corrupted by their own mother, the line had ended in disgrace and wretchedness."

Henry of Bourbon, King of Navarre, who for many years had been the most prominent leader of the Huguenots, now came to the throne as the first of the Bourbon kings.

Accession of Henry IV. (1589). — Notwithstanding that the doctrines of the reformers had made rapid progress in France under the sons of Henry II., still the majority of the nation at the time of the death of Henry III. were Roman Catholics in faith and worship. Under these circumstances, especially if we bear in mind what deep animosities of party and creed had been aroused by the bitter feuds of half a century, we shall hardly expect to find the entire nation quietly acquiescing in the accession to the French throne of a Protestant prince, and he the leader and champion of the hated Huguenots.

Nor did Henry secure without a struggle the crown that was his by right. The Catholic League, headed now by the Duke of Mayence, had declared for Cardinal Bourbon, an uncle of the King of Navarre, and France was thus kept in the whirl of civil war. Elizabeth of England aided the Protestants, and Philip II. of Spain assisted the Catholics.

Henry turns Catholic (1593). — After the war had gone on for about four years, — during which time was fought the noted battle of Ivry, in which Henry led his soldiers to victory by telling them to follow the white plume on his hat, — the quarrel was closed, for the time being, by an act on Henry's part hardly to be anticipated. This was his abjuration of the Huguenot faith, and the adoption of that of the Roman Catholic Church (1593).

Mingled motives led Henry to do this. He was personally liked, even by the Catholic chiefs, and he was well aware that it was only his Huguenot faith that prevented their being his hearty supporters. Hence duty and policy seemed to him to concur in urging him to remove the sole obstacle in the way of their ready loyalty, and thus bring peace and quiet to distracted France

The Catholic League now fell to pieces. Henry was crowned at Chartres; and shortly afterwards Paris, which had been in the hands of Henry's enemies, opened its gates to him. The Spanish soldiers, who had been helping to hold the place, were conducted out of the city by Henry with mock ceremony, and charged with his compliments to their master Philip.

"So fair a city," said Henry, with his usual levity, when once within the capital, "was well worth a mass." The king's language betrayed how lightly his religious convictions sat upon him; nevertheless the Pope, as soon as he saw how affairs were running, personally absolved the returned prodigal from the sin of heresy and schism.

The Edict of Nantes (1598). — As soon as Henry had become the crowned and acknowledged king of France, he gave himself to the work of composing the affairs of his kingdom. The most noteworthy of the measures he adopted to this end was the publication of the celebrated Edict of Nantes (April 15, 1598).[1] This decree granted the Huguenots practical freedom of worship, opened to them all offices and employments, and gave them as places of refuge and defense a large number of fortified towns, among which was the important city of La Rochelle. It is asserted that the Roman mass had not been heard within the walls of this city for nearly forty years.

Character of Henry IV.'s Reign: His Plans and Death. — The temporary hushing of the long-continued quarrels of the Catholics and Protestants by the adoption of the principle of religious toleration paved the way for a revival of the trade and industries of the country, which had been almost destroyed by the anarchy and waste of the civil wars. France now entered upon such a period of prosperity as she had not known for many years. The material and moral welfare of all his subjects, particularly of the lower classes, was Henry's special care. His paternal solicitude for his

[1] A few weeks after signing the Edict of Nantes, which gave domestic quiet to France, Henry concluded with Philip II. the peace of Vervins (May 2, 1598), which closed the war with Spain.

humblest subjects, which secured for him the title of "Father of his People," has a memorial in his oft-quoted declaration, "If I live, the poorest peasant shall have a fowl to put in his pot on Sundays."

In devising and carrying out his measures of reform, Henry was aided by one of the most prudent and sagacious advisers that ever strengthened the hands of a prince, — the illustrious Duke of Sully. He was an author as well as statesman, and in his *Memoirs* left one of the most valuable records we possess of the transactions in which he took so prominent a part.

Towards the close of his reign Henry, feeling strong in his resources and secure in his power, began to revolve in his mind vast projects for the aggrandizement of France and the weakening of her old enemy, — the House of Hapsburg in both its branches.[1] He was making great preparations for war, when the dagger of a fanatic by the name of Ravaillac, who regarded Henry as an enemy of the Roman Catholic Church, cut short his life and plans (1610).

Louis XIII. (1610–1643): **the Regency.** — As Henry's son Louis, who succeeded him, was a mere child of nine years, during his minority the government was administered by his mother, Mary de Medici. Nothing was done, but much undone, by the queen-regent. The wounds of the old religious wars, which were just beginning to heal, were torn open afresh; the public treasures accumulated by Henry's economy were shamefully wasted upon unworthy Italian courtiers; and everything fell into disorder and the government into contempt.

Cardinal Richelieu and his Policy. — Upon attaining his majority, Louis took the government into his own hands and banished his

[1] In connection with his designs against the House of Hapsburg, Henry seems to have had in mind a most magnificent scheme, which was nothing less than the organization of all the Christian states of Europe (save Russia) into a great confederation or commonwealth. The ostensible objects of the "Christian Republic" were the securing of religious toleration to all the different Christian sects, the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, and the doing away with war by the creation of an international tribunal, by which all disputes between nations should be settled through peaceful arbitration.

mother from court. But the king was frivolous and weak, and entirely unable to manage the different parties about him, or to lift the kingdom out of the troubles into which it had fallen. The States-General was assembled in 1614 in the hope that it might devise some way out of existing embarrassments. But it effected nothing, and was dismissed, not to meet again for one hundred and seventy-five years, — not until the memorable year 1789.

But though neither king nor estates were able to manage affairs, there fortunately was a man, a member of the recent States-General, who had mind and will sufficient for the task. This was Cardinal Richelieu, the Wolsey of France, one of the most remarkable characters of the seventeenth century. To him we might apply the words used by Frederick the Great of Prussia respecting one of England's greatest statesmen, and say that France had at last brought forth a man. From the time that Louis admitted the young prelate to his cabinet (in 1622), the ecclesiastic became the actual sovereign of France, and for the space of twenty years swayed the destinies not only of that country, but, it might almost be said, those of Europe as well.

His policy was two-fold: first, to render the authority of the French king absolute in France; second, to make the power of France supreme in Europe.

To attain the first end, Richelieu sought to crush the political power of the Huguenots, and to trample out the last vestige of independence among the old feudal aristocracy; to secure the second, he labored to break down the power of both branches of the House of Hapsburg, — that is, of Austria and Spain. With these rivals crushed, France would be easily first among the states of Europe.

For nearly the life-time of a generation Richelieu, by intrigue, diplomacy, and war, pursued with unrelenting purpose these objects of his ambition. At times, when it suited best his purpose, he put on the helmet of the warrior, and led in person the armies of France; and then again he donned the red cap of the cardinal, and forced proud nobles to kneel before him, and at his feet seek

pardon for acts which his own unbearable tyranny had provoked. His own words best indicate how he proposed to use his double authority as cardinal and prime minister: "I shall trample all opposition under foot," said he, "and then cover all errors with my scarlet robe."

In the following paragraph we will speak very briefly of the Cardinal's dealings with the Huguenots, which feature alone of his policy at present especially concerns us.

Political Power of the Huguenots crushed. — In the prosecution of his plans, Cardinal Richelieu's first step was to break down the political power of the Huguenot chiefs, who, dissatisfied with their position in the government, and irritated by religious grievances, were revolving in mind the founding in France of a Protestant commonwealth like that which the Prince of Orange and his adherents had set up in the Netherlands. The capital of this new Republic was to be La Rochelle, on the southwestern coast of France, which city, it will be recalled, was by the Edict of Nantes granted to the Protestants as a place of security.

In 1627, an alliance having been formed between England and the French Protestant nobles, an English fleet and army was sent across the Channel to aid the Huguenot enterprise.

Richelieu now resolved to ruin forever the power of these Protestant nobles who were constantly challenging the royal authority and threatening the dismemberment of France. Accordingly he led in person an army to the siege of La Rochelle, which, after a gallant resistance of more than a year, during which time famine, sickness, and the casualties of war reduced the population of the place from 30,000 to 5,000 persons, was compelled to open its gates to the forces of the Cardinal (1628). That the place might never again be made the centre of resistance to the royal power, Louis ordered that "the fortifications be razed to the ground, in such wise that the plow may plow through the soil as through tilled land."

The Huguenots maintained the struggle a few months longer in the south of France, but were finally everywhere reduced to sub-

mission. The result of the war was the complete destruction of the political power of the French Protestants. A treaty of peace called the Edict of Grace, negotiated the year after the fall of La Rochelle, left them, however, freedom of worship, according to the provisions of the Edict of Nantes.

The Edict of Grace properly marks the close of the religious wars which had desolated France for two generations (from 1562 to 1629). It is estimated that this series of wars and massacres cost France one million lives, and that between three and four hundred hamlets and towns were destroyed by the contending parties.

Richelieu and the Thirty Years' War. — When Cardinal Richelieu came to the head of affairs in France, there was going on in Germany the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), of which we shall tell in the following chapter. This was very much such a struggle between the Catholic and Protestant German princes as we have seen waged between the two religious parties in France.

Although Richelieu had just crushed French Protestantism, he now gives aid to the Protestant princes of Germany, because their success meant the division of Germany and the humiliation of Austria. At first he gave assistance in the form of subsidies to Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, who had become the champion of the German Protestants; but later he sent the armies of France to take direct part in the struggle.

Richelieu did not live to see the end either of the Thirty Years' War or of that which he had begun with Spain; but this foreign policy of the great minister, carried out by others, finally resulted, as we shall learn hereafter, in the humiliation of both branches of the House of Hapsburg, and the lifting of France to the first place among the powers of Europe.

CHAPTER VI.

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR (1618–1648).

Nature and Causes of the War. — The long and calamitous Thirty Years' War was the last great combat between Protestantism and Catholicism in Europe. It started as a struggle between the Protestant and Catholic princes of Germany, but gradually involved almost all the states of the continent, degenerating at last into a shameful and heartless struggle for power and territory.

The real cause of the war must of course be sought in the irreconcilable character of the two creeds in Germany. But if we seek a more specific cause, it will be found in the defective character of the articles of the celebrated Religious Peace of Augsburg[1] (1555). There were at least three things in that treaty well calculated to make future trouble.

First. Each secular prince was given permission to set up in his dominions either the Catholic or the Lutheran Church, and to drive out all persons who did not accept the State creed. This provision gave rise to much tyranny, and created great bitterness of feeling between the different religious sects, — Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists.

Second. By virtue of the famous clause known as the *Ecclesiastical Reservation*, any spiritual prince (*i.e.*, bishop or abbot holding immediately of the Empire) upon turning Protestant, was required to give up his office and lands. The Lutherans did not admit the validity of this article, and evading it, got many of the Catholic bishoprics in North Germany in Protestant hands. This was made a matter of bitter complaint on the part of the Catholics.

[1] See above, page 392.

Third. The treaty, as interpreted by the Catholics, provided that lands not secularized in 1552 (the time of the Convention of Passau) should forever remain in the hands of the Catholics. The Protestant princes read the treaty differently, and continued to seize Church lands situated in their territories and turn them to their own private use, or use them to provide for the Protestant worship. This was another fruitful source of discord between the two great religious parties.

The Evangelical Union and the Holy League. — The wretched treaty did not bear its most bitter fruit at once. Fortunately, the two immediate successors of Charles V. in the Imperial office — Ferdinand I. (1556–1564) and Maximilian II. (1564–1576) — were both men of enlightened views and tolerant disposition, and under them the Protestant doctrines, unimpeded by persecution, spread rapidly; so rapidly, indeed, that by the close of Maximilian's reign the members of the reformed Church far outnumbered those who still adhered to the ancient faith. It is estimated that ninety per cent of the population of the Empire was at this time Protestant.

But Rudolf II. (1576–1612), the third in succession from Charles V., unfortunately was just the opposite of his two predecessors, being a bigoted and intolerant Catholic. Instigated by the Jesuits, he planned to extirpate Protestantism in his hereditary dominions. His harsh dealings with the Protestants of Hungary and Bohemia led them to rebel against his authority and to call upon the Turks for aid. All Protestant Germany was alarmed by the course of the Emperor, and in the year 1608 there was formed among the Protestant states a confederation, like the League of Schmalkald, called the Evangelical Union, which was to continue for ten years. The nominal head of the Union was the Elector Palatine; but the most active member of the confederation, and its organizer, was Prince Christian of Anhalt.

In opposition to the Union, the Catholics formed a confederation known as the Catholic or Holy League (1609). The head of this body was Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria. All Germany was thus prepared to burst into the flames of a religious war. Just a

few years before the breaking out of the struggle Rudolf II. died, and his brother Matthias (1612–1619) was given the Imperial crown.

The Beginning of the War (1618). — The flames destined to desolate Germany for a generation were first kindled in Bohemia, where were still smouldering embers of the Hussite wars, which two centuries before had desolated that land. The throne of this state was now held by Ferdinand, a cousin of the Emperor Matthias, and a most zealous Catholic. To compose the troubles which his persecution of the Protestants had stirred up in Bohemia, Rudolf had given to that state a charter known as the Letter of Majesty, or Royal Charter, which granted to the Protestant nobles and cities full freedom of worship, with permission to erect schoolhouses and churches not only on their own lands, but on those belonging to the crown. A church which the Protestants maintained they had a right to build, under the provisions of this charter, was torn down by the Catholics, and another was closed. Expostulations addressed to the Emperor by the reformers being met by an unsatisfactory reply, a mob of Protestants proceeded to the Royal Castle at Prague, and threw two of the Imperial councilors out of the window. A sort of provisional government to be carried on by thirty noblemen was now organized, and the Jesuits were driven into exile.

The Thirty Years' War had begun (1618); but for the Protestants it was "a bad beginning." Almost an exact century had passed since Luther posted his theses against the door of the court church at Wittenberg.

Suppression of the Bohemian Protestants. — Scarcely had the war begun when Matthias died, and the Electors chose Ferdinand, king of Bohemia, as his successor in the Imperial office. Though Ferdinand was well known as a violent and bigoted Catholic, the three Protestant Electors cast their votes for him, either being deceived by his false promises, or being won to this course by selfish ambition or through the persuasion of a bribe.

Only a few days before this election the Bohemians had deposed

Ferdinand, and elected in his stead as their king Frederick V. of the Palatinate, in the double hope that, being a Protestant prince, he would be supported by the Union, as well as by his father-in-law, James I. of England. Unfortunately nothing turned out as the Bohemians had hoped. Frederick proved a foolish trifler; the Union, weakened by dissensions between the Calvinists and Lutherans, did nothing; and the English king extended no aid. On the other hand, Ferdinand received help from the Catholic League, from Spain and Italy, and even from the Protestant Elector of Saxony, who, being a Lutheran, was ready to fight against the Elector Frederick because he was a Calvinist.

The result of the unequal contest might have been easily forecast. The Protestants were quickly crushed, their leaders executed, and thousands of their followers banished and their goods confiscated. The Catholics finally obtained possession of all the churches and schools of the exiled sect.

Frederick was driven not only out of Bohemia, but out of the Palatinate as well. In a letter to his wife, written while he was a fugitive at Sedan, he says pathetically, "Would to God that we possessed a little corner of the earth where we could rest together in peace." The Electorate was, in time, given to Maximilian of Bavaria, which transfer made the Electoral House overwhelmingly Catholic.

King of Denmark Champions the German Protestants. — The situation of affairs, with a zealous and powerful Catholic inclined and prepared to follow in the footsteps of Charles V. at the head of the Germanic body, filled not only the Protestant princes of Germany, but all the Protestant powers of the North with the greatest alarm. Christian IV., king of Denmark, supported by England and Holland, threw himself into the struggle — which was still being carried on in a desultory manner — as the champion of German Protestantism. He now becomes the central figure on the side of the reformers; alongside of him are Count Mansfield, and Christian of Anhalt. On the side of the Catholics are two noted commanders, — Tilly, the leader of the forces of the Holy

League, and Wallenstein, the commander of the Imperial army. What is known as the Danish campaigns now begin (1625).[1]

Wallenstein and his System. — Wallenstein was the most remarkable character that appeared during the Thirty Years' War. He does not rise to our notice until after the appearance upon the scene of the king of Denmark. With Christian IV. other enemies, too, had arisen about the Emperor, who saw clearly that, if he hoped to oppose successfully the Danish king and his allies, he must have another army besides that headed by Tilly. But unfortunately he was entirely without means either to equip or pay such a force as he ought at once to put into the field.

The Emperor's embarrassment was relieved by the offer of a wealthy Bohemian nobleman, Albert von Wallenstein, who proposed to raise an army of 20,000 men at his own cost, and to support and pay the soldiers by forced contributions from the authorities of the states through which the army might move. The oft-repeated invocation, "God help the land to which these men come," is the only commentary needed upon the consequences attending the march of Wallenstein's self-sustaining army.

Defeats and Losses of the Protestants. — The spring of the year 1626 saw two large hostile armies ready to work what harm they might to each other, and to inflict untold woe upon all Germany. Under the banners of Tilly and Wallenstein marched 70,000 men; beneath those of the Danish king, Mansfield, and Christian of Anhalt, moved 60,000.

The campaign at every point went against the Protestant allies. Mansfield was utterly defeated by Wallenstein at Dessau on the Elbe, and shortly afterwards died. Like the Roman Emperor Vespasian, when dying he asked his attendants to lift him upon his feet, that he might die standing as befitted a warrior. "Be united, and hold out like men," was his last charge to his companions in arms.

[1] In detailed histories of the Thirty Years' War the following divisions are usually followed: 1. Bohemian Period (1618–1623); 2. Danish Period (1625–1629); 3. Swedish Period (1630–1635); 4. Swedish-French Period (1635–1648).

Shortly after the death of Mansfield, Christian of Anhalt died, and following closely this event came the defeat of Christian of Denmark by Tilly at Lutter. The Protestant cause now seemed hopeless. Germany was in about the same condition that she was in at the end of the Schmalkaldic war. The Protestants in Bohemia and Austria were forced to abjure the new faith and return to the old. Saxony, Brandenburg, the duchies of Mecklenburg, Holstein, Jutland, and Pomerania were overrun and desolated by the Imperial armies. Wallenstein then directed his forces against the Hanseatic towns, the possession of whose naval armaments would give the Emperor control of the Baltic. Several of the largest cities of the league were brought over by force or intimidation; but the little town of Stralsund made a stout and successful resistance, notwithstanding Wallenstein's reported vow that he would take it "though it were fastened by chains to God's own throne."

Peace of Lübeck (1629).— Another repulse, met at the town of Glückstadt, the defense of which was aided by the Danish fleet, convinced Wallenstein that the time had come to make overtures of peace to the Danes, since now the Swedish king, Gustavus Adolphus, was already extending aid to the German Protestants. A treaty was soon concluded with Christian IV., who now retired from the struggle (1629). The Peace of Lübeck marks the end of what is known as the Danish portion of the war.

The Edict of Restitution (1629).— Germany was now completely subjected to the Emperor. Throughout the South the persistent and relentless measures of Ferdinand and the Jesuits had reëstablished the Roman Catholic worship. The same thing was now to be effected in the North. By what is known as the Edict of Restitution, Ferdinand restored to the Catholics all the ecclesiastical lands and foundations of which possession had been taken by the Protestants since the Treaty of Passau. This decree gave back to the Roman Church two archbishoprics, twelve bishoprics, besides many monasteries and other ecclesiastical foundations. The edict was not, it is true, contrary to the strict letter

of the Ecclesiastical Reservation of the Peace of Augsburg; still, the rigid enforcement at this time of that clause of the treaty was regarded by the Protestants, who had always protested against the provision and refused to regard themselves as bound by it, as a most harsh and unjust act. In this proceeding Ferdinand has been well likened to Shylock insisting upon the pound of flesh nominated in the bond.

Wallenstein removed from Command (1630). — At this moment of seeming triumph Ferdinand was constrained by rising discontent and jealousies to dismiss from his service his most efficient general, Wallenstein, who had made almost all classes, save his soldiers, his bitter enemies. The people were crying out against his outrageous exactions and contributions, which were supporting his soldiers in luxury while the pillaged people were dying of starvation. The princes of the Catholic League were bitterly jealous of him, because he was bending everything to his purpose of building up the Imperial power upon the ruins of their own authority. Wallenstein's idea was that "it was time for the Emperor to make himself master of Germany as the kings of France and Spain were masters of their dominions." The clergy were opposed to him because they saw that he was as ready, in furthering his plans, to break down their power as that of the princes. The way in which he regarded the ecclesiastical dominion of Rome is illustrated by his significant declaration, "It is a hundred years since Rome has been plundered, and it is richer now than ever."

Though Ferdinand was very loth to part with a general who had rendered his cause such eminent service as had Wallenstein, he was nevertheless forced to yield to the solicitations and threats of the Jesuits and the League, and remove the general from his command. Wallenstein obeyed the edict of his master, and surrendering the command of his army, which at this time numbered 100,000 men, went into retirement on his private estates. A large part of his old officers and soldiers withdrew from the Imperial service; the rest were united to Tilly's army.

In his retirement, Wallenstein maintained a court of fabulous magnificence. Wherever he went he was followed by an imperial train of attendants and equipages. He was reserved and silent, but his eye was upon everything going on in Germany, and indeed in Europe. He was watching for a favorable moment for revenge, and the retrieving of his fortunes.

Gustavus Adolphus. — The opportunity which Wallenstein, inspired by faith in his star, was so confidently awaiting was not long delayed. Only a few months before his dismissal from the Imperial service, Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, with a veteran and enthusiastic army of 16,000 Swedes, had appeared in Northern Germany as the champion of the dispirited and leaderless Protestants. Many and different motives had conspired to lead him thus to throw himself into the midst of the struggle. There were his strong religious convictions and sympathies; and there also were his ambitions and feelings of revenge. All these, though ambition he disclaimed, we may find in his farewell address to his Parliament just before embarking upon his enterprise. "Not lightly nor wantonly," he says, "am I about to involve myself and you in this new and dangerous war. God is my witness that I do not fight to gratify my own ambition. But the Emperor has wronged me most shamefully in the person of my embassadors. He has supported my enemies, persecuted my friends and brethren, trampled my religion in the dust, and even stretched his revengeful arm against my crown. The oppressed states of Germany call loudly for aid, which, by God's help, we will give them."

All the circumstances of his leave-taking were dramatic. Presenting to the estates his little daughter Christina, he asked them to swear allegiance to her as their future sovereign, should he fall in his undertaking. That he would never return he seemed to foresee. "Hitherto Providence has wonderfully protected me," said he; "but I shall at last fall in defense of my country. I bid you all a sincere — it may be an eternal — farewell."

Under such circumstances, and with such bold determination,

did Gustavus Adolphus, the "Lion of the North," fling himself with his veteran followers upon the southern shore of the Baltic. The Emperor and his friends affected to regard the apparition as nothing that need cause them any disquietude. "The Snow King will melt as he moves southward," was their contemptuous observation upon this redoubtable champion of a lost cause.

The Siege and Sack of Magdeburg (1630). — The Protestant princes, through fear of the Emperor, — for their reverses had caused them to lose faith in their cause and in themselves, — as well as from lack of confidence in the disinterestedness of the motives of Gustavus, were shamefully backward in rallying to the support of their deliverer, though they were ready enough to profit by any embarrassment which his movements might cause the Emperor. But through an alliance formed just now with France, the Swedish king received a large annual subsidy from that country, which, with the help he was receiving from England, made him a formidable antagonist, a fact that the Imperialists themselves soon began to recognize. Tilly, who, from the outset, had entertained a juster view than most others of the ability and resources of the Swedish leader, said, "He is a gamester in playing with whom not to have lost is to have won a great deal."

The wavering, jealous, and unworthy conduct of the Protestant princes now led to a most terrible disaster. At this moment Tilly was beseiging the city of Magdeburg, which had dared to resist the Edict of Restitution. Gustavus asked of the Elector of Saxony permission to pass through his dominions, in order that he might give quick aid to the beleaguered place, but the Elector denied the request. In a short time the city was obliged to surrender, and was given up to sack and pillage. "Here commenced a scene of horror," says the historian Schiller, "for which history has no language — poetry no pencil. Neither innocent childhood, nor helpless old age; neither youth, sex, rank, nor beauty, could disarm the fury of the conqueror. . . . The Croats amused themselves with throwing children into the flames; Pappenheim's Walloons, with stabbing infants at the mother's breast. Some officers

of the League, horror-struck at this dreadful scene, ventured to remind Tilly that he had it in his power to stop the carnage. 'Return in an hour,' was his answer, 'and I will see what I can do; the soldier must have some reward for his danger and toil.'"

The town having been fired,[1] all the space within the walls was soon glowing like a furnace, forcing the pillagers to give over their work of rapine and murder. In a few hours the city was in ashes. Nothing was left save two churches and a few hovels. 30,000 of the inhabitants had perished miserably. Tilly saw in the woful scene nothing but the evidence of a glorious victory. He rode exultingly through the almost indistinguishable streets, ordered a *Te Deum* to be sung, and wrote to Ferdinand, that since the fall of Troy and Jerusalem such a victory had never been seen. "I am sincerely sorry," he adds, "that the ladies of your Imperial family could not have been present as spectators."

Success of Gustavus. — The cruel fate of Magdeburg excited the alarm of the Protestant princes. The Elector of Saxony now at once united his forces with those of the Swedish king. Tilly was defeated with great loss in the celebrated battle of Leipsic (1631), and Gustavus, emboldened by his success, pushed southward into the very heart of Germany. Attempting to dispute his march, Tilly was again defeated, and he himself received a fatal wound. In the death of Tilly, Ferdinand lost his most trustworthy general (1632). Gustavus now entered Munich, the capital of Bavaria, without opposition, and took up his temporary residence in the palace of Maximilian.

Wallenstein Restored to Command (1632). — The Imperial cause appeared desperate. There was but one man in Germany who could turn the tide of victory that was running so strongly in favor of the Swedish monarch. That man was Wallenstein, and to him the Emperor now turned. This strange man had been watching with secret satisfaction the success of the Swedish arms, and had even offered to Gustavus his aid, promising "to chase the Emperor and the House of Austria over the Alps." But Gustavus

[1] This was the work of incendiaries; Tilly was not responsible for it.

and Wallenstein were too profoundly unlike in character for it to be possible for them to form an alliance. Furthermore, the ambition of each was so great as to exclude that of the other. Neither could consent to be second.

To this proud subject of his, fresh from his dalliances with his enemies, the Emperor now appealed for help. Wallenstein agreed to raise an army, provided his control of it should be absolute. Indeed, his demands of Ferdinand amounted to making himself the dictator of Germany. Ferdinand, however, was constrained to grant all that his old general demanded.

Wallenstein now raised his standard, to which rallied the adventurers not only of Germany, but of all Europe as well. The array was a vast and heterogeneous host, bound together by no bonds of patriotism, loyalty, or convictions, but by the spell and prestige of the name of Wallenstein.

Battle of Lützen: Death of Gustavus (1632). — With an army of 40,000 men obedient to his commands, Wallenstein now quickly drove the Saxons out of Bohemia, which country they had overrun, and finally, after numerous marches and countermarches, joined the Swedes in a terrible battle on the famous field of Lützen in Saxony. The Swedes won the day, but lost their leader and sovereign. Throwing himself into the thick of the fight, Gustavus was struck down by a ball. One of the enemy coming up to where he lay among a heap of the slain, demanded his name: "I was the king of Sweden," replied the dying hero; whereupon the soldier shot him dead.

Thus fell the most noble Gustavus Adolphus. He was, it must be admitted, too fond of war, — was over-ambitious of military glory; but he was also unselfishly devoted to his country, and was ardently attached to the cause of Protestantism. Beyond all dispute, his is the most heroic and admirable character with which we meet in all the records of the Thirty Years' War.

The Assassination of Wallenstein (1634). — The Swedish Chancellor Oxenstiern persuaded the Swedes to persevere in carrying out the plans of Gustavus Adolphus. Cardinal Richelieu, who

was thinking only of breaking down the power of the House of Austria, promised new subsidies to the Protestants. So the war went on, the advantage being for the most part with the Protestant allies.

Ferdinand was embarrassed by the suspicious movements of his general Wallenstein. There is good reason to believe that he was at this moment meditating the betrayal of the Imperial cause. He was certainly in communication with the Protestant leaders, and the crown of Bohemia had been mentioned as the reward of his treachery. But every one was afraid to trust the man who was showing himself so untrustworthy. All of these intrigues were, of course, carried to the Emperor at Vienna. Ferdinand now secretly transferred the command of Wallenstein's forces to another general, and ordered the arrest of the traitor, as he firmly believed him to be. But Wallenstein was too formidable an enemy to be captured alive, and he was consequently murdered by three assassins, who fell upon him unexpectedly in his bed-chamber (1634).

The War Assumes more of a European Character. — Had it not been for the selfish and ambitious interference of outside powers, the long and woful war which had desolated Germany for sixteen years might now have come to an end, for both sides were weary of it and ready for negotiations of peace. Indeed, a treaty known as the Treaty of Prague was signed by the Emperor and the Elector of Saxony in 1635, and afterwards by most of the Protestant states. It is true that the terms of this treaty were not altogether satisfactory, yet it probably could and would have been made the basis of a permanent peace. But Richelieu was not willing that the war should end until the House of Austria was completely humbled. Accordingly he encouraged Oxenstiern to carry on the war, promising him the aid of the French armies.

The war thus lost in large part its original character of a contention between the Catholic and Protestant princes of Germany, and became a political struggle between the House of Austria and the House of Bourbon, in which the former was fighting for existence, the latter for national aggrandizement.

The Treaty of Westphalia (1648). — And so the miserable war went on year after year. It had become a heartless and conscienceless struggle for spoils. The Swedes fought to fasten their hold upon the mouths of the German rivers; the French to secure their grasp of the Rhine-lands. The earlier actors in the drama at length passed from the scene, but their parts were carried on by others. Thus, in 1637, Ferdinand II. died, and was succeeded by his son Ferdinand III., who fought desperately for the integrity of Germany, determined that he should not be known as the "Diminisher of the Empire." In 1642 Cardinal Richelieu and King Louis XIII. both died, but Mazarin, the minister of Louis XIV., continuing the policy of the great Cardinal, kept the French forces in the war.

The year that marks the death of Richelieu heard the first whisperings of peace. Everybody was inexpressibly weary of the war, and longed for the cessation of its horrors, yet each one wanted peace on terms advantageous to himself. The arrangement of the articles of peace was a matter of infinite difficulty; for the affairs and boundaries of the states of Central Europe were in almost hopeless confusion. To facilitate matters, the commissioners were divided into two bodies, one holding its sessions at Osnabrück, and the other at Münster. After five years of memorable discussion and negotiation, the articles of the celebrated Treaty of Westphalia, as it was called, were signed by the different European powers.

The chief articles of this important treaty may be made to fall under two heads: (1) those relating to territorial boundaries, and (2) those respecting religion.

As to the first, these cut short in three directions the actual or nominal limits of the Holy Roman Empire. Switzerland and the United Netherlands were severed from it; for though both of these countries had been for a long time practically independent of the Empire, this independence had never been acknowledged in any formal way. The claim of France to the three cities of Metz, Toul, and Verdun in Lorraine, which places she had held for about

a century, was confirmed, and a great part of Alsace was given to her. These were valuable acquisitions to France, and she managed to maintain her hold upon these territories until our own day. Thus on the west, to the southwest, and to the northwest, the Empire suffered loss.

Sweden was given cities and territories in Northern Germany which gave her control of a long strip of the Baltic shore, a most valuable possession. But these lands were not given to the Swedish king in full sovereignty; they still remained a part of the Germanic body, and the king of Sweden as to them became a prince of the Empire.

The changes within the Empire were many, and some of them important. Brandenburg especially received considerable additions of territory.

The articles respecting religion were even more important than those which established the metes and bounds of the different states. Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists were all put upon the same footing. The Protestants were to retain all the benefices and Church property of which they had possession in 1624. Every prince was to have the right to make his religion the religion of his people, and to banish all who refused to adopt the established creed; but such non-conformists were to have three years in which to emigrate. Not any of the Protestant governments, it should be added, ever exercised this right.

The different states of the Empire were left almost independent of the Emperor. They were given the right to form alliances with one another and with foreign princes; but not, of course, against the Empire or Emperor. This provision made Germany nothing more than a lax confederation, and postponed to a distant future the nationalization of the German states.

These were some of the most important provisions of the noted Treaty of Westphalia. They were very far from being satisfactory to most of the parties concerned; but they were, perhaps, as nearly so as could well be expected, considering the terribly confused condition into which the long struggle had brought all the affairs of Europe.

Effects of the War upon Germany. — It is simply impossible to picture the wretched condition in which the Thirty Years' War left Germany. When the struggle began, the population of the country was 30,000,000; when it ended, 12,000,000. Many of the once large and flourishing cities were reduced to "mere shells." Two or three hundred ill-clad persons constituted the population of Berlin. The duchy of Würtemburg, which had half a million of inhabitants at the commencement of the war, at its close had barely 50,000. The once powerful Hanseatic League was virtually broken up, because the towns composing it had become unable to pay the expenses of the Union. On every hand were the charred remains of the hovels of the peasants and the palaces of the nobility. Vast districts lay waste without an inhabitant. The lines of commerce were broken, and some trades and industries swept quite out of existence.

The effects upon the fine arts, upon science, learning, and morals were even more lamentable. Painting, sculpture, and architecture were driven out of the land. The cities which had been the home of all these arts lay in ruins. Poetry ceased to be cultivated. Education was entirely neglected. For the lifetime of a generation, men had been engaged in the business of war, and had allowed their children to grow up in absolute ignorance. Moral law was forgotten. Vice, nourished by the licentious atmosphere of the camp, reigned supreme. "God, worship, religion, became only a tradition. . . . In character, in intelligence, and in morality, the German people were set back two hundred years." — TAYLOR.

Thus civilization in Germany, which had begun to develop with so much promise, received a shock from which it did not begin to recover, so benumbed were the very senses of men, for many long years. "A gulf of thirty years," says Baring-Gould, "stood between the old civilization and the new era. Everything had to be reconquered, on every field. Everywhere lay only ruins; and it was not till more than thirty years later that the heart came back to men to set up again the fallen stones."

To all these evils were added those of political disunion and

weakness. The title of Emperor still continued to be borne by a member of the House of Austria, but it was only an empty name. By the Peace of Westphalia, the Germanic body lost even that little cohesion which had begun to manifest itself between its different parts, and became simply a loose assemblage of virtually independent states, of which there were now 203. Thus weakened, Germany lost her independence as a nation, while the subjects of the numerous petty states became the slaves of their ambitious and tyrannical rulers. And worse than all, the overwhelming calamities that for the lifetime of a generation had been poured out upon the unfortunate land, had extinguished the last spark of German patriotism. Every sentiment of pride and hope in race and country seemed to have become extinct.

Conclusion. — The Treaty of Westphalia is a prominent landmark in universal history. It stands at the dividing line of two great epochs. It marks the end of the Reformation Era and the beginning of that of the Political Revolution. Henceforth men will fight for constitutions, not creeds. We shall not often see one nation attacking another, or one party in a nation assaulting another party, on account of a difference in religious opinion.[1]

But in setting the Peace of Westphalia to mark the end of the Era of the Reformation, we do not mean to convey the idea that the work of the Protestant Revolution, in the direction of religious toleration, was done. As a matter of fact, no real toleration had yet been reached, — nothing save the semblance of toleration. The long conflict of a century and more, and the vicissitudes of fortune, which to-day gave one party the power of the persecutor, and to-morrow made the same sect the victims of persecution, had simply forced all to the practical conclusion that they must tolerate one another, — that one sect must not attempt to put another down by force. But it required the broadening and liberalizing

[1] The Puritan Revolution in England may look like a religious war, but we shall learn that it was primarily a political contest, — a struggle against despotism in the State.

lessons of another full century to bring men to see that the thing they *must* do is the very thing they *ought* to do, — to make men tolerant not only in outward conduct, but in spirit.

With this single word of caution, we now pass to the study of the Era of the Political Revolution, the period marked by the struggle between despotic and liberal principles of government. And first, we shall give a sketch of absolute monarchy as it exhibited itself in France under the autocrat Louis XIV.

FOURTH PERIOD. — THE ERA OF THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION.

(FROM THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA, IN 1648, TO THE PRESENT TIME.)

CHAPTER I.

THE ASCENDENCY OF FRANCE UNDER THE ABSOLUTE GOVERNMENT OF LOUIS XIV. (1643–1715).

The Divine Right of Kings. — Louis XIV. stands as the representative of absolute monarchy. This indeed was no new thing in the world, but Louis was such an ideal autocrat that somehow he made autocratic government strangely attractive. Other kings imitated him, and it became the prevailing theory of government that kings have a "divine right" to rule, and that the people should have no part at all in government.

According to this theory, the nation is a great family with the king as its divinely appointed head. The duty of the king is to govern like a father; the duty of the people is to obey their king even as children obey their parents. If the king does wrong, is harsh, cruel, unjust, this is simply the misfortune of his people: under no circumstances is it right for them to rebel against his authority, any more than for children to rise against their father. The king is responsible to God alone, and to God the people, quietly submissive, must leave the avenging of all their wrongs.

Before the close of the period upon which we here enter, we shall see how this theory of the divine right of kings worked out in practice, — how dear it cost both kings and people, and how

the people by the strong logic of Revolution demonstrated that they are not children, but mature men, and have a divine and inalienable right to govern themselves.

The Basis of Louis XIV.'s Power. — The basis of the absolute power of Louis XIV. was laid by Cardinal Richelieu during the reign of Louis XIII. Besides crushing the political power of the Huguenots, and thereby vastly augmenting the security and strength of the royal authority, the Cardinal succeeded, by various means, — by annulling their privileges, by banishment, confiscations, and executions, — in almost extinguishing the expiring independence of the old feudal aristocracy, and in forcing the once haughty and refractory nobles to yield humble obedience to the crown.

In 1643, barely six months after the death of his great minister, Louis XIII. died, leaving the vast power which the Cardinal had done so much to consolidate, as an inheritance to his little son, a child of five years.

The Administration of Mazarin. — During the minority of Louis the government was in the hands of his mother, Anne of Austria, as regent. She chose as her prime minister an Italian ecclesiastic, Cardinal Mazarin, who in his administration of affairs followed in the footsteps of his predecessor, Richelieu, carrying out with great ability the comprehensive policy of that minister. France was encouraged to maintain her part — and a very glorious part it was, as war goes — in the Thirty Years' War, until Austria was completely exhausted, and all Germany indeed almost ruined. Even after the Peace of Westphalia, which simply concluded the war in Germany, France carried on the war with Spain for ten years longer, until 1659, when the Treaty of the Pyrenees, which gave the French the two provinces of Artois and Roussillon, asserted the triumph of France over Spain. Richelieu's plan had at last, though at terrible cost to France [1] and all Europe, been crowned

[1] The heavy taxes laid to meet the expenses of the wars created great discontent, which during the struggle with Spain led to a series of conspiracies or revolts against the government, known as the *Wars of the Fronde* (1648-

with success. The House of Austria in both its branches had been humiliated and crippled, and the House of Bourbon was ready to assume the lead in European affairs.

Louis XIV. assumes the Government. — Cardinal Mazarin died in 1661. Upon this event, Louis, who was now twenty-three years of age, called together the heads of the various departments of the government, and directing his words to the Chancellor, said: "I have summoned you, with my ministers and secretaries of State, to tell you that it has pleased me hitherto to permit my affairs to be governed by the late Cardinal; I shall in future be my own prime minister." He then charged the several secretaries to sign no papers without his order.

For more than half a century Louis ruled France as an absolute and irresponsible monarch. He regarded France as his private estate, and seemed to be fully convinced that he had a divine commission to govern the French people. He is said to have declared, *L'État, c'est moi*, "I am the State," meaning that he alone was the rightful legislator, judge, and executive of the French nation. The States-General was not once convened during his long reign. Richelieu made Louis XIII. "the first man in Europe, but the second in his own kingdom." Louis XIV. was the first man at home as well as abroad. He had able men about him; but they served instead of ruling him.

Colbert. — Mazarin when dying said to Louis, "Sire, I owe everything to you; but I pay my debt to your majesty by giving you Colbert." During the first ten or twelve years of Louis's personal reign, this extraordinary man inspired and directed everything; but he carefully avoided the appearance of doing so. His maxim seemed to be, Mine the labor, thine the praise. He did for the domestic affairs of France what Richelieu had done for the foreign.

1652). "Notwithstanding its peculiar character of levity and burlesque, the Fronde must be regarded as a memorable struggle of the aristocracy, supported by the judicial and municipal bodies, to control the despotism of the crown. . . . It failed; . . . nor was any farther effort made to resuscitate the dormant liberties of the nation until the dawning of the great Revolution."

He was made controller-general of the finances, and in this position was supreme from 1661 to 1672, which period was, according to the historian Martin, the most glorious in the financial history of France.

But it was not alone in the department of the finances that the influence of Colbert was felt. Through his efforts everything was reformed, — the administration of justice, agriculture, industries, and trade. Feudal and revenue abuses were corrected. "He compressed the labor of centuries into a few years."

So long as Louis followed the policy of Colbert, he gave France a truly glorious reign: but unfortunately he soon turned aside from the great minister's policy of peace, to seek glory for himself and greatness for France through new and unjust encroachments upon neighboring nations. And Louis not only disregarded the wise counsels of Colbert, but treated him with great ingratitude. The dying words of the unhappy minister were strangely like those of Cardinal Wolsey of England: "If I had done for God what I have done for this man," he said, "I should be saved ten times over; and now I know not what will become of me."

The Wars of Louis XIV. — During the period of his personal administration of the government, Louis XIV. was engaged in four great wars: (1) A war respecting the Spanish Netherlands (1667–1668); (2) a war with Holland (1672–1678); (3) the War of the Palatinate (1689–1697); and (4) the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714).

All these wars were, on the part of the French monarch, wars of conquest and aggression, or were wars provoked by his ambitious and encroaching policy. The most inveterate enemy of Louis during all this period was Holland, the representative and champion of liberal, constitutional government.

The War concerning the Spanish Netherlands (1667–1668).— At the end of the war carried on against Spain by Mazarin, the Treaty of the Pyrenees (1659) was cemented by the betrothal of Maria Theresa, the Spanish Infanta, to Louis XIV., who promised never to lay claim to any part of the Spanish possessions in right

of the princess. But upon the death of Philip IV. of Spain (1665), Louis immediately claimed, in the name of his wife, portions of the Spanish Netherlands, justifying his pretensions mainly on the ground that his wife's dowry had never been paid, and, consequently, that the renunciation which at the time of her betrothal she made of her rights in the Netherlands was null and void.

To make good his claims, Louis led an army into the Spanish Netherlands. The Hollanders were naturally alarmed, fearing that Louis would also want to annex their country to his dominions. Accordingly they effected what was called the Triple Alliance with England and Sweden, checked the French king in his career of conquest, and, by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1668, forced him to give up much of the territory he had seized. He retained, however, a number of the Flemish towns along the French frontier, which he made by extensive fortifications the strong outposts of his kingdom in that direction.

The War with Holland (1672–1678).—The second war of the French king was against Holland, whose interference with his plans in the Spanish Netherlands, as well as some uncomplimentary remarks of the Dutch humorists on his personal appearance, had stirred his resentment. Before entering upon the undertaking which had proved too great for Philip II. with the resources of two worlds at his command, Louis, by means of bribes and the employment of that skilful diplomacy of which he was so perfect a master, prudently drew from the side of Holland both her allies (Sweden and England), even inducing the English king, Charles II., to lend him active assistance. Money also secured the aid of several of the princes of Germany.

Thus the little commonwealth was left alone to contend against fearful odds. But the heroic people whose fathers had resisted for forty years the veteran armies of the strongest monarch in Christendom, were not to be daunted by even the formidable coalition now formed against them.

Louis crossed the frontiers of the Republic with an army of more than 100,000 men, headed by the greatest commanders of

the age, — Condé, Turenne, and Vauban. In a few days three of the United Provinces — Utrecht, Gelderland, and Overyssel — were in his hands. Counsels were now divided. One party, headed by the celebrated De Witts, advised peace; another party led by a worthy descendant of the great William the Silent, the brave young Prince of Orange, William III., — afterwards king of England, — declared for resistance "to the last ditch." The De Witts were killed in a popular tumult, and the Prince was clothed with almost dictatorial power, under the title of stadtholder.

The brave Hollanders now girded themselves for a stout defense of what yet remained to them. It was even seriously proposed in the States-General, that, rather than submit to the tyranny of this second Philip, they should carry into execution what was always in the mind of their fathers as a last desperate resort during all their long struggle with the Spanish despot, — namely, open the dykes, bury the country and its invaders beneath the ocean, and taking their families and household goods in their ships, seek new homes in lands beyond the sea.

The desperate resolve was in part executed; for with the French threatening Amsterdam, the dykes were cut, and all the surrounding fields were laid under water, and the invaders thus forced to retreat.

The heroic resistance to the intruders made by the Hollanders in their half-drowned land, the havoc wrought by the stout Dutch sailors among the fleets of the allies, and the diplomacy of the Dutch statesmen, who, through skilful negotiations, detached almost all the allies of the French from that side, and brought them into alliance with the Republic, — all these things soon put a very different face upon affairs, and Louis found himself confronted by the armies of half of Europe.

For several years the war now went on by land and sea, — in the Netherlands, all along the Rhine, upon the English Channel, in the Mediterranean, and on the coasts of the New World. Finally an end was put to the struggle by the Treaty of Nimeguen (1678). Louis gave up his conquests in Holland, but kept a large number of

towns and fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands, besides the province of Franche-Comté and several Imperial cities on his German frontier.

Louis is called "Great." — Thus Louis came out of this tremendous struggle, in which half of Europe was leagued against him, with enhanced reputation and fresh acquisitions of territory. People began to call him the *Grand Monarch;* and, as if to justify their judgment in conferring upon him this title of Great, he seized the free city of Strasburg and other places along his Rhenish frontier, made a most wanton attack upon Genoa, quarreled with Spain, confiscated some of the possessions of the Pope, and deported himself generally in that overbearing, insolent, and intolerant manner which is the prerogative of titled greatness.

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). — Louis now committed an act the injustice of which was only equalled by its folly, — an act from which may be dated the decline of his power. This was the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the well-known decree by which Henry IV. secured religious freedom to the French Protestants. It seems strange that two of the worst crimes of French history should have been instigated by women; for, as to the name of Catherine de Medici will ever attach the infamy of St. Bartholomew, so to that of Madame de Maintenon[1] will ever cling the shame of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

By this cruel measure all the Protestant churches were closed, and every Huguenot who refused to embrace the Roman Catholic faith was outlawed. The terrible persecution that now fell upon the unfortunate Huguenots is known as the *Dragonnades*, from the circumstance that *dragoons* were quartered upon the Protestant families, with full permission to annoy and persecute them in every way "short of violation and death," to the end that the victims of these outrages might be constrained to recant, which multitudes did.

Under the fierce persecutions of the *Dragonnades*, probably

[1] The second wife of Louis XIV., who persuaded the king to the act of which we are speaking.

as many as three hundred thousand of the most skilful and industrious of the subjects of Louis were driven out of the kingdom. Several of the most important and flourishing of the French industries were ruined, while the manufacturing interests of other countries, particularly those of Holland and England, were correspondingly benefited by the energy, skill, and capital which the exiles carried to them. Many of the fugitive Huguenots found ultimately a refuge in America; and no other class of emigrants, save the Puritans of England, cast

> "Such healthful leaven 'mid the elements
> That peopled the new world."[1]

The War of the Palatinate (1689–1697).—The indirect results of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes were quite as calamitous to France as were the direct results. The indignation that the barbarous measure awakened among the Protestant nations of Europe enabled William of Orange to organize a formidable confederacy against Louis, known as the League of Augsburg (1686). England did not immediately become a member of the League (notwithstanding the Protestants of that country were filled with resentment towards Louis), for the reason that the English throne was at this time held by James II., whose notions of the divine right of kings naturally led him to seek the friendship and alliance of the Grand Monarch. But a little later (in 1688) came the Revolution which drove James out of England, and placed that kingdom in the hands of the Prince of Orange. England was thus drawn away from the side of the French king, and added to the enemies of Louis.

Louis now resolved to attack the confederates of Augsburg. Seeking a pretext for beginning hostilities, he laid claim, in the name of his sister-in-law, to portions of the Palatinate, and hurried a large army into the country, which was quickly overrun. But being unable to hold the conquests he had made, Louis ordered that the country be turned into a desert. The Huns of an Attila could not have carried out more relentlessly the barbarous command

[1] See Baird, *History of Huguenot Emigration to America.*

than did the soldiers of Louis. Churches and abbeys, palaces and cottages, villas and cities, were all given to the flames. Among the places laid in ruins were the historic towns of Heidelberg, Spires, and Worms. Even fruit-trees, vines, and crops were destroyed. "The houseless peasants, to the number of a hundred thousand, wandered about in abject misery, imprecating the vengeance of Heaven upon the heartless tyrant who had caused their ruin."

This barbarous act of Louis almost frenzied Germany. Another and more formidable coalition, known as the "Grand Alliance," was now formed (1689). It embraced England, Holland, Sweden, Spain, the German Emperor, the Elector Palatine, and the Electors of Bavaria and Saxony.

For ten years almost all Europe was a great battle-field. It was very much such a struggle as that waged a century later by the allied monarchies of Europe against Napoleon, when they fought for the independence of the continent.

Both sides at length becoming weary of the contest and almost exhausted in resources, the struggle was closed by the Treaty of Ryswick (1697). There was a mutual surrender of conquests made during the course of the war, and Louis had also to give up some of the places he had unjustly seized before the beginning of the conflict. He managed, however, to retain the important city of Strasburg.

War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714). — Barely three years passed after the Treaty of Ryswick before the great powers of Europe were involved in another war, known as the War of the Spanish Succession.

The circumstances out of which the war grew were these: In 1700 the king of Spain, Charles II., died, leaving his crown — the disposition of which had been made a matter of much discussion and diplomacy among the European courts, for Charles was childless — to Philip of Anjou, a grandson of Louis XIV. "There are no longer any Pyrenees," was Louis's exultant epigram, meaning of course that France and Spain were now practically one.

England and Holland particularly were alarmed at this virtual consolidation of these two powerful nations. Moreover, the German Emperor Leopold I. claimed the Spanish crown for his *second* son Charles, Archduke of Austria. Consequently a second Grand Alliance was soon formed against France, the object of which was to dethrone Philip of Anjou and place upon the Spanish throne the Archduke Charles. The two greatest generals of the allies were the famous Duke of Marlborough (John Churchill), the ablest commander, except Wellington perhaps, that England has ever produced, and the hardly less noted Prince Eugene of Savoy.

For thirteen years all Europe was shaken with war. During the progress of the struggle were fought some of the most memorable battles in European history, — Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet, — in all of which the genius of Marlborough and the consummate skill of Prince Eugene won splendid victories for the allies.

Finally, changes wrought by death in the House of Austria brought the war to a close. In 1705 the Emperor Leopold died, and his son Joseph came to the Imperial throne. Six years later (in 1711) he also died, and his brother, the Archduke Charles, was elected Emperor. This changed the whole aspect of the Spanish question, for now to place Charles upon the Spanish throne would be to give him a dangerous preponderance of power, would be, in fact, to re-establish the great monarchy of Charles V. Consequently the Grand Alliance falls to pieces, and the war is ended by the treaties of Utrecht (1713) and Rastadt (1714).

By the provisions of these treaties the Bourbon prince of Anjou was left upon the Spanish throne, but his kingdom was pared away on every side. Gibraltar and the island of Minorca were ceded to England; while Milan, Naples, Sardinia, and the Netherlands (Spanish) were given to Austria. France was forced to surrender to England considerable portions of her possessions in the New World, — Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the Hudson Bay territory.

Death of the King. — Amidst troubles, perplexities, and afflictions, Louis XIV.'s long and eventful reign was now drawing to a

close. The heavy and constant taxes necessary to meet the expenses of his numerous wars, to maintain an extravagant court, and to furnish means for the erection of costly palaces and various public buildings, had bankrupted the country, and the cries of his wretched subjects, clamoring for bread, could not be shut out of the royal chamber. Death, too, had invaded the palace, striking down the dauphin, the dauphiness, and two grandsons of Louis, leaving as the nearest heir to the throne his great-grandson, a mere child. On the morning of September 1st, 1715, the Grand Monarch breathed his last, bequeathing to this boy of five years a kingdom overwhelmed with debt, and filled with misery, with threatening vices and dangerous discontent. He seemed at the last moment to be sensible of the mistakes and faults of his reign, for his dying charge to the little prince who was to succeed him was as follows: "My child, you are about to become a great king; do not imitate me either in my taste for building or in my love of war. Endeavor on the contrary to live in peace with the neighboring nations. . . . Strive also to relieve the burdens of your people, which I myself have been unable to do."

The Court of Louis XIV. — History is becoming less and less the history of Courts, and more and more the history of Peoples; but, as the historian Martin says, under Louis XIV. France was absorbed in the Court and the Court in the King, so that to comprehend the age, we must stand on the steps of the throne.

The Court sustained by the Grand Monarch was the most extravagantly magnificent that Europe has ever seen. Never since Nero spread his Golden House over the burnt district of Rome, and ensconcing himself amid its luxurious appointments, exclaimed, "Now I am housed as a man ought to be," had prince or king so ostentatiously lavished upon himself the wealth of an empire. Louis had half a dozen palaces, the most costly of which was that at Versailles. Upon this and its surroundings he spent fabulous sums. The palace itself cost what would probably be equal to more than $100,000,000 with us. Here were gathered the beauty, wit, and learning of France. The royal household numbered

fifteen thousand persons, all living in costly and luxurious idleness at the expense of the people.

One element of this enormous family was the great lords of the old feudal aristocracy. Dispossessed of their ancient power and wealth, they were content now to fill a place in the royal household, to be the king's pensioners and the elegant embellishment of his Court. "A military staff on a furlough for a century or more, around a commander-in-chief, who gives fashionable entertainments, is," says Taine, "the principle and summary of the habits of society under the ancient *régime*."

These grandees were ostensibly the servants of the monarch, the domestics of his household. They assisted him in making his toilet in the morning and in disrobing at night; for, unless through accident or inadvertence, Louis never went to bed or arose save in the presence of a crowd of courtiers, great lords, officials of the kingdom, and foreign ambassadors.

But while we find in Louis's Court all the forms of chivalry, the real spirit of chivalry was entirely lacking; men simply played their parts. "The greater part of the reign," says Anguetil, "may be considered as a spectacle with grand machinery, calculated to excite astonishment." Bolingbroke expressed the same thing in the sententious remark that Louis was "the best actor of Majesty that ever filled a throne."

And the life of the Court besides being artificial was corrupt. Vice, however, was gilded. The scandalous immoralities of king and courtiers were made attractive by the glitter of superficial accomplishment and by exquisite suavity and polish of manner.

But notwithstanding its insincerity and immorality, the brilliancy of the Court of Louis dazzled all Europe. The neighboring courts imitated its manners and emulated its extravagances. In all matters of taste and fashion France gave laws to the continent, and the French language became the court language of the civilized world.

Literature under Louis XIV. — Although Louis himself was not much of a scholar, he gave a most liberal encouragement to men of

letters, thereby making his reign the Augustan Age of French literature. In this patronage Louis was not unselfish. He honored and befriended poets and writers of every class, because thus he extended the reputation of his court. These writers, pensioners of his bounty, filled all Europe with their praises of the Great King, and thus made the most ample and grateful return to Louis for his favor and liberality.

Almost every species of literature was cultivated by the French writers of this era, yet it was in the province of the Drama that the most eminent names appeared. The three great names here are those of Corneille (1606–1684), Racine (1639–1699), and Molière (1622–1673). "The stage on which Corneille, Molière, and Racine shone at once," writes Martin, "blazed with a glory without parallel in the modern world and in Roman antiquity; we must go back to the best days of Athens to find thus, flourishing together, the two principal forms of the dramatic art."

Corneille and Racine were writers of tragedy, Molière of comedy. Racine has been ranked by Hallam with Shakespeare, and Corneille is called the "Father of French Tragedy."

Molière was the imitator of the Greek Aristophanes and the Latin Plautus and Terence. With satire and raillery never surpassed in power and piquancy, he attacked the vices of the times, especially ridiculing the foibles and extravagances of the nobility, making them the butt of the people. "His was the work of Richelieu continued with new weapons."[1]

[1] In the eighteenth century French literature, which had attained a wonderful elegance, polish, and grace, was pressed into the service of philosophy. The thinkers and theorists of the age who had ideas on government, religion, or society which they desired to promulgate, were not content to let their thoughts go before the world in plain attire, but they must needs labor to drape them in the most beautiful and seductive garb of expression and style. One of the chief vices of this philosophy was the impracticable character of its theories — a vice attributed by Guizot to the absolute monarchy, which shut out from participation in the affairs of government all men of ability. The best theorizers are always men of large experience in practical matters. The mischief this philosophy wrought will be noticed by us in a subsequent chapter, when we come to speak of the causes of the French Revolution.

Decline of the French Monarchy under Louis XV. — The ascendency of the House of Bourbon passed away forever with Louis XIV. In passing from the reign of the Grand Monarch to that of his successor, Louis XV. (1715–1774), we pass from the strongest and most brilliant reign in French history to the weakest and most humiliating. Without possessing any of those virtues which often redeem the odious measures of despotism, Louis XV. was a high-handed tyrant. During his reign the French nation made a swift descent towards the abyss of the Revolution of 1789.

France took part, but usually with injury to her military reputation, in all the wars of this period. The most important of these were the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748), which struggle brought into sudden prominence the rising state of Prussia; and the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), known in America as the French and Indian War, which resulted in the loss to France of Canada in the New World and of her Indian possessions in the Old.

Though thus shorn of her colonial possessions in all quarters of the globe, France managed to hold in Europe the provinces won for her by the wars and diplomacy of Louis XIV., and even made some fresh acquisitions of territory along the Rhenish frontier, besides gaining the island of Corsica in the Mediterranean, the destined birthplace of one who was soon to have much to do in shaping the destinies of France.

But taken all together, the period was one of great national humiliation: the French fleet was almost driven from the sea; the martial spirit of the nation visibly declined; and France, from the foremost place among the states of Europe, fell to the position of a third or fourth rate power.

CHAPTER II.

ENGLAND UNDER THE STUARTS: THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION (1603–1714).

I. The First Two Stuarts.

1. *Reign of James the First* (1603–1625).

Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland. — The accession of the Stuart line brought England and Scotland under the same sovereign, though each country still retained its own parliament. James was the first to bear the title of "King of Great Britain."[1] The union of the two countries was symbolized by a new flag, upon which were blended the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew, the former the patron saint of England and the latter of Scotland.

The King. — There was nothing royal in James's person or demeanor. An unfortunate weakness in his limbs gave him an awkward, shambling gait. He was equally weak in character, for which fault he was more responsible. He was conceited and obstinate, and was charged with drunkenness and buffoonery. He affected authorship, and wrote several books, one on witchcraft, in which he believed, and another on the use of tobacco, — just introduced by Raleigh, — in which he did not believe. The sycophants of his court called him the "British Solomon," which drew from the French Duke of Sully the retort that he was the "wisest fool in Europe."

[1] His full title was "King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland."

He was constitutionally a coward, and would tremble at the sight of a drawn sword. His clothes were thickly padded as a precaution against assassination. This disposition inclined him to a peace policy, so that the history of his reign is signalized by no important wars. It also, in connection with his general femininity, earned for him the title of "Queen James," while his predecessor was alluded to as "King Elizabeth."

The "Divine Right" of Kings and the "Royal Touch." — James was a firm believer in the doctrine of the "divine right" of kings. He held that hereditary princes are the Lord's anointed, and that their authority can in no way be questioned or limited by people, priest, or parliament. His own words were, "As it is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do, so it is high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or to say that the king cannot do this or that."

This doctrine found much support in the popular superstition of the "Royal Touch." The king was believed to possess the power — a gift transmitted through the royal line of England from Edward the Confessor — of healing scrofulous persons by the laying on of hands.[1] James's son Charles is said to have touched 100,000 persons during his reign. The testimony as to the genuineness of the cures effected is often very strong and seemingly unimpeachable.

It is the bearing of this strange superstition upon the doctrine of the divine right of kings that concerns us now. "The political importance of this superstition," observes Lecky, "is very manifest. Educated laymen might deride it, but in the eyes of the English poor it was a visible, palpable attestation of the indefeasible sanctity of the royal line. It placed the sovereignty entirely apart from the categories of mere human institutions."[2]

By bearing in mind this superstition, it will be easier for us to

[1] Consult Lecky, *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. I. p. 73. The French kings were also supposed to possess the same miraculous power, inherited, as most believed, from Louis the Saint.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. I. p. 77.

understand how so large a proportion of the people of England could support the Stuarts in their extravagant claims, and could sincerely maintain the doctrine of the sinfulness of resistance to the king.

Arabella Stuart: Sir Walter Raleigh. — The very first year of James's reign was disturbed by an attempt to place his cousin Arabella Stuart upon the throne. We notice the matter here only because the affair involved the fate of one of the great men whose career began under Elizabeth. This was Sir Walter Raleigh, who, on the unproved charge of having taken part in the conspiracy, was unjustly sentenced to die, but was reprieved and sent to the Tower, where he remained a prisoner for thirteen years. For the tedium of his long confinement he found relief in the composition of his *History of the World*.[1]

The Gunpowder Plot (1605). — In the third year of James's reign was unearthed one of the most fiendish plots imaginable. This was nothing less than a plan to blow up with gunpowder the Parliament Building, upon the opening day of the Session, when king, lords, and commons would all be present, and thus to destroy at a single blow every branch of the English Government.

[1] Raleigh was finally set at liberty, but not pardoned. There was much of the romantic and adventurous in his nature, and he now proposed to mend his broken fortunes by imitating the undertakings of Cortez and Pizarro. One of his dreams was, that somewhere in South America there existed a sort of *El Dorado*, and he fitted out an expedition at his own expense to search for it. The expedition was very unfortunate. It sailed far up the great river Orinoco, but found nothing corresponding to Raleigh's dream, and did nothing save capture and burn a little Spanish settlement. For this act the Spanish court demanded, upon Raleigh's return to England, that he be punished as a pirate. James yielded to the demands of Spanish vengeance, and Raleigh was condemned to die, not, however, on the charge of piracy, but on the old charge for which he had suffered the long imprisonment. The old warrior's calmness was not disturbed by the near approach of death. When on the scaffold, he lifted the ax, and feeling the edge with his thumb, said, "This is a sharp medicine, but it will cure all diseases" (1618).

Such was the unworthy fate of Sir Walter Raleigh, who, notwithstanding all his faults, must be numbered among England's most illustrious sons.

This conspiracy, known as the Gunpowder Plot, was entered into by some Roman Catholics, because they were disappointed in the course which the king had taken as regards their religion. The leader of the conspiracy was Guy Fawkes. Thirty-six barrels of gunpowder were secreted in one of the cellars beneath the chamber occupied by the lords, and then the conspirators quietly awaited the assembling of Parliament.

The timely discovery of the plot was brought about by means of a letter of warning from one of the conspirators to a Catholic lord (his brother-in-law), begging him to absent himself from the opening of Parliament. "God and man," ran the mysterious message, "have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time; . . . for, though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they will receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them."

The closing lines of the letter awakened a suspicion as to the nature of the plot; the vaults beneath the Parliament House were searched, and the terrible secret was discovered. Fawkes, who was keeping watch of the cellar, was arrested, and after being put to the rack, was executed. His chief accomplices were also seized and punished. The alarm created by the terrible plot led Parliament to enact some very severe laws against the Roman Catholics.

Colonies and Trade Settlements. — The reign of James I. is signalized by the commencement of that system of colonization which has resulted in the establishment of the English race in almost every quarter of the globe.

In the year 1607 Jamestown, so named in honor of the king, was founded in Virginia. This was the first permanent English settlement within the limits of the United States. In 1620 some Separatists, or Pilgrims, who had found in Holland a temporary refuge from persecution, pushed across the Atlantic, and amidst heroic sufferings and hardships established the first settlement in New England, and laid the foundations of civil and religious liberty in the New World.

Besides planting these settlements in the New World, the English during this same reign established themselves in the ancient country of India. In 1612 the East India Company, which had been chartered by Elizabeth in 1600, established their first factory at Surat. This was the humble beginning of the gigantic English Empire in the East.

In this connection must also be noticed the Plantation of Ulster in Ireland. The northern part of that island having been desolated by the Tyrone Rebellion, and large tracts of land having been forfeited to the English crown, this land was now given by royal grant to English and Scotch settlers. Some of the Celtic clans were removed bodily, and assigned lands in other parts of the island. Thus all this portion of the country became thoroughly Anglicized. The injustice and harshness of the treatment they received — which was very like the treatment of the Indians in the New World at the hands of the colonists there — awakened among the Irish a spirit of bitter hostility to the new comers, which, intensified by fresh wrongs, has embittered all the relations of Ireland and England up to our own day.

Contest between James and the Commons. — We have made mention of James's idea of the divine right of kingship. Such a view of royal authority and privileges was sure to bring him into conflict with Parliament, especially with the House of Commons. He was constantly dissolving Parliament and sending the members home, because they insisted upon considering subjects which he had told them they should let alone.

The chief matters of dispute between the king and the Commons were the limits of the authority of the former in matters touching legislation and taxation, and the nature and extent of the privileges and jurisdictions of the latter.

As to the limits of the royal power, James talked and acted as though his prerogatives were practically unbounded. He issued proclamations which in their scope were really laws, and then enforced these royal edicts by fines and imprisonment as though they were regular statutes of Parliament. Moreover, taking advantage

of some uncertainty in the law as regards the power of the king to collect customs at the ports of the realm, he laid new and unusual duties upon imports and exports. James's judges were servile enough to sustain him in this course, some of them going so far as to say that "the sea-ports are the king's gates, which he may open and shut to whom he pleases."

Against all these usurpations of authority the Commons remonstrated vigorously, and by their attitude of determined opposition to the arbitrary course of their sovereign prevented the government of England from becoming an unlimited monarchy, in which the king, without the concurrence of Parliament, might make laws and levy taxes at pleasure.

As to the privileges of the Commons, that body insisted, among other things, upon their right to determine all cases of contested election of their members, and to debate freely all questions concerning the common weal, without being liable to prosecution or imprisonment for words spoken in the House. James denied that these privileges were matters of right pertaining to the Commons, and repeatedly intimated to them that it was only through his own gracious permission and the favor of his ancestors that they were allowed to exercise these liberties at all, and that if their conduct was not more circumspect and reverential, he should take away their privileges entirely.

On one occasion, the Commons having ventured in debate upon certain matters of State which the king had forbidden them to meddle with, he, in reproving them, made a more express denial than ever of their rights and privileges, which caused them, in a burst of noble indignation, to spread upon their journal a brave protest, known as "The Great Protestation," which declared that "the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of Parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England, and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king, state, and defense of the realm . . . are proper subjects and matter of council and debate in Parliament" (1621).

When intelligence of this action was carried to the king, he

instantly sent for the journal of the House, and with his own hands tore out the leaf containing the obnoxious resolution. Then he angrily prorogued Parliament, and even went so far as to imprison several of the members of the Commons. In these high-handed measures we get a glimpse of the Stuart theory of government, and see the way paved for the final break between king and people, in the following reign.

King James died in the year 1625, after a reign as sovereign of England and Scotland of twenty-two years. "Never," says Hume, "had sovereign a higher notion of the kingly dignity, never was any less qualified by nature to sustain it."

Literature and Science. — One of the most noteworthy literary labors of the reign under review was a new translation of the Bible, known as *King James's Version.* This royal version is the one in general use at the present day, although the recent *Anglo American Revision* (1881) may supersede it in time.

Two of the most noted prose writers of James's reign — Sir Walter Raleigh and Francis Bacon — were a bequest to it from the brilliant era of Elizabeth. Of Walter Raleigh and his *History,* — born of his captivity, — and of his execution, we have already spoken.[1] The close of the life of the great philosopher Bacon was scarcely less sad. He held the office of Lord Chancellor, and yielding to the temptations of the corrupt times upon which he had fallen, accepted bribes from the suitors who brought cases before him. He was impeached and brought to the bar of the House of Lords, where he confessed his guilt, pathetically appealing to his judges "to be merciful to a broken reed." He was sentenced to pay a heavy fine, and to imprisonment in the Tower. But the king in pity released him from all the penalty, and even conferred a pension upon him. He lived only five years after his fall and disgrace, dying in 1626, the year following the death of the king.

Bacon must be given the first place among the philosophers of the English-speaking race. His great service to science consisted in his clear statement of the way in which the laws of nature are to

[1] See above, page 506, note.

be discovered. This, he insisted, must be through observation and experiment, not by guessing, or by blind reliance on authority. The Schoolmen of the mediæval ages made little or no progress in the discovery of truth, because they were either blindly following Aristotle, or were forever framing useless syllogisms from unproved and invalid theological premises.

The advance of science in this age was marked by William Harvey's (1578–1657) discovery and demonstration of the double circulation of the blood, one of the most important of the physiological discoveries that illustrate the progress of medical science.[1]

2. *Reign of Charles the First* (1625–1649).

The Petition of Right (1628). — Charles I. came to the throne with all his father's lofty notions about the divine right of kings. Consequently the old contest between king and Parliament was straightway renewed. The first Parliament of his reign Charles dissolved speedily, because instead of voting supplies they persisted in investigating public grievances. His second Parliament met a similar fate. No sooner were the Houses assembled than the Commons carried up to the Lords articles of impeachment against the Duke of Buckingham, an ignorant, corrupt, and utterly worthless favorite of the king, yet his chief minister and adviser. In the eyes of the Commons this insolent upstart was "the grievance of grievances," and they were determined that the control of the English government — for Buckingham exercised almost royal power — should no longer rest in the hands of such a person. To save his favorite, and also to cut short further censures upon his government, Charles abruptly dissolved Parliament.

After the dissolution of his second Parliament Charles endeav-

[1] Shakespeare died about the middle of the reign (in 1616). Several of his companion dramatists, who like himself began their career under Elizabeth, also outlived the queen, and did most of their work during the reign of her successor. The following dates may be of service: Ben Jonson (1573–1637); Francis Beaumont (1586–1616); John Fletcher (1576–1625); Philip Massinger (1584–1640); John Ford (1586–1639).

ored to raise the money he needed to carry on the government, by means of benevolences and forced loans. But all his expedients failed to meet his needs, and he was forced to fall back upon Parliament. The Houses met, and promised to grant him generous subsidies, provided he would sign a certain *Petition of Right* which they had drawn up. Next after Magna Charta, this document is the most noted in the constitutional history of England. It simply reaffirmed the ancient rights and privileges of the English people as defined in the Great Charter and by the good laws of Edward I. and Edward III. Four abuses were provided against: (1) the raising of money by loans, benevolences, taxes, etc., without the consent of Parliament; (2) arbitrary imprisonment; (3) the quartering of soldiers in private houses — a very vexatious thing; and (4) trial without jury.

Charles was as reluctant to assent to the Petition as King John was to sign the Magna Charta; but he was at length forced to give sanction to it by the use of the usual formula, "Let it be law as desired" (1628).

The provisions of the Petition of Right were often violated by Charles and others of the Stuarts; nevertheless it was a great advantage to the people to have their rights and privileges thus plainly stated, and to have their sovereigns bound by such a solemn compact; because despotism always seeks to hide itself under the forms of law, and when these are so explicit that everybody knows just what is allowed and what is forbidden, very much has been gained in the way of preventing the violation by a tyrannical ruler of the liberties of his subjects.

Charles rules without Parliament (1629–1640). — It soon became evident that Charles was utterly insincere when he put his name to the Petition of Right. He had no more thought of governing in good faith according to this solemn agreement between him and his people than King John had of observing the terms of Magna Charta. He immediately violated its provisions in attempting to raise money by forbidden taxes and loans. For eleven years he ruled without parliaments, thus changing the

government of England from a government by king, lords, and commons to what was in effect an absolute and irresponsible monarchy, like that of France or Spain.

As is always the case under such circumstances, there were enough persons ready to aid the king in his schemes of usurpation. Prominent among his unscrupulous agents were his ministers Thomas Wentworth and William Laud (Buckingham had fallen at the hand of an assassin), both of whom earned unenviable reputations through their industry and success in building up the absolute power of their master upon the ruins of the ancient institutions of English liberty. Wentworth devoted himself to establishing the royal despotism in civil matters; while Laud, who was made Archbishop of Canterbury, busied himself chiefly with exalting above all human interference the king's prerogatives in religious affairs as the supreme head of the English Church.

All these high-handed and tyrannical proceedings of Charles and his agents were enforced by three iniquitous courts of usurped and arbitrary jurisdiction. These were known as the *Council of the North*, the *Star Chamber*, and the *High Commission Court*.

The first was a tribunal established by Henry VIII., and was now employed by Wentworth as an instrument for enforcing the king's despotic authority in the turbulent northern counties of England. The Star Chamber was a court of very ancient origin, which at this time dealt chiefly with criminal cases affecting the government, such as riot, libel, and conspiracy. The High Commission Court was a tribunal of forty-four commissioners, created in Elizabeth's reign to enforce the acts of supremacy and uniformity.

All of these courts sat without jury, and being composed of the creatures of the king, were of course his subservient instruments. Their decisions were unjust and arbitrary; their punishments, harsh and cruel.

John Hampden and Ship-Money. — Among the illegal taxes levied during this period of tyranny was a species known as ship-

money, so called from the fact that in early times the kings, when the realm was in danger, called upon the sea-ports and maritime counties to contribute ships and ship-material for the public service. Charles and his agents, in looking this matter over, conceived the idea of extending this tax over the inland as well as the sea-board counties.

Among those who refused to pay the tax was a country gentleman, named John Hampden. The case was tried in the Exchequer Chamber, before all the twelve judges. All England watched the progress of the suit with the utmost solicitude. The question was argued by able counsel both on the side of Hampden and of the crown. Judgment was finally rendered in favor of the king, although five of the twelve judges stood for Hampden. The case was lost; but the people, who had been following the arguments, were fully persuaded that it went against Hampden simply for the reason that the judges stood in fear of the royal displeasure should they dare to decide the case adversely to the crown.

The arbitrary and despotic character which the government had now assumed in both civil and religious matters, and the hopelessness of relief or protection from the courts, caused thousands to seek in the New World that freedom and security which was denied them in their own land. A somewhat doubtful tradition tells how Hampden himself and Oliver Cromwell, of whom we shall hear much hereafter, were among those who, seeing no hope of the restoration of liberty in England, had resolved to emigrate to America, but, when just ready to go on shipboard, were detained by an order forbidding any person to leave the kingdom without a royal license. If this be true, despotism here over-reached itself: — Charles detained his own executioner.

The Covenanters. — England was almost ready to rise in open revolt against the unbearable tyranny. Events in Scotland hastened the crisis. The king was attempting to impose the English liturgy (slightly modified) upon the Scotch Presbyterians. A Sabbath was set on which the liturgy should be introduced in all the churches. At Edinburgh this led to a riot, the people throwing the

church furniture at the bishop who attempted to read the service. To them it seemed little better than a restoration of the Popery they had renounced. The spirit of resistance spread. All classes, nobles and peasants alike, bound themselves by a solemn covenant to resist to the very last every attempt to make innovations in their religion. From this act they became known as Covenanters (1638).

The king resolved to crush the movement by force. The Covenanters accepted the challenge with all that ardor which religious enthusiasm never fails to inspire. Charles soon found that war could not be carried on without money, and was constrained to summon Parliament in hopes of obtaining a vote of supplies. But instead of making the king a grant of money, the Commons first gave their attention to the matter of grievances, whereupon Charles dissolved the Parliament. The Scottish forces crossed the border, and the king, helpless with an empty treasury and a seditious army, was forced again to summon the two Houses.

The Long Parliament. — Under this call met on November 3, 1640 the Parliament which, from the circumstance of its lasting over twelve years, became known as the Long Parliament. The members of the Commons of this Parliament were stern and determined men, men who fully realized the danger in which the traditional liberties of Englishmen were set, and who were resolved to put a check to the despotic course of the king.

Almost the first act of the Commons was the impeachment and trial of Strafford and Laud, as the most prominent instruments of the king's tyranny and usurpation. Both were finally brought to the block. The three iniquitous and illegal courts of which we have spoken, the High Commission Court, the Council of the North, and the Star Chamber, were abolished. And to secure themselves against dissolution before their work was done, a law was enacted which provided that they should not be adjourned or dissolved without their own consent.

Charles's Attempt to Seize the Five Members. — An act of violence on the part of Charles now precipitated the nation into

the gulf of civil war, towards which events had been so rapidly drifting. With the design of overawing the Commons, the king made a charge of treason against five of the leading members, among whom were Hampden and Pym, and sent officers to effect their arrest; but the accused were not to be found. The next day Charles himself, accompanied by armed attendants, went to the House, for the purpose of seizing the five members; but, having been forewarned of the king's intention, they had withdrawn from the hall. The king was not long in realizing the state of affairs, and with the observation, "I see the birds have flown," withdrew from the chamber.

Charles had taken a fatal step. The nation could not forgive the insult offered to its representatives. With the watchwords, "Privilege of Parliament," and "To your Tents, O Israel," all London rose in arms. The threatened members were conveyed to the Parliament building by way of the Thames, which was crowded with boats filled with armed men. The king, frightened by the storm which his rashness had provoked, fled from the city to York, "deserted by all the world, and overwhelmed with grief, shame, and remorse for the fatal measure into which he had been hurried" (Jan. 10, 1642).

From the flight of Charles from London may be dated the beginning of the Civil War.

Having now traced the events which led up to this open strife between the king and his people, we shall pass very lightly over the incidents of the struggle itself, and hasten to speak of the Commonwealth, to the establishment of which the struggle led.

The Civil War (1642–1649).

The Beginning. — After the flight of the king, negotiations were entered into between him and Parliament with a view to a reconciliation. The demands of Parliament were that the militia, the services of the Church, the education and marriage of the king's children, and many other matters should be subject to the control of the two Houses. In making all these demands Parliament had

manifestly gone to unreasonable lengths; but so profound was their distrust of Charles, that they were unwilling to leave in his hands any power or prerogative that might be perverted or abused.

Charles refused, as might have been and was expected, to accede to the propositions of Parliament, and unfurling the royal standard at Nottingham, called upon all loyal subjects to rally to the support of their king (Aug. 22, 1642).

The Two Parties. — The country was now divided into two great parties. Those that enlisted under the king's standard — on whose side rallied, for the most part, the nobility, gentry, and clergy — were known as Royalists, or Cavaliers; while those that gathered about the Parliamentary banner were called Parliamentarians, or Roundheads, the latter term being applied to them because many of their number cropped their hair close to the head, simply for the reason that the Cavaliers affected long and flowing locks. The Cavaliers favored the Established Church, while the Roundheads were Puritans. During the progress of the struggle the Puritans split into two parties, or sects, known as Presbyterians and Independents.

For six years England now suffered all those evils of civil strife that marked the times of the contending Roses.

Oliver Cromwell and his "Ironsides." — The war had continued about three years when there came into prominence among the officers of the Parliamentary forces a man of destiny, one of the great characters of history, — Oliver Cromwell. During the early campaigns of the war, as colonel of a regiment of cavalry, he had exhibited his rare genius as an organizer and disciplinarian. His regiment became famous under the name of "Cromwell's Ironsides." It was composed entirely of "men of religion." Swearing, drinking, and the usual vices of the camp were unknown among them. They advanced to the charge with the singing of Psalms. During all the war the regiment was never once beaten.

The Self-denying Ordinance (1645). — In the course of the war the Puritans, as has been said, became divided into two parties, the Presbyterians and the Independents. The former desired

to reëstablish a limited monarchy; the latter wished to sweep aside the old constitution and form a republic.

In the third year of the war there arose a struggle as to which party should have control of the army. The leaders of the Parliamentary forces up to this time had been drawn from the ranks of the nobility, — of course some of the nobles were ranged on the side of Parliament, — but their conservatism had given rise to the charge, uttered by the more radical Independents, that they were "afraid to conquer." And there was some truth in the charge. These commanders were evidently apprehensive, from the drift of popular feeling, that, if the Parliamentary forces should gain a decisive victory over the king's army, the old form of government by king, nobles, and commons would be set aside, and a republic established in its stead.

The Independents felt that nothing could be effected so long as the army was under the control of these semi-royalists. The army must be remodeled, and put into the hands of men not afraid to conquer. But the problem was how to effect this without giving offense to the conservative party, the Presbyterians; for to alienate them would be to divide fatally the strength of the Parliamentary party.

A scheme was at length devised by Cromwell and some others, which the strength of the Independents in Parliament enabled them to carry into successful execution. What was called the "Self-denying Ordinance," which declared that no member of either House should hold a position in the army, was introduced into Parliament, and pushed to a successful vote. As the army was officered by members of the two Houses, the passage of the ordinance effected the removal of the commander-in-chief, the Earl of Essex, — at whom the whole thing was aimed, — and several other noblemen. Cromwell, as he was a member of the House of Commons, should also have given up his command; but the ordinance was suspended in his case so that he might retain his place as lieutenant-general. Sir Thomas Fairfax was made commander-in-chief. Though Cromwell was nominally second in command, he was now really at the head of the army.

The "New Model." — Cromwell at once set about to effect the entire remodeling of the army on the plan of his favorite Ironsides. His idea was that "the chivalry of the Cavalier must be met by the religious enthusiasm of the Puritan." The army was reduced to 20,000 men — all honest, fervent, God-fearing, psalm-singing Puritans. When not fighting, they studied the Bible, prayed, and sung hymns. Since Godfrey led his crusaders to the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre, the world had not beheld another such army of religious enthusiasts. From Cromwell down to the lowest soldier of the "New Model," every man felt called of the Lord to strike down all forms of tyranny in Church and State.

The Battle of Naseby (1645). — The temper of the New Model was soon tried in the battle of Naseby, the decisive engagement of the war. The Royalists were scattered to the winds, and their cause was irretrievably lost. Charles escaped from the field, and ultimately fled into Scotland, thinking that he might rely upon the loyalty of the Scots to the House of Stuart; but on his refusing to sign the Covenant, they gave him up to the English Parliament.

"Pride's Purge" (1648). — For some time the king was now held as a sort of State prisoner, being first in the hands of Parliament and then of the army. Everything was in confusion. The two parties, the Conservatives and Radicals, or Presbyterians and Independents, could not agree as to how the government should be reconstructed. The king displayed such insincerity in the negotiations which were opened, that both parties lost all confidence in him and his promises. Furthermore, the situation was rendered more strained and critical by the conspiracies in the king's behalf which were constantly coming to light.

Finally it began to look as though a reconciliation would be effected between Charles and the Parliament, and the king be restored to authority without his having made any important concessions, or given any guaranties that he would in the future rule in accordance with the constitution and laws of the land. The Independents, which means Cromwell and the army, saw in this possibility the threatened ruin of all their hopes, the loss of all the

fruits of victory. A high-handed measure was resolved upon, — the exclusion from the House of Commons of all those members who favored the restoration of Charles.

Accordingly an officer by the name of Pride was stationed at the door of the hall, to arrest the members obnoxious to the army. One hundred and forty members were thus kept from their seats, and the Commons thereby reduced to less than a hundred representatives, all of whom of course were Independents. This performance was appropriately called "Pride's Purge." It was simply an act of military usurpation. Those engaged in it confessed that the only authority under which they acted was "the authority of the sword."

Trial and Execution of the King. — The Commons thus "purged" of the king's friends now passed a resolution for the immediate trial of Charles for treason. A High Court of Justice, comprising 150 members, was organized, before which Charles was summoned. He came, but denied the authority of the court to try him. Notwithstanding his protest, the trial went on, and before the close of a week he was condemned to be executed "as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and enemy of his country."

In a few days the sentence was carried out. Charles bore himself in the presence of death with great composure and dignity. He declared, and was doubtless sincere in the declaration, that "the people have no right to any part in government," and that "he died the martyr of the nation." As his gray head fell beneath the ax, and was held aloft by the executioner, with the words, "This is the head of a traitor," a shudder ran through the vast assemblage that pressed about the foot of the scaffold. The English people had never before witnessed such a scene, — the head of their king in the hands of an executioner; nor was the scene to have a parallel in all their subsequent history. Now that the deed was done, even the perpetrators themselves seemed horror-stricken (Jan. 30, 1649).

Regarding the question whether Cromwell and the other leaders of the army in taking the life of their sovereign went to greater

lengths than justice or their own safety demanded, many and conflicting judgments have been given. In view of the difficulties and prejudices which still surround the question, we may well pass the subject with the words of Dargand as used by Lamartine in closing his story of the Queen of Scots: — "We judge not; we only relate."

II. The Commonwealth (1649–1660).

Establishment of the Commonwealth. — A few weeks after the execution of Charles, the Commons voted to abolish the Monarchy and the House of Lords, and to establish a republic, under the name of "The Commonwealth." A new Great Seal was made with this legend and date: "The first year of freedom, by God's blessing restored, 1648." The executive power was lodged in a Council of State, composed of forty-one persons. Of this body Bradshaw, an eminent lawyer, was the nominal, but Cromwell the real, head.

Troubles of the Commonwealth. — The Republic thus born of mingled religious and political enthusiasm was beset with dangers from the very first. The execution of Charles had alarmed every sovereign in Europe. Russia, France, and Holland, all refused to have any communication with the embassadors of the Commonwealth. The Scots, who too late repented of having surrendered their native sovereign into the hands of his enemies, now hastened to wipe out the stain of their disloyalty by proclaiming his son their king, with the title of Charles the Second. The impulsive Irish also declared for the Prince, offering him their hearts and their lives; while the Dutch began active preparations to assist him in regaining the throne of his unfortunate father. In England itself the Royalists were active and threatening.

War with Ireland. — The Commonwealth, like the ancient Republic of Rome, seemed to gather strength and energy from the very multitude of surrounding dangers. Cromwell was made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and sent into that country to crush a rising of the Royalists there. With his Ironsides he made quick and

terrible work of the conquest of the island. Having taken by storm the town of Drogheda (1649), he massacred the entire garrison, consisting of three thousand men. About a thousand who had sought asylum in a church were butchered there without mercy. The capture of other towns was accompanied by massacres little less terrible. The conqueror's march through the island was the devastating march of an Attila or a Zinghis Khan. The following is his own account of the manner in which he dealt with the captured garrisons: "When they submitted, their officers were knocked on the head, and every tenth man of the soldiers killed, and the rest shipped for Barbadoes."

The savage cruelty displayed by Cromwell in crushing the Irish uprising will forever remain as a terrible stain upon his reputation. Yet in his own mind he justified his acts. He seemed to regard himself as another Samuel called by the Lord to hew Agag in pieces. In a dispatch which narrates his slaughters, he says, "I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these bârbarous wretches who have imbued their hands in so much innocent blood, and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future."

War with Scotland. — Cromwell was called out of Ireland by the Council to lead an army into Scotland. The terror of his name went before him, and the people fled as he approached. At Dunbar he met the Scotch army. The pious enthusiasm of the Puritan is displayed in the words with which Cromwell urged his men on to the charge. It was early morning when the battle opened, and the sun was just clearing away the mist that covered the low lands: "Let God arise," he cried, "and let his enemies be scattered! like as the mist vanisheth, so shall thou drive them away!" And before the terrible onset of the fanatic Roundheads the Scots were scattered like chaff before the wind. Ten thousand were made prisoners, and all the camp train and artillery were captured (1650).

The following year, on the anniversary of the Battle of Dunbar, Cromwell gained another great victory over the Scottish army at

Worcester, and all Scotland was soon after forced to submit to the authority of the Commonwealth. Prince Charles, after many adventurous experiences, escaped across the Channel into Normandy.

War with the Dutch. — With the authority of the Commonwealth acknowledged throughout the British Isles, the Parliament sought to increase the power and influence of the republic by a sort of alliance with the Dutch; but as such a confederation as that proposed would have made the Netherlands little more than a province of the English Commonwealth, the Dutch refused, rather contemptuously, to enter into the arrangement. This incensed the English Parliament, and they resolved upon punishing the Dutch for their insolence. As if to provoke the United Provinces to some act that would afford a pretext for war, the Parliament passed an unreasonable act of navigation, which forbade foreign ships bringing into England any products or manufactures save those of their own country. Of course this was aimed at the Dutch sailors, whose ships brought to the English docks the products of every land on the globe.

War instantly ensued, the struggle being carried on chiefly upon the sea. It was at this time that the Dutch admiral Van Tromp, having gained a great victory, tied an immense broom to his masthead and swept boastfully up and down the Channel. His antagonist Blake, however, in a subsequent engagement, amply avenged the insult. Finally, after a most useless and destructive war, the two republics were reconciled (1654).

Cromwell ejects the Long Parliament (1653). — While the Dutch War was going on, the Parliament that provoked it had come to an open quarrel with the army. Cromwell demanded of Parliament their dissolution, and the calling of a new body. This they refused; whereupon, taking with him a body of soldiers, Cromwell went to the House, and after listening impatiently for a while to the debate, suddenly sprang to his feet, and with bitter reproaches, exclaimed: "I will put an end to your prating. Get you gone; give place to better men. You are no Parliament. The Lord has done with you." The soldiers rushing in at a pre-

concerted signal, the hall was cleared, and the doors locked (1653).

In such summary manner the Long Parliament, or the "Rump Parliament," as it was called in derision after Pride's Purge, was dissolved, after having sat for twelve years. So completely had the body lost the confidence and respect of all parties, that scarcely a murmur was heard against the illegal and arbitrary mode of its dissolution.

Cromwell's Ambition. — It is very difficult to determine what at this time were Cromwell's feelings and aims. Yet we may feel quite sure that his ambitions were not very different from those of other great conquerors, like Cæsar or Napoleon, who, with all enemies overpowered and all opposition leveled, have found supreme authority within their grasp. Like all men of preternatural energy awakened to a consciousness of their strength by marvelous success, he coveted power. Doubtless at this moment his thoughts were upon the crown of England. It is true that, a few years after this, when the crown was offered him by a partisan Parliament, he refused to accept it, even as Cæsar, while coveting, pushed aside the crown proffered by Antony; but the refusal was prompted by prudence, for, like the Roman usurper, he too heard the murmurs of the people.

But we must be careful and not allow ourselves to be carried too far away from the truth by historical parallels. Cromwell, unless he was wholly a hypocrite, — which we cannot believe, — was swayed by convictions and enthusiasms to which those soldiers of fortune to whom we have compared him were utter strangers. Cæsar and Napoleon indeed thought themselves men of destiny, and spoke often of their ascendant star. But this feeling was very different from the conviction of Cromwell, a conviction springing from the ardor of his religious enthusiasm, that he was called of God to lead the English nation out from under all royal tyranny and priestly despotism into the fullest civil and religious liberty. Even while his eager, resolute, and impetuous spirit was hurrying him on to the undertaking, he seemed to shrink from assuming the

burdens and responsibilities laid upon him. "I have sought the Lord night and day that he would rather slay me than put me upon the doing of this work," were his words while clearing the hall of the Long Parliament.

Praise-God Barebone's Parliament (1653). — The forcible dissolution of the Long Parliament left England in a most critical state. For a moment the realm trembled on the verge of anarchy. Cromwell's strong hand alone could hold the nation back from the fearful plunge, — and he knew it, and others knew it. He must compose the distracted state and settle its government. But never was a more difficult task laid upon man.

There were three courses open to him. He might set up a military despotism, reëstablish the Monarchy, or complete the organization of the Republic. As to the first, he had no wish to build up a despotism upheld by the sword. It was to strike down despotism that he had taken up arms against his king. To attempt to restore the Monarchy was to alienate the army and the republican party throughout the nation. Such a movement could not fail of awakening the most dangerous opposition among religious fanatics who were so violently opposed to even the name of "king," that in the use of the Lord's Prayer they would not say "thy kingdom come," but prayed instead "thy *commonwealth* come." As to the Republic, it is manifest that Cromwell never desired a purely republican form of government. What he wished was to secure to the English people civil and religious liberty under a government consisting, as he himself put it, of "a single person and a Parliament," — a Parliament composed of "honest men," that is, "men of religion."

In pursuance of his plans for the settlement of the realm, Cromwell now called a new Parliament, or more properly, a convention, summoning, so far as he might, only religious, God-fearing men. "These men," said he, "will hit it, and these men will do it to the purpose, whatever can be desired."

The "Little Parliament," as sometimes called, consisted of 156 members, mainly religious fanatics, who spent much of their time

in Scripture exegesis, prayer, and exhortation. Among them was a London leather-merchant, named Praise-God Barebone, who was especially given to these exercises. The name amused the people, and as the exhorter was a fair representative of the convention, they nicknamed it "Praise-God Barebone Parliament," by which designation it has passed into history.

The Little Parliament had sat only a few months before its members resigned all their powers into the hands of Cromwell; and shortly afterwards his council of army officers, fearing the country would fall into anarchy, persuaded him — though manifesting reluctance, he probably was quite willing to be persuaded — to accept the title of "Lord Protector of the Commonwealth."

The Protectorate (1653–1659). — Cromwell's power was now almost unlimited. He was virtually a dictator. The right by which he ruled was the call of God and the people, as much a divine right in his mind as that by which Charles had reigned. His administration was harsh and despotic. He summoned, prorogued, and dissolved parliaments. The nation was really under martial law. Papists and Royalists were treated with the utmost rigor. A censorship of the Press was established. Scotland was overawed by strong garrisons. The Irish Royalists, rising against the "usurper," were crushed with remorseless severity. Thousands were massacred, and thousands more were transported to the West Indies to be sold as slaves. Forty thousand sought freedom from the Protector's tyranny by enlisting in the armies of the continent. The wrongs and cruelties inflicted by Cromwell upon that unfortunate island greatly intensified the animosities that former injustices had aroused in the Irish people against their English conquerors.

While the resolute and despotic character of Cromwell's government secured obedience at home, its strength and vigor awakened the fear as well as admiration of foreign nations. He gave England the strongest government she had had since the days of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth. He wrested Jamaica from Spain, crippled her fleet and army, and humbled her pride. He com-

pelled the French Duke of Savoy to cease his persecution of the Vaudois, and boldly informed the Pope that, if Protestants continued to be harassed through the machinations of the Roman See, the roar of English guns would speedily awaken the echoes of St. Peter's Cathedral.

Cromwell's Death. — Notwithstanding Cromwell was a man of immovable resolution and iron spirit, he felt sorely the burdens of his government, and was deeply troubled by the anxieties of his position. In the midst of apparent success, he was painfully conscious of utter failure. He had wished to establish a permanent government by "a single person" and Parliament, with himself as the recognized constitutional head of the State. Instead, he found himself a military usurper, whose title was simply the title of the sword. His government, we may believe, was as hateful to himself as to the great mass of the English people. He lived in constant fear of the dagger. As precautions against assassination, he surrounded himself with guards, wore armor beneath his outer garments, and slept in a different chamber almost every night. With his constitution undermined by overwork and anxiety, fever attacked him, and with gloomy apprehensions as to the terrible dangers into which England might drift after his hand had fallen from the helm of affairs, he lay down to die, passing away on the day which he had always called his "fortunate day" — the anniversary of his birth, and also the anniversary of his great victories of Dunbar and Worcester (Sept. 3, 1658). Almost his last words were, "My work is done; yet God will be with his people."

As when the great Napoleon lay dying at St. Helena the island was shaken by a fierce tempest, so now the elements seemed to be in sympathy with the restless soul of Cromwell. "A storm which tore roofs from houses and leveled huge trees in every forest seemed a fitting prelude to the passing away of his mighty spirit."

Richard Cromwell (1658–1659). — Cromwell with his dying breath had designated his son Richard as his successor in the office of the Protectorate. Richard was exactly the opposite of his father, — timid, irresolute, and irreligious. The control of

affairs that had taxed to the utmost the genius and resources of the father was altogether too great an undertaking for the incapacity and inexperience of the son. No one was quicker to realize this than Richard himself, and after a rule of a few months, yielding to the pressure of the army, whose displeasure he had incurred, he resigned the Protectorate, and, after spending a short time on the continent, sought amidst the retirements of rural life that ease and quiet so congenial to his disposition. Had he possessed one half the energy and practical genius that characterized his father, the crown would probably have become hereditary in the family of the Cromwells, and their house might have been numbered among the royal houses of England.

The Restoration (1660). — For some months after the fall of the Protectorate the country trembled on the verge of anarchy. The gloomy outlook into the future, and the unsatisfactory experiment of the Commonwealth, caused the great mass of the English people earnestly to desire the restoration of the Monarchy. Charles Stuart, towards whom the tide of returning loyalty was running, was now in Holland. A race was actually run between Monk, the leader of the army, and Parliament, to see which should first present him with the invitation to return to his people, and take his place upon the throne of his ancestors. Amid the wildest demonstrations of joy, Charles stepped ashore on the island from which he had been for nine years an exile. As he observed the extensive preparations made for his reception, and received from all parties the warmest congratulations, he remarked with pleasant satire, "It is my own fault that I had not come back, for I find nobody who does not tell me he has always longed for my return" (1660).

Puritan Literature.

It lights up the Religious Side of the English Revolution. — In dealing with the writings of any given period we have regarded them rather from an historical than literary point of view. We have made use of them to interpret the real spirit of the age under review; for the best and truest literature of any period is simply a

reflection of the manners, customs, thoughts, feelings and convictions, hopes and strivings, of the times.

Now, no epoch in history receives a fresher illustration from the study of its literature than that of the Puritan Commonwealth. To neglect this, and yet hope to gain a true conception of that wonderful episode in the life of the English people by an examination of its outer events and incidents alone, would, as Green declares, be like trying to form an idea of the life and work of ancient Israel from *Kings* and *Chronicles*, without *Psalms* and *Prophets*. The true character of the English Revolution, especially upon its religious side, must be sought in the magnificent Epic of Milton and the unequaled Allegory of Bunyan.

Both of these great works, it is true, were written after the Restoration, but they were both inspired by the same spirit that had struck down Despotism and set up the Commonwealth. The Epic was the work of a lonely, disappointed Republican, the Allegory of a captive Puritan.

Milton (1608–1674) stands as the grandest representative of Puritanism. He was the greatest statesman of the Revolution, the stoutest champion of English liberties against the tyranny of the House of Stuart. After the death of Charles I. he wrote a famous work in Latin entitled "The Defence of the English People," in which he justified the execution of the king. This work produced a most profound impression throughout Europe.

The Restoration forced Milton into retirement, and the last fourteen years of his life were passed apart from the world. It was during these years that, in loneliness and blindness, he composed the immortal poems *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. The former is the "Epic of Puritanism." All that was truest and grandest in the Puritan character found expression in the moral elevation and religious fervor of this the greatest of Christian epics.

John Bunyan (1628–1688) was a Puritan non-conformist. After the Restoration, he was imprisoned for twelve years in Bedford jail, on account of non-conformity to the established worship. It was during this dreary confinement that he wrote his *Pilgrim's*

Progress, the most admirable allegory in English literature. The habit of the Puritan, from constant study of the Bible, to employ in all forms of discourse its language and imagery, is best illustrated in the pages of this remarkable work. Its fervent spirit and language have both been caught from a long and devout study of the Holy Word. Here, as nowhere else, we learn what realities to the Puritan were the Scriptural representations of sin, repentance, and atonement, of Heaven and Hell.

III. The Restored Stuarts.

1. *Reign of Charles the Second* (1660–1685).

Character of the King. — The title of "Merry Monarch," which was familiarly applied to Charles II., very aptly describes his character. He was sagacious and cautious, easy in manners and engaging in conversation; but was prodigal, cynical, heartless, unprincipled, and shamefully licentious. He was "an idler," who "hated the very sight or thought of business."

Had he not been so indolent, he would have made a typical despot. As it was, he preferred his ease and amusement to the exertion and danger incident to the prosecution of schemes of tyranny among a people traditionally jealous and watchful of their rights and liberties.

Punishment of the Regicides. — By act of Parliament a general pardon was extended to all who had taken part in the late rebellion, save certain of the judges who had condemned Charles to the block. Thirteen of these were executed with revolting cruelty, their hearts and bowels being cut out of their living bodies. Others of the regicides were condemned to imprisonment for life. Death had already removed the great leaders of the rebellion, Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, beyond the reach of Royalist hate; so vengeance was taken upon their bodies. These were dragged from their tombs in Westminster Abbey, hauled to Tyburn, and there, on the anniversary of Charles's execution, were hanged, and afterwards beheaded (1661).

The New Model is disbanded. — This same Parliament, mindful of how the army had ruled preceding ones, took care to disband, as soon as possible, the "New Model." "With them Puritanism laid down the sword. It ceased from the long attempt to build up a kingdom of God by force and violence, and fell back on its truer work of building up a kingdom of righteousness in the hearts and consciences of men." [1] — GREEN.

The Conventicle and Five-Mile Acts. — Early in the reign the services of the Anglican Church were restored by Parliament, and harsh laws were enacted against all non-conformists. Thus the Conventicle Act made it a crime punishable by imprisonment or transportation for more than five persons besides the household to gather in any house or in any place for worship, unless the service was conducted according to the forms of the Established Church.

The Five-Mile Act forbade any non-conformist minister who refused to swear that it is unlawful to take arms against the king under any circumstances, and that he never would attempt to make any change in Church or State government, to approach within five miles of any city, corporate town, or borough sending members to Parliament. This harsh act forced hundreds to give up their homes in the towns, and, with great inconvenience and loss, to seek new ones in out-of-the-way country places.

The Covenanters. — In Scotland the attempt to suppress conventicles and introduce Episcopacy was stubbornly resisted by the Covenanters, who insisted on their right to worship God in their own way. They were therefore subjected to persecutions most cruel and unrelenting. They were hunted by English troopers over their native moors and among the wild recesses of their

[1] While Charles was not altogether averse to disbanding the Puritan soldiers of the Commonwealth, he was resolved not to do without an army, the importance of which to a sovereign who would rule independently he well understood. Accordingly, on the pretext that the disturbed state of the realm demanded special precautions on the part of the government, he retained in his service three carefully chosen regiments, to which he gave the name of Guards. These, very soon augmented in number, formed the nucleus of the present standing army of England.

mountains, whither they secretly retired for prayer and worship. The tales of the sufferings of the Scotch Covenanters at the hands of the English Protestants are only equalled by the tales of the wrongs and cruelties inflicted upon the Vaudois of the Alps by the French Catholics.

The Fire, the Plague, and the Dutch War. — The years from 1664 to 1667 were crowded with calamities, — with war, plague, and fire. The poet Dryden not inaptly calls the year of 1666, in which the Great Fire at London added its horrors and losses to those of pestilence and war, the *Annus Mirabilis*, or "Year of Wonders."

The war alluded to was a struggle between the English and the Dutch, which grew out of commercial rivalries (1664–1667). In the first year of this contest the English took New Amsterdam in America away from the Dutch, and changed its name to New York in honor of the king's brother, the Duke of York. In the year 1667 the Dutch fleet entered the estuary of the Thames, burned some English ships, and threatened London. This was the first time a hostile vessel had floated on that river since the days of the Vikings. The English felt deeply the humiliation, and were very angry with Charles, whose mismanagement and inefficiency had rendered such a thing possible.

Early in the summer of 1665 the city of London was swept by a woful plague, the most terrible visitation the city had known since the Black Death in the Middle Ages. Within six months 100,000 of the population perished. The panic-stricken people fled from the place, and grass grew in the streets.

The plague was followed, the next year, by a great fire, which destroyed 13,000 houses, and a vast number of churches and public buildings. The fire was afterwards acknowledged to be, like the Great Fire at Rome in Nero's reign, a blessing in disguise. It destroyed so completely the germs of the plague that lurked in the filthy quarters swept by the flames, that London has never had another visitation of the pestilence, although before the conflagration it usually broke out with greater or less violence every thirty

or forty years. The burnt districts were also rebuilt in a more substantial way, with broader streets and more airy residences, so that London became a more beautiful and healthful city than would have been possible without the fire.

One of the churches destroyed was St. Paul's Cathedral, which was rebuilt with great magnificence. It is the finest Protestant church in the world. Its designer was the great architect Sir Christopher Wren, whose tomb within the building bears this inscription: *Si monumentum requiris, circumspice* — "If you ask for his monument, look around."

Charles's Intrigues with Louis XIV. — Throughout almost the whole of his reign Charles was plotting with Louis XIV. of France against the liberties and religion of his own subjects. He inclined to the Catholic worship, and wished to re-establish the Roman Catholic Church, because he thought it more favorable than the Anglican to such a scheme of government as he aimed to set up in England. In the year 1670 he made a secret treaty with the French king, the terms and objects of which were most scandalous. In return for aid which he was to render Louis in an attack upon Holland, he was to receive from him a large sum of money; and in case his proposed declaration in favor of the restoration of the Catholic Church produced any trouble in the island, the aid of French troops. But Charles's naturally vacillating and indolent disposition, together with his fear of the resentment of his Protestant subjects, prevented the consummation of these schemes. These clandestine negotiations, however, became an open secret, enough leaking out respecting them to render the people very uneasy and suspicious. This state of the public mind led to a serious delusion and panic.

The Popish Plot (1678). — A rumor was started that the Papists had planned for England a St. Bartholomew. The king, the members of Parliament, and all Protestants were to be massacred, the Catholic Church was to be re-established, and the king's brother James, the Duke of York, a zealous Catholic, was to be placed on the throne. Each day the reports of the conspiracy

grew more exaggerated and wild. Informers sprang up on every hand, each with a more terrifying story than the preceding. One of these witnesses, Titus Oates by name, a most infamous person, gained an extraordinary notoriety in exposing the imaginary plot. Many Papists, convicted solely by the testimony of perjured witnesses, became victims of the delusion and fraud.

The excitement produced by the supposed plot led Parliament to pass what was called the Test Act, which excluded Catholics from the House of Lords. (They had already been shut out from the House of Commons by the oath of supremacy, which was required of commoners, though not of peers.) The disability created by this statute was not removed from the Catholics until the present century, — in the reign of George the Fourth.

Origin of the Names Whig and Tory. — Besides shutting Catholic peers out of Parliament, there was a large party in both houses who were determined to exclude the Duke of York from the throne. Those in favor of the measure of exclusion were called Whigs, those who opposed it Tories.[1] We cannot, perhaps, form a better general idea of the maxims and principles of these two parties than by calling the Whigs the political descendants of the Roundheads, and the Tories of the Cavaliers. Later in English history they became known respectively as Liberals and Conservatives.

The Habeas Corpus Act. — The year following the Popish Plot the Parliament passed the celebrated Habeas Corpus Act. This statute was intended to render more effectual the ancient and valued writ of habeas corpus, which was designed to protect the personal liberty of Englishmen, but which the king's courts and sheriffs were rendering wellnigh useless through their evasions and

[1] The origin of the word "Whig" is a little uncertain; some get it from the initial letters of the phrase, "We hope in God," which was the motto of some of the early members of the party; others from *whey*, the drink of the Scotch Covenanters. "Tory" probably comes from the Irish word *toree* (give me), the command of the robber. Before pressed into political service, it was applied to the half-civilized natives of certain districts in Ireland.

shifts. The law is so carefully and ingeniously drawn that it is almost impossible for its provisions to be evaded in any way. It gives every person almost absolute security against illegal detention in prison, and is the strongest safeguard against the attempts of a despotic ruler upon the liberty of those who may have incurred his displeasure.

The story of the taking in the House of Lords of the vote by which the bill became a law is a very curious bit of historical gossip. Upon the division of the House, as the lords were passing before the tellers to be counted, an absurdly corpulent member coming along, one of the tellers, Lord Gray by name, simply in jest, counted him as *ten*. Observing, however, that his colleague, an absent-minded person, did not notice the miscount, and that the bill in order to carry needed the added number, he allowed the misreckoning to go uncorrected. And thus one of the most important statutes ever enacted by Parliament "was passed by a foolish jest and a shameless falsehood."

The King's Death. — After a reign of just one quarter of a century, Charles died in 1685, and was followed by his brother James, whose rule was destined to be short and troubled.

2. *Reign of James the Second* (1685–1688).

James's Despotic Course.[1] — James, like all the other Stuarts, held exalted notions of the divine right of kings to rule as they please, and at once set about carrying out these ideas in a most imprudent and reckless manner. Notwithstanding he had given most solemn assurances that he would uphold the Anglican Church, he

[1] James was barely seated upon the throne before the Duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles II., who had been in exile in the Netherlands, asserted his right to the crown, and at the head of a hundred men invaded England. Thousands flocked to his standard, but in the battle of Sedgemoor (1685) he was utterly defeated by the royal troops. Terrible vengeance was wreaked upon all in any way connected with the rebellion. The notorious Chief Justice Jeffries, in what were called the "Bloody Assizes," condemned to death 320 persons, and sentenced 841 to transportation. Jeffries conducted the so-called trials with incredible brutality.

straightway set about the re-establishment of the Roman worship He instituted the Catholic service in the royal chapel, and encouraged monks and friars, who now began to swarm in the cities, where their habit had not been seen for a long time. He arbitrarily prorogued and dissolved Parliament. The standing army, which Charles had raised to 10,000 men, he increased to 20,000, and placed Catholics in many of its most important offices. He formed a league against his own subjects with Louis XIV., — became, in a word, his pensioner, and reduced England to the degrading position of a dependency of France. The High Commission Court of Elizabeth, which had been abolished by Parliament, was practically restored in a new ecclesiastical tribunal presided over by the infamous Jeffries.

The despotic course of the king raised up enemies on all sides. No party or sect, save the most zealous Catholics, stood by him. The Tory gentry were in favor of royalty, indeed, but not of tyranny. Thinking to make friends of the Protestant dissenters, James issued a decree known as the Declaration of Indulgence, whereby he suspended all the laws against non-conformists. This edict all the clergy were ordered to read from their pulpits. Almost to a man they refused to do so. Seven bishops even dared to send the king a petition and remonstrance against his unconstitutional proceedings.

The petitioners were thrust into the Tower, and soon brought to trial on the charge of "seditious libel." The nation was now thoroughly aroused, and the greatest excitement prevailed while the trial was progressing. Judges and jury were overawed by the popular demonstration, and the bishops were acquitted. The news of the result of the trial was received not only by the people, but by the army as well, with shouts of joy, which did not fail to reach even the dull ears of the king.

The Revolution of 1688. — The crisis which it was easy to see was impending was hastened by the birth of a prince, as this cut off the hope of the nation that the crown upon James's death would descend to his daughter Mary, now wife of the Prince of

Orange, Stadtholder of Holland. The prospect of the accession in the near future of a Protestant and freedom-loving Prince and Princess reconciled the people to the misgovernment of their present despotic and Catholic sovereign. The appearance upon the stage of an infant prince gave a wholly different look to affairs, and, as we have said, destroyed all hope of matters being righted by the ordinary course of events.

This led the most active of the king's enemies to resolve to bring about at once what they had been inclined to wait to have accomplished by his death. They sent an invitation to the Prince of Orange to come over with such force as he could muster and take possession of the government, pledging him the united and hearty support of the English nation. William accepted the invitation, notified the world in a manly address that he was going to protect the liberties of England, and straightway began to gather his fleet and army for the enterprise.

Meanwhile King James, in his blind and obstinate way, was rushing on headlong upon his own destruction. He seemed absolutely blind to the steady and rapid drift of the nation towards the point of open resistance and revolution. At last, when the sails of the Dutch fleet were spread for a descent upon the English shores, then the infatuated despot suddenly realized, what he seems to have been utterly oblivious to before, that absolute ruin was impending over his throne. He now adopted every expedient to avert the threatened evil. He restored to cities the charters he had wrongfully taken from them, re-instated magistrates in the positions from which they had been unjustly deposed, attempted to make friends with the bishops, and promised to sustain the Anglican Church and rule in accordance with the constitution of the realm.

All concessions and promises, however, were in vain. They came too late. The king was absolutely deserted; army and people went over in a body to the Prince of Orange, whose fleet had now touched the shores of the island. Flight alone was left him. The Queen with her infant child was secretly embarked for

France, where the king soon after joined her. It would have been easy to have detained him in England, but the people had no wish to see another royal execution, and so the way for his escape was left open. The last act of the king before leaving England was to disband the army, and fling the Great Seal into the Thames.

In France the self-exiled monarch and his family were kindly received by Louis, who kept up for them the shadow of a court in one of the royal palaces near the capital.

For a moment after the king's flight all things trembled on the verge of anarchy; England was without a government. The army having been disbanded by James, the lawless and abandoned, with all restraint removed, were ready for riot and plunder. But English self-restraint and love of order soon triumphed over panic and passion, and the threatened dissolution of society was averted. The peers in London assumed the responsibility of temporarily directing matters, and thus affairs were secured, while pressing messages to the Prince of Orange urged him to hasten to London to assume the government.

The Prince's first act was to issue a call for a Convention to provide for the permanent settlement of the crown. This body met January 22, 1689, and after a violent debate declared the throne to be vacant through James's misconduct and flight. They then resolved, since William had expressed an unwillingness to rule simply as regent for his wife,[1] and she had also declined to take the crown alone, to confer the royal dignity upon both as joint sovereigns of the realm.

But this Convention did not repeat the error of the Parliament that restored Charles II., and give the crown to the Prince and Princess without proper safeguards and guaranties for the conduct of the government according to the ancient laws of the kingdom. They drew up the celebrated Declaration of Rights, which plainly rehearsed all the old rights and liberties of Englishmen; denied the right of the king to lay taxes or maintain an army without the

[1] William by his own right stood next in succession to Mary and Anne.

consent of Parliament; and asserted that freedom of debate was the inviolable privilege of both the Lords and the Commons. William and Mary were required to accept this declaration, and to agree to rule in accordance with its provisions, whereupon they were declared King and Queen of England.

In such manner was effected what is known in history as "the bloodless Revolution of 1688."

Literature of the Restoration.

It reflects the Immorality of the Age. — The reigns of the restored Stuarts mark the most corrupt period in the life of the English people. The low standard of morals, and the general profligacy in manners, especially among the higher classes, are in part attributable to the demoralizing example of a shockingly licentious and shameless court; but in a larger measure, perhaps, should be viewed as the natural reaction from the over-stern, repellant Puritanism of the preceding period. The Puritans undoubtedly erred in their indiscriminate and wholesale denunciation of all forms of harmless amusement and innocent pleasure. They not only rebuked gaming, drinking, and profanity, and stopped bear-baiting,[1] but they closed all the theatres, forbade the May-pole dances of the people, condemned as paganish the observance of Christmas, frowned upon sculpture as idolatrous and indecent, pronounced it irreligious to eat mince pie, and considered any color in dress as utterly incompatible with a proper sense of the seriousness of life.

Now all this was laying too heavy a burden upon human nature. The revolt and reaction came, as come they must. Upon the Restoration, society swung to the opposite extreme. In place of the solemn-visaged, psalm-singing Roundhead, we have the gay, roistering Cavalier. Faith gives place to infidelity, sobriety to drunkenness, purity to profligacy, economy to extravagance, Bible-

[1] Macaulay humorously insists that the Puritans opposed bear-baiting not because it gave pain to the bear, but because it gave pleasure to the spectator.

study, psalm-singing, and exhorting to theatre-going, profanity, and carousing.

The literature of the age is a perfect record of this revolt against the "sour severity" of Puritanism, and a faithful reflection of the unblushing immorality of the times.

Butler's Hudibras. — The book most read and praised by Charles II. and his court, and the one that best represents the spirit of the victorious party, is the satirical poem of *Hudibras* by Samuel Butler. The poem narrates the exploits of Sir Hudibras, a pious, hypocritical Presbyterian justice of the peace, and his clerk Ralph, an obstinate, fanatical independent, who conceive it their duty to undertake a crusade against the games and amusements of the people, in the prosecution of which enterprise they meet with many and ludicrous adventures.

The object of the work is to satirize the cant and excesses of Puritanism, just as the *Don Quixote* of Cervantes burlesques the extravagances and follies of Chivalry. Butler, however, displays a spirit of vindictiveness and hatred towards the object of his wit, of which we find no trace in the good-natured Spanish humorist. "Much of his ridicule is embittered by prejudice; but much more will retain point as long as cant and hypocrisy continue. Hudibras is the best burlesque in the English language." — SHAW.

"The Corrupt Drama." — So immoral and indecent are the works of the writers for the stage of this period that they have acquired the designation of "the corrupt dramatists." The most prominent names in this species of literature are Dryden, Wycherly, Congreve, Vanbrugh, and Farquhar. By one and all of them vice is flaunted in the face of virtue. Almost all their characters are atrociously gross and obscene, being utterly devoid of all sense of virtue or decency.[1]

[1] A clergyman by the name of Jeremy Collier made a vigorous assault upon these shameless dramatists, in a work entitled "A Short View of the Profaneness and Immorality of the English Stage." Dryden was brought to repentance; but the others were defiant, and attempted, though unsuccessfully, to repel the attack. "The controversy," says Shaw, "resulted in giving a

IV. The Orange–Stuarts.

1. *Reign of William and Mary* (1689–1702).

The Bill of Rights. — The Revolution of 1688 and the new settlement of the crown upon William and Mary, marks an epoch in the constitutional history of England. It settled forever the long dispute between king and Parliament — and settled it in favor of the latter. The Bill of Rights, — the articles of the Declaration of Rights framed into a law, — which was one of the earliest acts of the first Parliament under William and Mary, in effect "transferred sovereignty from the king to the House of Commons." It asserted plainly that the kings of England derive their right and title to rule not from the accident of birth, but from the will of the people, and declared that Parliament might depose any king, and excluding from the throne his heirs, settle the crown anew in another family. This uprooted quite thoroughly the pernicious doctrine that princes have a divine and inalienable right to the throne of their ancestors, and when once seated on that throne rule simply as the vicegerents of God, above all human censure and control. We shall hear but little more in England of this monstrous theory,[1] which for so long a time overshadowed and threatened the freedom of the English people.

Mindful of Charles's attempt to reëstablish the Roman Catholic worship, the framers of this same famous Bill of Rights further declared that all persons holding communion with the Church of Rome or uniting in marriage with a papist, should be "forever incapable to possess, inherit, or enjoy the crown and government of the realm." Since the Revolution of 1688 no Catholic has worn the English crown.

The other provisions of the bill, following closely the language

better tone to the drama, and to lighter literature in general, and from that time there has been a gradual improvement which has given to the readers of English the purest modern literature."

[1] There were revivals of it even after the accession of the Hanoverians (1714), the doctrine being defended by the High Church party.

of the Declaration, forbade the king to levy taxes or keep an army in time of peace without the consent of Parliament; asserted the right of the people to petition for redress of grievances and freely to choose their representatives; demanded that Parliament should be frequently assembled; re-affirmed, as one of the ancient privileges of both Houses, perfect freedom of debate; forbade the king to usurp the functions of the courts of justice; and positively denied the dispensing power of the crown, that is, the authority claimed by the Stuarts of annulling a law by a royal edict.

All of these provisions now became inwrought into the English Constitution, and from this time forward were recognized as part of the fundamental law of the realm.

Settlement of the Revenue. — The articles of the Bill of Rights were made effectual by appropriate legislation. One thing which had enabled the Tudors and Stuarts to be so independent of Parliament was the custom which prevailed of granting to each king, at the beginning of his reign, the ordinary revenue of the kingdom during his life. This income, with what could be raised by gifts, benevolences, monopolies, and similiar expedients, had enabled despotic sovereigns to administer the government, wage war, and engage in any wild enterprise just as his own individual caprice or passion might dictate. All this was now changed. Parliament, instead of granting William the revenue for life, restricted the grant to a single year, and made it a penal offense for the officers of the treasury to pay out money otherwise than ordered by Parliament. William was much displeased at this arrangement, and complained that Parliament imposed less confidence in him, the preserver of their liberties, than they had placed in the Stuart tyrants. But the Houses of Parliament were right; and they stood by their resolve.

We cannot overestimate the importance of this change in the English Constitution. It is this control of the purse of the nation which has made the House of Commons — for all money-bills must originate in the Lower House — the actual seat of government, constituting them the arbiters of peace and war. By simply

refusing to vote supplies, they can paralyze instantly the arm of the king. The necessity, too, of securing the grant of the revenue compels the sovereign to summon Parliament annually. Thus the frequent calling together of the Lords and Commons is indirectly provided for.

The Mutiny Act. — Another important statute of the first year of William and Mary is what is known as the "Mutiny Act." By this measure the power of punishing mutiny or desertion on the part of officers or soldiers of the army, or of holding any court-martial, was given to the king for twelve months only. This act had to be renewed annually, otherwise the army would fall to pieces, the soldiers being released from obedience to their officers, and the officers from obedience to the sovereign. In this way the army was brought under the control of Parliament, and the frequent assembling of the representatives of the nation again indirectly secured.

Thus was the English Constitution, which had been so dangerously impaired by the violence and tyranny of the later Plantagenets, the Tudors, and the Stuarts, restored by the Revolutions of 1640 and 1688, and every possible safeguard placed about the rights and liberties of the English people, and the future stability and strength of the English government and the growth and prosperity of the nation thereby secured.

James attempts to recover the Throne: Battle of the Boyne (1690). — The first years of William's reign were disturbed by the efforts of James to regain the throne which he had abandoned. In these attempts he was aided by Louis XIV., and by the Jacobites, the name given to the adherents of the exile king. An uprising in Scotland in the interest of James was quickly crushed; but the suppression of the Jacobite party in Ireland was a more difficult work. There the Catholics rallied enthusiastically about the Stuart banner. James himself went over to the island, and Louis aided the movement with arms and soldiers. In 1690 William assumed the personal direction of the campaign against the insurrectionists, and in the decisive Battle of the Boyne gained a great victory over them. When James, who was watching the

fight,— from a distance, — saw that the field was lost, he fled to the coast and embarked for France. His deserted soldiers, ashamed of the cowardice of their leader, and filled with admiration for the bravery of William, who, though wounded, kept his place at the head of his men, proposed to the English that they should change kings with them, and then they would fight them over again.

The results of the Battle of the Boyne broke the spirit of revolt, and soon all Ireland acknowledged the authority of William. The Protestant Irish, or Orangemen, as they are called, still keep fresh the memory of the great victory by the celebration, even in the cities of the New World, of the anniversary of the event.

Plans and Death of William. — The motive which had most strongly urged William to respond to the invitation of the English revolutionists to assume the crown of England, was his desire to turn the arms and resources of that country against the great champion of Despotism, and the dangerous neighbor of his own native country, Louis XIV. of France.

The conduct of Louis in lending aid to James in his attempts to regain his crown had so inflamed the English that they were quite ready to support William in his wars against him, and so the English and Dutch sailors fought side by side against the common enemy. In 1692 they gained a notable victory over the French fleet in the harbor of *La Hague*, which spread rejoicing throughout the two countries. Finally Louis agreed (in the Peace of Ryswick, 1697 : see page 498) to recognize William of Orange as the rightful sovereign of England, and to cease endeavoring to seat the Stuarts again upon the throne of that country.

A short time after the Peace of Ryswick, broke out the War of the Spanish Succession (see page 498). William, as the uncompromising foe of the ambitious French king, urged the English to enter the war against France. An insolent and perfidious act on the part of Louis caused the English people to support their king in this plan with great unanimity and heartiness. The matter to which we refer was this. James II. having died at just this junc-

ture of affairs, Louis, disregarding his solemn promises, at once acknowledged his son, known in history as the "Pretender," as "King of Great Britain and Ireland."

Preparations were now made for the war thus provoked by the double sense of danger and insult. In the midst of these preparations William was seriously hurt by being thrown from his horse, and soon after died in the fifty-second year of his age (1702). Mary had preceded him in 1694, and as they left no children, the crown descended to the Princess Anne, Mary's sister, now married to Prince George of Denmark.

2. *Reign of Queen Anne* (1702–1714).

War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714). — The War of the Spanish Succession covered the whole of the reign of Queen Anne. Of the causes and results of this war, and of England's part in it, we have spoken in connection with the reign of Louis XIV. (see page 498) ; and so, referring the reader to the account of the contest there given, we shall pass to speak of another event of a domestic character which signalized the reign of Queen Anne.

Union of the Parliaments of England and Scotland (1707). — We refer to the union of England and Scotland into a single kingdom, under the name of Great Britain (1707). It was only the two *crowns* that were united when James I. came to the English throne: now the two *parliaments* are united. From this time forward the two countries were represented by one Parliament, and the name "British" becomes the common designation of the inhabitants of England, Wales, and Scotland.

The union was advantageous to both countries; for it was a union not simply of hands, but of hearts. England's constant and costly watch through ten centuries of her northern frontiers against raid and invasion could now be intermitted. The thorn in her side, which the meddlesome hand of France was constantly pressing, was now removed. A chief cause of weakness and annoyance was turned into an element of strength.

Equally beneficial was the measure to Scotland. Her connec-

tion with the manufacturing and commercial enterprises of England resulted in a wonderful expansion of her national energies and resources. Manufactories sprang up on every side, insignificant towns grew suddenly into great centres of trade and population, and agriculture was improved, so that in less than half a century the whole aspect of the country underwent an entire transformation.

Death of Queen Anne. — Queen Anne died in the year 1714, leaving no heirs. In the reign of William a statute known as the Act of Settlement[1] had provided that the crown, in default of heirs of William and Anne, should descend to the Electress Sophia of Hanover (grandchild of James I.), or her heirs, "being Protestants." The Electress died only a short time before the death of Queen Anne; so, upon that event, the crown descended upon the head of the Electress' eldest son George, who thus became the founder of a new line of English sovereigns, the House of Hanover, or Brunswick, the family in whose hands the royal sceptre still remains.

Literature under Queen Anne. — The reign of Queen Anne is an illustrious one in English literature. Under her began to write a group of brilliant authors, the most noted of whom were Pope, Swift, Addison, and Defoe,[2] whose activity continued on into the reign of her successor, George I. Their productions are, many of them, of special interest to the historian, because during this period there was an unusually close connection between literature and politics. Literature was forced into the service of party. A large portion of the writings of this era is in the form of political pamphlets, wherein all the resources of wit, satire, and literary

[1] The most important articles of this Act of Settlement after that determining the succession, were one providing that after the accession of the House of Hanover no one should wear the crown unless a communicant of the Anglican Church, and another providing that the judges should hold office during good behavior, not simply at the will of the king, as hitherto.

[2] Alexander Pope, 1688–1744; Jonathan Swift, 1667–1745; Joseph Addison, 1672–1719; Daniel Defoe, 1661–1731. In the scientific annals of the period the name of Sir Isaac Newton, 1642–1727, is most prominent.

skill are exhausted in defending or in ridiculing the opposing principles and policies of Whig and Tory.

V. England under the Earlier Hanoverians.[1]

The Sovereign's Loss of Political Influence. — The new Hanoverian king, George I. (1714–1727), was utterly ignorant of the language and the affairs of the people over whom he had been called to rule. He was not loved by the English, but he was tolerated by them for the reason that he represented Protestantism and those principles of political liberty for which they had so long battled with their Stuart kings. On account of his ignorance of English affairs, the king was obliged to entrust to his ministers the practical administration of the government. The same was true in the case of George II. (1727–1760). George III. (1760–1820), having been born and educated in England, regained some of the influence of former kings. But he was the last English sovereign who had any large personal influence in shaping governmental policies. Since his time the English government has been carried on in the name of the king by a prime minister, dependent upon the will of the House of Commons. This marks an important step in the process by which sovereignty has been transferred from the Crown to the People. (For later steps, see pp. 695–701.)

Old French and Indian War (1756–1763). — Just after the middle of the eighteenth century there broke out between the French and the English colonists in America the so-called Old French and Indian War. The struggle became blended with what in Europe is known as the Seven Years' War (see p. 574). At first the war went disastrously against the English, but in the year 1757 the elder William Pitt (afterwards Earl of Chatham), known as "the Great Commoner," came to the head of affairs in England. As a result of his vigorous administration, the war in America was

[1] For table of the Hanoverian sovereigns, and likewise for notice of the attempts made by the exiled Stuarts to recover the English throne, see p. 695, note.

brought to a speedy and triumphant close, the contest being virtually ended by the great victory gained by the English under the youthful Major-General Wolfe over the French under Montcalm upon the Heights of Quebec (1759). By the Treaty of Paris (1763) France ceded to England Canada and all her possessions in North America east of the Mississippi River, save New Orleans.

The American Revolution (1775–1783). — By a violation of one of the principles which she had so stoutly maintained against the Stuarts, England now drove her American colonies to revolt. Parliament insisted upon taxing the colonists; the colonists maintained that they could be justly taxed only through their own legislative assemblies. England refusing to acknowledge this principle, the colonies took up arms in defence of those liberties which their fathers had won with so hard a struggle from English kings on English soil. The result of the war was the separation from the mother-land of the thirteen colonies that had grown up along the Atlantic sea-board, — and a Greater England began its independent career in the New World.

Legislative Independence of Ireland (1782). — While the American War of Independence was going on, the Irish, taking advantage of the embarrassment of the English government, demanded legislative independence. Ireland had had a Parliament of her own since the time of the conquest of the island by the English, but this Irish Parliament was dependent upon the English Parliament, which claimed the power to bind Ireland by its laws. This the Irish patriots strenuously denied, and drew up a Declaration of Rights, wherein they demanded the legislative independence of Ireland. The principle here involved was the same as that for which the English colonists in America were at this time contending with arms in their hands. Fear of a revolt led England to grant the demands of the Irish, and to acknowledge the independence of the Irish Parliament.

Thus both in America and in Ireland the principles of the Political Revolution triumphed. In Ireland, however, the legislative independence gained was soon lost. (See p. 694, note.)

CHAPTER III.

THE RISE OF RUSSIA: PETER THE GREAT (1682–1725).

General Remarks. — We left Russia at the close of the Middle Ages a semi-savage, semi-Asiatic power, so hemmed in by barbarian lands and hostile races as to be almost entirely cut off from intercourse with the civilized world. In the present chapter we wish to tell how she pushed her lines out to the seas on every side, — to the Caspian, the Euxine, and the Baltic. The main interest of our story gathers about Peter the Great, whose almost superhuman strength and energy lifted tne great barbarian nation to a prominent place among the powers of Europe.

Ivan the Terrible (1533–1584). — The most noteworthy name among the rulers of Russia after the opening of the modern era is that of Ivan IV., surnamed the "Terrible," on account of his many cruel and revengeful acts. While yet a child of thirteen years he caused a boyar, or noble, who had offended him to be torn in pieces in his presence by dogs. Towards the close of his reign he killed his eldest son with a blow of his iron staff. At Novgorod, in punishment for a supposed conspiracy of the nobles, he put to death over 1,500 persons. He had "spasms of remorse" for his deeds, and then would clothe himself in the garb of a penitent, march in the priestly processions, pray himself and ask the prayers of others for the repose of the souls of his victims. At one time he made out a list of 3,470 persons whom he had killed, and asked for them the special prayers of the Church. But in judging Ivan, we ought, as Rambaud fairly urges, to try him by the standards of his own time, and not to forget that "the sixteenth century is the

century of Henry the Eighth, of Ferdinand the Catholic, of Catherine de Medici, of the Inquisition, and of Saint Batholomew."

But Ivan, notwithstanding his terrible disposition, did much to extend and consolidate the Russian dominions. He wrested from the Tartars Kazan (1552) and Astrakan (1554), and thus gained possession of the entire length of the Volga, — the most important highway of commerce within the Russian empire, — and extended the limits of his dominions to the shores of the Caspian. "In the Russian annals," says Rambaud, "the expedition of Kazan occupies the same glorious place as the defeat of Abderrahman in the history of the Franks." From that day to this Russia has steadily pushed the Turanian peoples back from their conquests in Europe, and as steadily encroached upon their domains in Asia.

Ivan also attempted to force his way through to the Baltic and the Black Sea, but Russia had not yet sufficient strength for these great undertakings. They were reserved for the energy and genius of Peter the Great and Catherine II. Before the death of Ivan, however, the Ural Mountains were explored and their great mineral resources discovered, and the conquest of Siberia fairly begun.

During this reign an exploring expedition from England, while searching for a northeast passage to China, discovered the White Sea. The result of the expedition was the founding of the port of Archangel, through which place the English began to carry on trade with Russia. Embassies were exchanged, and the Czar proposed to marry a cousin of Queen Elizabeth, and further sought to conclude a treaty with the Queen whereby each should engage to give the other an asylum in case rebellion or misfortune of any kind should drive either of them into exile. Elizabeth replied graciously, but declined to enter into the reciprocal arrangement, explaining to the Czar that there were, "by the grace of God, no dangers of the sort in her dominions."

In 1547 Ivan assumed the title of *Czar*, — probably a contraction of Cæsar, — the adoption of which title shows his ambition to

be regarded as the successor of the last Emperor of Constantinople. He maintained that "if Constantinople had been the second, Moscow was the third Rome, the living heir of the Eternal City."

The Conquest of Siberia. — One of the most noteworthy matters relating to Russian history during the seventeenth century is the conquest of Siberia, to which enterprise we have just referred as having been commenced under Ivan the Terrible. This immense region was brought under Russian domination in very much the same way that, during the preceding century, so large a part of the New World was annexed to the Spanish crown. It was explored, conquered, and colonized by just such bands of adventurers as took possession of Mexico and Peru; only here it was not gold and silver, the wealth of barbaric empires, but furs and walrus ivory that drew on the hunters and freebooters "from river to river, and from headland to headland." The conquest, or exploration, or colonization, by whichever name it may be preferred to designate this march of Russia upon Asia, was begun in 1580, and in little more than half a century — by 1639 — the Cossack horsemen were standing upon the eastern shores of Asia and gazing out upon the Pacific.[1]

The conquest or occupation of Northern Asia having been effected in the manner indicated, — the Czar often having only the vaguest idea of what was going on while half a continent was being taken possession of in his name, — it was inevitable that the record of the work should, like that of the Spanish conquests in the New World, be one of crime, oppression, and outrage. In the name of the Czar and of the Cross, the representatives of Russian civilization "slew, plundered, and burned their way from one side of Asia to the other without pity or remorse."

It remained for Russia to complete during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the work begun in the seventeenth, — to

[1] It was almost exactly one century later, in 1740, that the explorer Behring, having sometime before discovered the strait which bears his name, sighted the tall form of Mount St. Elias, and by right of discovery added the northwestern portion of North America to the possessions of the Czar.

explore the Siberian coast-line; to establish the Russian boundary in the valley of the Amoor; to follow the Siberian rivers to their sources among the Altai Mountains, and to take possession of the rich mineral-bearing regions about their heads; to beat into subjection the Khans of Turkestan, and to push the Russian frontier as far as possible towards Persia and India.

Beginning of the House of Romanof (1613). — The line of the old Norseman Ruric ended in 1598. Then followed a period of confusion and of foreign invasion, known as the Troublous Times, during which the Poles, the hereditary enemies of the Russians, succeeded in placing one of their own princes upon the Russian throne, after which, in 1613, Michael Romanof, the first of the family that bears his name, was chosen Czar. The dynasty thus founded has held the throne up to the present time.

Accession of Peter the Great (1682). — For more than half a century after the accession of the Romanofs, there is little either in the genius or deeds of any of the line calculated to draw our special attention. But towards the close of the seventeenth century there ascended the Russian throne a man of such capacity and energy and achievement as instantly to draw the gaze of the world, and who has elicited the admiration and wonder of all succeeding generations. This was Peter I., universally known as Peter the Great, one of the remarkable characters of history.

When Peter came to the throne in 1682 he was only ten years of age, so the government was conducted by his step-sister Sophia, in the name of Peter and of a blind, imbecile, elder half-brother, named Ivan, whom the Strelitzes, or national guards, insisted should share the sovereignty with Peter.

His Boyhood. — Peter was a strong, eager boy, with a bent for mechanics and military and naval affairs. He was constantly devising ingenious fireworks, arranging sham-fights with play-soldiers, and engaging in boat-building, thus in every way possible illustrating the proverb that the boy is father of the man.

When he was only eleven years of age he organized a play-regiment of his comrades, taking himself the position of a bombar-

dier. At a great expenditure of labor he caused a fort to be built, in order that his young soldiers might be exercised in all the manœuvres of a regular siege and assault. This play-regiment and this mimic war were the beginning of the reorganized Russian army, and the precursor of campaigns that concerned the world.

Peter's interest in naval affairs was greatly increased by a discovery which he made in 1688, while wandering over one of his estates. In an old building, stowed away amidst heaps of rubbish, he found an old English boat, which, in answer to his inquiries, he was told would go both with and against the wind. He at once had the boat repaired, and launching it upon a convenient stream, with his own hand upon the helm eagerly navigated it up and down the river. Very soon Peter had mechanics at work making others upon the same model. This was the beginning of the Russian navy. The little model is still carefully preserved at St. Petersburg, and is known as the "Grandsire of the Russian Fleet."

In 1689, when only seventeen years of age, Peter, convinced that Sophia was intriguing to secure for herself the crown, caused her to be deposed and shut her up in a convent, while he, in connection with Ivan, who naturally yielded to his stronger brother in everything, assumed the responsibilities of government.

His Plans. — At this time the dominions of the Czar possessed only one seaport, Archangel, on the White Sea, which harbor for a large part of the year was sealed against vessels by the extreme cold of that high latitude. Russia consequently had no marine commerce; there was no word for *fleet* in the Russian language. Nor had she manufactures of any note. The Russians were simply a great barbarian nation, "less civilized than the Mexicans when discovered by Cortez."

Now Peter, who had and could have only rude Asiatic ideas of government, looked upon this great savage empire which he had inherited, very much as a man regards his private estate. It was his; he owned it; and he would set himself to develop its resources, to open it up to its neighbors, and in every way to improve it and make it a more valuable royal possession. He saw

clearly that his first need was outlets upon the sea. "'It is not land I want, but water,'" he said, "as he reached out after sea-coast." Hence his first aim was to wrest the Baltic shore from the grasp of Sweden, and the Euxine from the hands of the Turks.

The Conquest of Azof (1696).— In 1695 Peter, with the declaration, "We are now going to play the real game of war," sailed down the Don and made an attack upon Azof, the key to the Black Sea, but was unsuccessful. The next year, however, repeating the attempt, he succeeded, and thus gained his first harbor on the south.

This same year his brother Ivan died, leaving the sole sovereignty in Peter, whose real reign may be regarded as beginning now.

No sooner had Peter secured his new harbor than he set in earnest about the construction of a fleet (1696–7), in which enterprise he was aided by shipwrights whom he had called from Venice and other western states. So energetically was the work pushed that in less than two years a great fleet of war-ships was floating upon the streams running to the Azof.

Peter's First Visit to the West (1697–1698).— With a view to advancing his naval projects, Peter about this time sent a large number of young Russian nobles to Italy, Holland, and England to acquire in those countries a knowledge of naval affairs, forbidding them to return before they had become good sailors.

Not satisfied with thus sending to foreign parts his young nobility, Peter formed the somewhat startling resolution of going abroad himself, and learning the art of ship-building by personal experience in the dockyards of Holland. Accordingly, in the year 1697, leaving the government in the hands of three nobles, he set out *incognito* for the Netherlands. Upon arrival there he proceeded to Zaandam, a place a short distance from Amsterdam, and there hired out as a common laborer to a Dutch ship-builder.

Notwithstanding his disguise it was well enough known who the stranger was. Indeed there was but little chance of Peter's being mistaken for a Dutchman. The way in which he flew about, and

the terrible energy with which he did everything, and his "everlasting questions," "What is that?" "How does that work?" set him quite apart from the easy-going, phlegmatic Hollanders.

To escape the annoyance of the crowds at Zaandam, Peter left the place, and went to the docks of the East India Company in Amsterdam, who set about building a frigate that he might see the whole process of constructing a vessel from the beginning. Here he worked for four months, being known among his fellow-workmen as Baas or Master Peter.

When fully established he wrote back to friends in Russia, "We are now in the Netherlands, in the town of Amsterdam, and, following the divine command given to our forefather Adam, are hard at work. What we do is not for any need, but for the sake of learning navigation, so that, having mastered it thoroughly, we can, when we return, be victorious over the enemies of Jesus Christ, and liberators of the Christians who live under them, which I shall not cease to work for until my latest breath."

It was not alone the art of naval architecture in which Peter interested himself; he attended lectures on anatomy, studied surgery, gaining some skill in pulling teeth and bleeding, inspected paper-mills, flour-mills, printing-presses, and factories, and visited cabinets, hospitals, and museums, thus acquainting himself with every industry and art that he thought might be advantageously introduced into his own country. It is said that Peter came to know well fourteen trades.

From Holland Master Peter went to England to study her superior naval establishment. Here he was fittingly received by King William III., who had presented Peter while in Holland with a splendid yacht fully armed, and who now made his guest extremely happy by getting up for him a sham sea-fight.

Besides examining ships and dock-yards, Peter gave his attention to almost every English institution. He is said to have been much astonished at the number of lawyers at the Westminster courts, declaring that he had "only two at home and meant to hang one of them as soon as he got back." And yet this bold

autocrat was so shy that he would not go into the Parliament chambers, but inspected that body through a hole in the ceiling.

Peter remained in England four months, a great part of the time being spent in the same labors that had occupied him in the Netherlands. When he came to leave the country, he is said to have carelessly drawn from his pocket a roll of brown paper which he handed King William, and which on being opened was found to contain a large diamond in the rough.

While in England Peter gathered a company of several hundred engineers, captains, surgeons, mechanics, and persons learned in the various sciences, and by magnificent promises — which the truth requires us to say were very badly fulfilled — induced them to go to Russia to help him build fleets, train soldiers, cut canals, and Europeanize his country.

Returning from England to Holland, Peter went thence to Vienna, intending to visit Italy; but hearing of an insurrection at home, he set out in haste for Moscow.

Peter's Reforms. — The revolt which had hastened Peter's return from the West was an uprising among the Strelitzes, a body of soldiers numbering 20,000 or 30,000, organized by Ivan the Terrible as a sort of imperial body-guard. In their ungovernable turbulence they remind us of the Pretorians of the Roman Emperors, or the Janizaries of the Turkish Sultans. The present mutiny had been instigated probably by the mischievous Sophia; but it had been suppressed before Peter's arrival, so that there was nothing now remaining for him to do save the meting out of punishment to the ring-leaders, of whom a thousand or more were put to death with the cruelest tortures. Peter is even accused of having beheaded some of the wretches with his own hands; it is certain that he forced the nobles of his court to act as executioners and strike off the heads of the condemned. Sophia, who, as we have intimated, was suspected of being concerned in the plot, was compelled to take religious vows, which act effectually removed her from the sphere of politics.

This revolt settled Peter in his determination to rid himself

altogether of the insolent and turbulent Strelitzes. A royal edict disbanded those regiments that had had any part in the uprising; a subsequent revolt led to the abolition of the remaining regiments. Thus at a blow did the resolute Peter destroy a power that had come to overshadow the throne itself, and to make the Czar a puppet in its hands. The place of the Strelitzes was taken by a well-disciplined force trained according to the tactics of the Western nations.

The disbanding of the dangerous Strelitzes was only one of the many reforms effected by Peter. So intent was he upon thoroughly Europeanizing his country, that he resolved that his subjects should literally clothe themselves in the "garments of Western civilization." Accordingly he abolished the long-sleeved, long-skirted robes that were at this time worn, and decreed that everybody save the clergy should shave, or pay a tax on his beard of from two cents to two hundred dollars, according to his rank. But Peter's subjects were loth to part either with their skirts or their beards, which latter were as sacred in the eyes of all good Muscovites as is the queue in the estimation of Chinamen. We are told that Peter cut off with his own hands the offending sleeves and beards of his reluctant courtiers, and, in imitation — unconscious imitation, we may believe — of Queen Elizabeth of England in her war upon the extravagant ruffs of her times, stationed tailors and barbers at the gates of Moscow to cut off the skirts and train the beards of those who had not conformed to the royal regulations. The law was gradually relaxed, but the reform became so general that in the best society in Russia at the present day one sees only smooth faces and the Western style of dress.

Peter also reformed the Russian calendar by making the year begin January 1 instead of September 1, in which month the Russians had begun the year for the reason that they thought it probable that God made the world in the fall when the fruits were ripe.

As additional outgrowths of what he had seen, or heard, or had suggested to him on his foreign tour, Peter issued a new coinage, introduced schools, built factories, constructed roads and canals,

established a postal system, opened mines, framed laws modeled after those of the West, and reformed the government of the towns in such a way as to give the citizens some voice in the management of their local affairs, as he had observed was done in the Netherlands and in England.

Charles XII. of Sweden. — Peter's history now becomes intertwined with that of a man quite as remarkable as himself, Charles XII. of Sweden, the "Madman of the North," of whom Voltaire says, that he was "the most extraordinary personage, perhaps, that ever appeared in the world."[1] Charles was but fifteen years of age when, in 1697, the death of his father called him to the Swedish throne. The dominions which came under his sway embraced not only Sweden, but Finland, and large possessions along the Southern Baltic, territory that had been won by the arms of his ancestors.

Taking advantage of Charles's extreme youth, three sovereigns, Frederick IV. of Denmark, Augustus the Strong, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, and Peter the Great of Russia, leagued against him (1700), for the purpose of appropriating such portions of his dominions as they might severally desire to annex to their own.

The Battle of Narva (1700). — But the conspirators had formed a wrong estimate of the young Swedish monarch. Notwithstanding the insane follies in which he was accustomed to

[1] Innumerable stories, which for the most part seem well enough founded, are related of the precocious sayings and wild doings of this strange and erratic person. While yet a child he said to his tutor, "I could wish to resemble Alexander"; and upon being told that Alexander lived only thirty-two years, he rejoined, "And is not that long enough for one who has conquered kingdoms?" The first two or three years of his reign, during which the government was conducted by a regent, were filled by the boy-king with madcap follies, such as beheading sheep, as a sword exercise, in the palace chambers, and flinging the heads out of the windows, "to the astonishment of passers-by"; breaking into pieces at the close of a banquet the dishes and furniture, and pitching the fragments through the closed windows; smashing the furniture in the royal chapel, and similar exploits.

THE
BALTIC LANDS
C. 1701
Denmark & Norway
Sweden
Poland & Lithuania
Russia
Prussia & Brandenbg.
House of Austria,
Turks, &
White Sea
Archangel
Dwina R.
Tronhiem
Bergen
Upsal
Stockholm
Gulf of Finland
Abo
Frederickshall
Wisby
DAGO
OESEL
Dorpat
Pskof
Novgorod
Riga
Tver
Vladimir
Kasan
R. Volga
Bulgar
MOSCOW
Polotsk
Vitebsk
Smolensk
Vilna
LITHUANIA
Grodno
Novogrodek
Mohilef
Tzernigof
Kiev
COSSACKS
(Poltowa)
R. Don
Sarai
Astrakhan
Azof
Kaffa
Sandomir
Lublin
VOLHYNIA
Vladimir
CRACOW
RED
RUSSIA
PODOLIA
Kamienetz
MOLDAVIA
Bender
BESS-
ARABIA
Wismar
Hamburg
Stralsund
Dantzic
Bremen
Berlin
Posen
Warsaw
Breslau
Leuthen
Roßbach
Hubertsburg
Zorndorf
Frankfort
Konigsberg
Memel
R. Vistula
R. Oder
R. Dniester
R. Bug
R. Pruth
R. Dnieper
SILESIA
BOHEMIA
HUNGARY
POLAND
PRUSSIA
POMERANIA
BRANDENBURG
SAXONY
WEST PRUSSIA
DUCHY OF PR.
DENMARK
NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
LIVONIA
ESTHLAND
INGERMAN LAND
CARELIA
COURLAND
SEMIGALLIA
BORNHOLM
GOTLAND
OESEL
JUTLAND
SLESWICH
HOLSTEIN
BRUNSWICK
HALLAND
BLEKINGEN
SMOLAND
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
TARTARY
CRIM

indulge, he possessed talent; especially had he a remarkable aptitude for military affairs. "He loved war as other youths love a mistress," and was eager to measure his strength with that of his assailants. "I am resolved," said he, "never to begin an unjust war, but never to finish a just one but with the destruction of my enemies."

With a well-trained force — a veteran army that had not yet forgotten the discipline of the hero Gustavus Adolphus — Charles now threw himself first upon the Danes, and in two weeks forced the Danish king to sue for peace; then he turned his little army of 8,000 men upon the Russian forces of 20,000, which were besieging the city of Narva, on the Gulf of Finland, and inflicted upon them a most ignominious defeat. The only comment of the imperturbable Peter upon the disaster was, "The Swedes will have the advantage of us at first, but they will teach us how to beat them."

The Founding of St. Petersburg (1703). — After chastising the Czar at Narva, the Swedish king turned south and marched into Poland to punish Augustus for the part he had taken in the conspiracy against him. While Charles was busied in this quarter, Peter, having made good by strenuous exertions his loss in men and arms at Narva, was gradually making himself master of the Swedish lands on the Baltic, and upon a marshy island at the mouth of the Neva was laying the foundations of the famous city of Petersburg, which he proposed to make the western gateway of his empire.

The spot selected by Peter as the site of his new capital was low and subject to inundation,[1] so that the labor requisite to make it fit for building purposes was simply enormous. But difficulties never dismayed Peter. He gathered workmen from all parts of his dominions, cut down and dragged to the spot whole forests for piles and buildings, and caused a city to rise as if by magic

[1] Peter tells us of an inundation which occurred in 1706. "It was amusing," he writes, "to see how the people sat on roofs and trees, just as in the time of the Deluge."

from the morasses. The lack of stone and other good building material was met by every cart entering the place and every vessel visiting the port, being compelled to bring a certain quantity of stone, brick, or gravel. More than 100,000 workmen are said to have perished during the first few years of the work. This is doubtless an exaggeration, yet an exaggeration which shows at how great a cost the capital was built. But in spite of difficulties the work was done, and the splendid city stands to-day one of the most impressive monuments of the indomitable and despotic energy of Peter.

The selection of the site of St. Petersburg was doubtless a mistake, it being too far north for a harbor, and too distant from the heart of Russia for the seat of government; and hence, as many prophesy, the deserted city of Moscow may some time in the future again become the capital, unless, indeed, Constantinople, towards which the Russian rulers have ever cast longing glances, shall prevent this by itself becoming the imperial city of the Czars.

Invasion of Russia by Charles XII. — Meanwhile Charles was doing very much as he pleased with the king of Poland. He defeated his forces, overran his dominions, and forced him to surrender the Polish crown in favor of Stanislaus Lesczinski (1706). With sufficient punishment meted out to Frederick Augustus, Charles was ready to turn his attention once more to the Czar. So marvelous had been the success attendant upon his arms for the past few years, nothing now seemed impossible to him. Deluded by this belief, he resolved to march into Russia and dethrone the Czar even as he had dethroned the king of Poland. Not daring to reveal his plans to any one, but still requiring a sketch of the route to Moscow, he ordered his quarter-master to prepare a chart showing the best routes "to all the capitals of Europe." The officer obeyed, making most prominent the route to Stockholm, the meaning of which Charles at once understood, but told the prudent quarter-master that that was not the road he was going to travel at present.

In 1708, with an army of barely 40,000 men, Charles marched

boldly across the Russian frontier. For a moment even Peter himself seemed disconcerted by the boldness of the movement, and sent proposals of peace. But Charles's reply to Peter's messengers was, "I will treat with the Czar at Moscow." This haughty answer recalled Peter to himself, and he is said to have remarked, "My brother Charles affects to act Alexander, but he shall not find me Darius."

It was a terrible march that the Swedes made, a march somewhat like that of the Grand Army under Napoleon a century later. The Russian tactics were almost the same now as then, the villages being abandoned and burned, and the entire country made a desert in front of the advancing Swedes.

Thus impeded in his march, Charles suddenly gave up his direct advance upon Moscow, and turned south into the Ukraine, whither he was drawn by the treachery to the Czar of the Cossack hetman Mazeppa. But the Cossacks in general remained faithful in their allegiance, and Charles found himself obliged to pass in a hostile country one of the most terrible winters Europe had ever experienced.

The Battle of Pultowa (1709). — Finally Charles laid siege to the town of Pultowa. Peter marched to its relief, and the two armies met in decisive combat in front of the place. It was Charles's Waterloo. The Swedish army was virtually annihilated. Escaping with a few followers from the field, Charles fled southward, and found an asylum in Turkey.

End of Charles's Career. — Among the Turks Charles acted in a manner which justified the title given him of the "Madman of the North." While in the Ottoman dominions he was provided with a residence and treated as a guest of the Sultan, whose hospitality he most shamefully requited. At first he busied himself in persuading the Sultan to lead an army against the Czar. The expedition was successful, and Peter seemed on the brink of irretrievable ruin, from which peril, however, he was delivered by fortunate negotiations, which enabled him to withdraw his army from a seemingly inextricable position, but only on condition of his giving up Azof (1711).

When Charles learned that the Turkish vizier had allowed the Czar to escape instead of making him a prisoner, he was quite beside himself with rage, and heaped upon that official all sorts of abuse and insult. The imperturbable vizier simply remarked, "It would not answer for all the sovereigns to be away from their kingdoms at the same time." Charles's council of regency seem to have been of somewhat the same mind, for it was about this time they sent urgent requests for him to return, to which messages he sent back reply that he would send them one of his boots to represent him.

After about two years had passed, the Turks tired of their guest, and requested him to make ready to return to Sweden. But Charles refused to go, and finally the Sultan was forced to send a small army to remove him forcibly. Charles now barricaded his house, which was at a place called Bender, in Bessarabia, and with a handful of domestics and companions kept the whole Turkish army at bay for some time, he himself performing such prodigies of daring, that he is declared to have killed twenty Turks with his own sword.

Finally, in 1714, having been in Turkey five years, Charles was started on his journey home through Germany. Upon his arrival in Sweden he found his kingdom shorn of almost all its provinces beyond sea, and everything in great disorder. With characteristic recklessness he almost straightway plunged into a war with Norway, and was finally killed at Frederickshall, while besieging that place (1718).

Such was the end of the meteoric career of the strangest character of the eighteenth century. At the moment of his death Charles was only thirty-six years of age. Perhaps we can understand him best by regarding him, as his biographer Voltaire suggests, as an old Norse sea-king born ten centuries after his time.

Condemnation of the Czarowitch Alexis. — The very year that witnessed the close of the wild career of Charles XII. marked an event of deep and painful interest in the life of Peter the Great. This was the culmination of a long-existing quarrel between him

and the Czarowitch Alexis. The root of this trouble between father and son was that Alexis was a weak, dissolute youth, without any sympathy with his father's reforms, but rather, through his education, which Peter had left to others, wedded to the old order of things. Peter, fearing that all his work would be undone should this son come to the throne, wished to set aside his claims.

After laboring a long time for the reformation of his son, Peter finally gave him the alternative of straightway manifesting a becoming interest in public affairs, or, renouncing all claims to the throne, of entering a monastery. Alexis fled from the severity of his father and placed himself under the protection of the German emperor, who sent him to Naples; but on promise of forgiveness he was induced to return to Moscow. Peter now broke his word with him, and he was tried, tortured, and condemned to death for disobedience, conspiracy, and general contumacy. Before Peter could bring himself to sign the sentence of the tribunal appointed to try the case, the unhappy prince died of fright, combined with the effects of the tortures he had undergone (1718).

Peter has been severely censured for his treatment of his son and heir. Doubtless the treatment was harsh. Simple disinheritance would have been sufficient punishment for the faults of the prince. But then, had his life been spared, the security of the succession upon Peter's death would have been threatened. There was a large and powerful party bitterly opposed to the new policy of innovation and reform, and these reactionists would certainly have disputed the accession to the throne of any other person than Alexis. It was this which led Peter to desire the death of the Czarowitch. He thought thereby to insure the perpetuation of his policy and to secure to Russia the fruit of his life-work. We can thus explain, though we may not justify, his action.

Close of Peter's Reign. — Peter's eventful reign was now drawing to a close. In 1721 the Swedish wars which had so long disturbed Europe were brought to an end by the Peace of Nystadt, which confirmed Russia's title to all the Southern Baltic lands that Peter had wrested from the Swedes. The undisputed possession

of so large a strip of the Baltic sea-board vastly increased the importance and influence of Russia, which now assumed a place among the leading European powers. It was at this time that the Russian Senate and Synod conferred upon Peter the titles of Great, Emperor, and Father of his Country.

In 1723 troubles in Persia that resulted in the massacre of some Russians afforded Peter a pretext for sailing down the Volga and seizing the southern shore of the Caspian Sea, which now became virtually a Russian lake. This ended Peter's conquests. The Russian colossus now "stood astride, with one foot on the Baltic and the other upon the Caspian."

Two years later, being then in his fifty-fourth year, Peter died of a fever brought on by exposure while aiding in the rescue of some sailors in distress, in the Gulf of Finland (1725).

Peter's Character and Work. — Peter's character stands revealed in the light of his splendid achievements. Like Charlemagne he was a despotic reformer. His theory of government was a rough, brutal one, yet the exclamation which broke from him as he stood by the tomb of Richelieu[1] discloses his profound desire to rule well: "Thou great man," he exclaimed, "I would have given thee half of my dominion to have learned of thee how to govern the other half." He planted throughout his vast empire the seeds of Western civilization, and by his giant strength lifted the great nation which destiny had placed in his hands, out of Asiatic barbarism into the society of the European peoples. And yet, with himself as judge, he was unable to achieve that greater triumph which would best have justified the title that sets him apart from his fellow sovereigns: overtaken in a fault, he exclaimed in reproachful self-confession, "I reform my country, but am not able to reform myself."

The influence of Peter's life and work upon the government of Russia was very different from what he intended. It is true that his aggressive, arbitrary rule strengthened temporarily autocratic

[1] In 1716 Peter made a second journey to the West, visiting France, Denmark, and Holland.

government in Russia. He destroyed all checks, ecclesiastical and military, upon the absolute power of the crown. But in bringing into his dominions Western civilization, he introduced influences which were destined in time to neutralize all he had done in the way of strengthening the basis of despotism. He introduced a civilization which fosters popular liberties, and undermines personal, despotic government. "No avowed champion of the people, aided by the most favorable circumstances," says Noble, "could have done such effective battle for Russian liberties as that compassed by the champion of absolute power. . . . Peter was the first to fairly roll Russian tyranny in the Nessus-shirt of European civilization. This was the reformer's real significance for the national life."[1]

Memorials of the Great Czar. — Actuated by the sentiment that has ever led mankind to cherish memorials of its heroes, the Russians have preserved with religious care numberless relics of their great Czar. At the capital is still to be seen the little cabin in which he lived while laying the foundations of that city. There also is preserved the little skiff to which we have already referred as the Grandsire of the Russian fleet. And here too are shown his copy-books, which, while exhibiting careless writing and faulty grammar, bear evidence to the ardor and resolution with which the boy worked upon his first lessons. At Zaandam in Holland, preserved inside another building, is the small hut occupied by Peter while at that place. But perhaps the most impressive monument of all is the colossal equestrian statue erected by Catherine II., and which stands in the great square of St. Petersburg: "Peter, astride a mighty charger, is represented as reining his steed back upon its haunches on the brink of a precipice, while he stretches his sceptre over the river, and seems to survey with proud triumph the wonderful growth of the city of which he is the 'posthumous creator,' while underneath the horse's feet writhes a serpent, emblematic of the difficulties that were encountered and overcome in founding a capital on a quaking bog." — GEDDIE.

[1] *The Russian Revolt*, p. 153.

Reign of Catherine the Great (1762–1796).—From the death of Peter on to the close of the eighteenth century the Russian throne was held, the greater part of the time, by women, the most noted of whom was Catherine II. the Great, "the greatest woman probably," according to the admission of an English historian (McCarthy), "who ever sat on a throne, Elizabeth of England not even excepted." But while a woman of great genius, she had most serious faults of character, being incredibly profligate and unscrupulous.

Carrying out ably the policy of Peter the Great, Catherine extended vastly the limits of Russian dominion, and opened the country even more thoroughly than he had done to the entrance of Western influences. The most noteworthy matters of her reign were the conquest of the Crimea and the dismemberment of Poland.

It was in the year 1783 that Catherine effected the subjugation of the Crimea. The possession of this peninsula gave Russia dominion on the Black Sea, which once virtually secured by Peter the Great had been again lost through his misfortunes. This extension of the authority of the Muscovite to the Euxine was also a matter of moment to all Eastern Europe; for now, as Freeman says, "the road through which so many Turanian invaders had pressed into the Aryan continent was blocked forever."

Elated by her successes, Catherine now conceived the project of driving the Turks wholly from Europe, and of establishing a Byzantine empire dependent upon Russia. Over one of the gates of Moscow looking towards the south, she caused to be inscribed the legend, "The way to Constantinople." She realized her dream only to the extent, in a subsequent war with the Sultan, of wresting a little additional territory from the Turks.

On the West, however, Catherine succeeded, by intrigue and the most shameful disregard of the law of nations, in greatly extending the limits of her dominions. This she effected at the expense of Poland, the partition of which state she planned in connection with Frederick the Great of Prussia and Maria Theresa

of Austria. On the first division, which was made in 1772, the imperial robbers each took a portion of the spoils. What was left was put under an old Polish constitution, which was simply "another name for anarchy." In 1793 a second partition was made, this time between Russia and Prussia; and then, in 1795, after the suppression of a determined revolt of the Poles under the lead of the patriot Kosciusko, a third and final division among the three powers completed the dismemberment of the unhappy state, and erased its name from the map of Europe. The territory gained by Russia in these transactions brought her western frontier close alongside the civilization of Central Europe. In Catherine's phrase, Poland had become her "door mat," upon which she stepped when visiting the West.[1]

Besides thus widening her empire, Catherine labored to reform its institutions and to civilize her subjects. But the great queen's own faults and vices stood in her way, and neutralized much of her work. Her labors, however, in bettering the laws and improving the administration of the government, have caused her to be likened to Solon and Lycurgus; while her enthusiasm for learning and her patronage of letters led Voltaire to say, "Light now comes from the North."

By the close of Catherine's reign Russia was beyond question one of the foremost powers of Europe, the weight of her influence being quite equal to that of any other nation of the continent.

[1] In extenuation, though not in justification, of the conduct of the spoilers of Poland, it should be said that at this time the internal condition of the country bordered so close on anarchy that humanity seemed to excuse any interference which promised to result in bringing the turbulent population under more efficient government; while in special extenuation of Russia's part in the transaction, it should be remembered that for nearly six centuries Poland had been her dangerous and aggressive enemy. Thus during the Troublous Times the Poles had burned Moscow, thrown the Czar into a dungeon, and set a Polish prince upon the Russian throne.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RISE OF PRUSSIA: FREDERICK THE GREAT (1740–1786).

The Beginnings of Prussia. — The foundation of the Prussian Kingdom was laid in the beginning of the seventeenth century (1611) by the union of two small states in the North of Germany. These were the Mark or Electorate of Brandenburg and the Duchy of Prussia. Brandenburg had been gradually growing into prominence since the tenth century. Its ruler at this time was a prince of the noted House of Hohenzollern, and was one of the seven princes to whom belonged the right of electing the Emperor.

Prussia, so called from the Borussi, a tribe of desperate heathen of Slavonic race, was a small state lying along the Baltic shore, east of the Vistula. It had been conquered by the valor of the Teutonic Knights in the thirteenth century, and during this and the following centuries had been gradually colonized and Teutonized by German immigrants. Slavonic barbarism and heathenism had here been pushed back, and territory once lost regained for Teutonic civilization and Christianity.

The Great Elector Frederick William (1640–1688). — Although this new Prussian power was destined to become the champion of German Protestantism, it acted a very unworthy and vacillating part in the Thirty Years' War. But just before the close of that struggle a strong man came to the throne, Frederick William, better known as the Great Elector. He infused vigor and strength into every department of the State, and acquired such a position for his government that at the Peace of Westphalia

he was able to secure new territory, which greatly enhanced his power and prominence among the German princes.

The Great Elector ruled for nearly half a century, and left to his successor a strongly centralized authority. He laid the basis of the military power of Prussia by the formation of a standing army, and gave the world to understand that this rising power was to be the fearless champion of the cause of Protestantism and religious toleration, by defying the wrath of Louis XIV. and opening his dominions as an asylum to the Huguenots driven from France by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

How the Elector of Brandenburg acquires the Title of King. — Frederick III. (1688–1713), son of the Great Elector, was ambitious for the title of king, a dignity that the weight and influence won for the Prussian state by his father fairly justified him in seeking. He saw about him other princes less powerful than himself enjoying this dignity, and he too "would be a king and wear a crown." Recent events stimulated this ambition. William of Orange, Stadtholder of Holland, had just been chosen king of England, and Augustus II., Elector of Saxony, had just become king of Poland.

It was necessary of course for Frederick to secure the consent of the Emperor, a matter of some difficulty, for the Catholic advisers of the Austrian court were bitterly opposed to having an heretical prince thus honored and advanced, while the Emperor himself was not at all pleased with the idea. But the war of the Spanish Succession was just about to open, and the Emperor was extremely anxious to secure Frederick's assistance in the coming struggle. Therefore, on condition of his furnishing him aid in the war, the Emperor consented to Frederick's assuming the new title and dignity *in the Duchy of Prussia*, which, unlike Brandenburg, did not form part of the Empire.

Accordingly, early in the year 1701, Frederick, amidst imposing ceremonies, was crowned and hailed as king at Königsberg. Hitherto he had been Elector of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia; now he is Elector of Brandenburg and King of Prussia, and

entitled, in this latter state, to exercise all the authority and enjoy all the honors and privileges of royalty.

Thus was a new king born among the kings of Europe. Thus did the House of Austria invest with royal dignity the rival House of Hohenzollern. The event is a landmark in German, and even in European, history. The cue of German history from this on is the growth of the power of the Prussian kings, and their steady advance to Imperial honors, and to the control of the affairs of the German race.

This wonderful growth of Prussia is compared by Freeman to the growth of Wessex in England, of Francia in Gaul, of Castile in Spain. "In all these cases it has been a mark land which has come to the front and has become the head of the united nation."

Frederick William I. (1713–1740).—The son and successor of the first Prussian king, known as Frederick William I., was one of the most extraordinary characters in history. He was a strong, violent, brutal man, full of the strangest freaks, yet in many respects just the man for the times.

Frederick William's father had been the friend and patron of scholars and learning, having founded the University of Halle and the Academy of Science at Berlin; but the son despised culture and treated scholars with studied contempt, being reported as having declared that "a pinch of common sense was worth a university full of learning." He looked with scorn upon the great Leibnitz because he was not big enough to make a good guard. His commands were given "in a loud voice and bad grammar." His writing was a most wretched scrawl, and his officers sometimes made woful blunders through misreading their orders.

Frederick William differed, too, from his father in the matter of economy. His father loved show and parade, and was recklessly prodigal in his expenditures. As soon as Frederick William came to the throne he dismissed the crowd of attendants with whom his father had filled the palace, and introduced the same economy in all the departments of the government. He would

tolerate no idlers. He carried a long cane, which he laid upon the back of every unoccupied person he chanced to find, whether man, woman, or child. "Get home to your brats," was his rough salutation to women whom he found in the streets without any apparent object. He once caned a whole bench full of dignified judges.

The "Regiment of Giants." — In one matter, however, Frederick William forgot entirely his maxims of economy. He had a mania for big soldiers. With infinite expense and trouble he gathered a regiment of the biggest men he could find, who were known as the "Potsdam Giants," — a regiment numbering 2,400 men, some of whom were eight feet in height. Not only were the Goliaths of his own dominions impressed into the service, but big men in all parts of Europe were coaxed, bribed, or kidnaped by Frederick's recruiting officers. Some of these recruits cost the king dear. An Irish giant cost him $45,000. No present was so acceptable to him as a giant, and by the gift of a six-footer more than one prince of Europe bought the everlasting favor of Frederick William.

The use of any means seemed justifiable in his view in securing a tall grenadier. He got himself into trouble more than once through his recruiting sergeants kidnaping the subjects of neighboring sovereigns. No matter where they were, "tall men went about with their liberty in their hands."

Considering the trouble and expense Frederick William had in collecting his Giants, the care which he took of them was quite natural. He looked after them as tenderly as though they were infants, and was very careful never to expose them to the dangers of a battle.

The "Tobacco Parliament." — Another of Frederick William's institutions was what was known as the "Tobacco Parliament." This was a sort of council board, every member of which was obliged to drink beer and to smoke, or at least to hold an empty pipe in his mouth and make believe he was smoking. Here, enveloped in clouds of tobacco smoke, the king discussed with

his ministers, in the most undignified manner conceivable, the weightiest affairs of his kingdom.

Frederick William I. as an Administrator. — Notwithstanding Frederick William was so eccentric in many of his public acts, and in his domestic relations was a perfect savage, in the general administration of his government he evinced such energy and good judgment that he is admitted to have been one of the greatest legislators of his age. His purpose was to make himself an absolute despot, and he seemed fully persuaded that "despotism to be stable must be terrible."

Rough, brutal tyrant that he was, he did very much to consolidate the power of Prussia, and at his death in 1740 left to his successor a considerably extended dominion, and a splendid army of 80,000 men.

Frederick the Great (1740–1786). — Frederick William was followed by his son Frederick II., to whom the world has agreed to give the title of "Great." It was a rough nurture that he had received in the home of his brutal father. His fine tastes exasperated his savage parent, who abused him most shamefully. On one occasion it was only the interference of the attendants that prevented the raving king from running the prince through with his sword.

Frederick had a genius for war, and his father had prepared to his hand one of the most efficient instruments of the art since the time of the Roman legions. The two great wars in which he was engaged, and which raised Prussia to the first rank among the military powers of Europe, were the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War.

War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748). — Through the death of Charles VI. the Imperial office became vacant on the very year that Frederick II. ascended the Prussian throne. Charles was the last of the direct male line of the Hapsburgs, and disputes straightway arose respecting the possessions of the House of Austria, which resulted in the long struggle known as the War of the Austrian Succession.

Now, not long before the death of Charles, he had bound all the leading powers of Europe in a sort of agreement called the Pragmatic Sanction, by the terms of which, in case he should leave no son, all his hereditary dominions — that is, the kingdom of Hungary, the kingdom of Bohemia, the archduchy of Austria, and the other possessions of the House of Austria — should be bestowed upon his daughter Maria Theresa.

Accordingly, upon the death of Charles these dominions passed to Theresa, who was now called Queen of Hungary, that being the highest title of all those which she was entitled to bear. The Imperial crown could not of course be worn by her, and it was two years before the Electors agreed upon whom to bestow it. They finally chose the Elector of Bavaria, who became Emperor as Charles VII. (1742).

Solemnly as the powers of Europe had agreed to maintain the Pragmatic Sanction, no sooner was Charles dead than a number of princes immediately laid claim to greater or lesser portions of the dominions that now belonged by right to his daughter. Prominent among these claimants was Frederick of Prussia, who claimed Silesia, and Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria, who set up a claim to the Austrian States. France, ever the deadly enemy of the House of Austria, lent her armies to aid the latter claimant in making good his pretensions.

Before Maria Theresa could arm in defence of her dominions, Frederick had pushed his army into Silesia and taken forcible possession of that country. Shortly afterwards the French and Bavarians overran Austria. It was after this conquest that Charles Albert was raised to the Imperial throne, to which election we made reference just above.

Queen Theresa, thus stripped of a large part of her dominions, fled into Hungary, and with all of a beautiful woman's art of persuasion appealed to her Hungarian subjects to avenge her wrongs. Her unmerited sufferings, her beauty, her tears, the little prince in her arms, stirred the resentment and kindled the ardent loyalty of the Hungarian nobles. and with one voice, as they rang their

swords in their scabbards, they swore to support the cause of their Queen with their estates and their lives.

England and Sardinia also threw themselves into the contest on Maria Theresa's side. In 1745 Charles VII. died, and the husband of the Queen was raised by the Electors to the Imperial throne as Emperor Francis I. Under these changed conditions the war went on until 1748, when it was closed by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which left Silesia in the hands of Frederick.

The Seven Years' War (1756–1763).— The eight years of peace which followed the war of the Austrian Succession were improved by Frederick in developing the resources of his kingdom and perfecting the organization and discipline of his army. During this time Maria Theresa was busy forming a league of the chief European powers against the unscrupulous despoiler of her dominions. France, Russia, Poland, Saxony, and Sweden, all entered into an alliance with the Queen. Frederick could at first find no ally save England, — towards the close of the struggle Russia came to his side, — so that he was left almost alone to fight the combined armies of the continent.

At first the fortunes of the war were all on Frederick's side. In the celebrated battles of Rossbach, Leuthen, and Zorndorf, he defeated successively the French, the Austrians, and the Russians, and startled all Europe into an acknowledgment of the fact that the armies of Prussia had at their head one of the greatest commanders of the world. His name became everywhere a household word, and everybody coupled with it the admiring epithet of "Great."

But fortune finally deserted him. In sustaining the unequal contest, his dominions became drained of men; England withdrew her aid, and inevitable ruin seemed to impend over his throne and kingdom. He himself, despairing of being able much longer to hold his enemies at bay, carried about his person poison to use when the last effort should have been made.

A change by death in the government of Russia now put a new face upon Frederick's affairs. In 1762 Elizabeth of that country

died, and Peter III., an ardent admirer of Frederick, came to the throne, and immediately transferred the armies of Russia from the side of the allies to that of Prussia. "Together we will conquer the whole world," was the sanguine declaration of the Czar as he joined his forces to those of his friend.

Fortune now again shifted to the side of Frederick, and the year following the defection of Russia, England and France were glad to give over the struggle and sign the Peace of Paris (1763). Shortly after this another peace (the Treaty of Hubertsburg) was arranged between Austria and Prussia, and one of the most terrible wars that had ever disturbed Europe was over. Silesia was left in the hands of Frederick.

The most noteworthy result of the war was the exalting of the Prussian kingdom to a most commanding position among the European powers.

Frederick's Part in the Dismemberment of Poland. — Frederick the Great has been before us as the prominent figure in two memorable wars, in both of which he has, while betraying unworthy traits of character, exhibited virtues and abilities that have claimed our highest admiration; but now he appears as a prominent actor in a most shameful transaction, which awakens in us nothing but feelings of indignation and protest.

We refer to the dismemberment of Poland. It was about a decade after the close of the Seven Years' War, that Frederick, in conjunction with the rulers of Austria and Russia, seized and appropriated about a third of this country.

This infamous transaction afforded a precedent which led, during the confusion of the French Revolution, to what are known as the *Second* and *Third Partitions* of Poland (see page 566).

Death of Frederick the Great (1786). — Whatever may have been Frederick's faults, he was an able administrator as well as warrior, and gave his dominions a strong and paternal, though despotic, government, under which the ravages of war were gradually effaced, and the resources of the kingdom vastly developed. He finally died in 1786, six years after the death of Maria Theresa.

His dominions passed to his nephew Frederick William II., a man just the opposite of his great uncle.

Frederick's Work: Prussia made a New Centre of German Crystalization. — The all-important result of Frederick the Great's strong reign was the making of Prussia the equal of Austria, and thereby laying the basis of German unity. Hitherto Germany had been trying unsuccessfully to concentrate about Austria; now there is a new centre of crystalization, one that will draw to itself all the various elements of German nationality.

If we were to draw an historical parallel, we would liken Prussia and Austria in the German world to Athens and Sparta in the old Greek world. They become bitter rivals, and about them, as about the two Grecian rivals, the smaller neighboring states gather as prompted by their political and religious tendencies. Austria represents reactionary, despotic Catholicism; Prussia progressive, liberal Protestantism. The history of Germany from this on, as we have intimated in another place, is the story of the rivalry of these two powers, with the final triumph of the kingdom of the North, and the unification of Germany under her leadership, Austria being pushed out as entitled to no part in the affairs of the Fatherland. This story we shall tell in a subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER V.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION (1789–1799).

I. Causes of the Revolution: the States-General of 1789.

Introductory. — The French Revolution is in political what the German Reformation is in ecclesiastical history. It was the revolt of the French people against royal despotism and class privilege. "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," was the motto of the Revolution. In the name of these principles the most atrocious crimes were indeed committed; but these excesses of the Revolution are not to be confounded with its true spirit and aims. The French people in 1789 contended for those same principles that the English Puritans defended in 1640, and that our fathers maintained in 1776. It is only as we view them in this light, that we can feel a sympathetic interest in the men and events of this tumultuous period of French history.

Causes of the Revolution. — Chief among the causes of the French Revolution were the abuses and extravagances of the Bourbon monarchy; the unjust privileges enjoyed by the nobility and clergy; the wretched condition of the great mass of the people; and the revolutionary character and spirit of French philosophy and literature. To these must be added, as a proximate cause, the influence of the American Revolution. We will speak briefly of these several matters.

Even the hastiest examination of the condition of France during the century preceding the tremendous social upheaval, will enable us to understand how an English statesman,[1] writing just before

[1] Lord Chesterfield, writing in 1753.

the bursting of the storm, could say, "All the symptoms which I have ever met with in history, previous to great changes and revolutions in government, now exist and daily increase in France."

The Bourbon Monarchy. — We simply repeat what we have already learned, when we say that the authority of the French crown under the Bourbons had become unbearably despotic and oppressive. The life of every person in the realm was at the arbitrary disposal of the king. Persons were thrown into prison without even knowing the offense for which they were arrested. The royal decrees were laws. The taxes imposed by the king were simply robberies and confiscations. The public money, thus gathered, was squandered in maintaining a court the scandalous extravagances and debaucheries of which would shame a Turkish Sultan.

Meanwhile all public works and all national interests, after the reign of Louis XIV., were utterly neglected. Louis XV., it is asserted, "probably spent more money on his harem than on any department of State." Louis XVI. was sincerely desirous of reform, but unfortunately he did not possess the qualities essential in a reformer. Besides, it was too late. Matters had gone too far. France was already caught in the rapids that sweep down to the abyss of Revolution.

The Nobility. — The French nobility, in the time of the Bourbons, numbered about 80,000 families — that is, between 200,000 and 300,000 persons. The order was simply the rubbish of the once powerful but now broken-down feudal aristocracy of the Middle Ages. Its members were chiefly the pensioners of the king, the ornaments of his court, living in riotous luxury at Paris or Versailles. Stripped of their ancient power, they still retained all the old pride and arrogance of their order, and clung tenaciously to all their feudal privileges. Although holding one fifth of the lands of France, they paid scarcely any taxes. The rents of their estates, with which they supplemented the bounty of the king, were wrung from their wretched tenants with pitiless severity. That heartless absentee landlordism which is constantly driving

the peasantry of Ireland to the point of revolution feebly illustrates the relation of the French nobles to their tenants at the time of which we are speaking.

The Clergy. — The clergy formed a decayed feudal hierarchy. They possessed enormous wealth, the gift of piety through many centuries. Over one third of the lands of the country was in their hands, and yet this immense property was almost wholly exempt from taxation. The bishops and abbots were usually drawn from the families of the nobles, being attracted to the service of the Church rather by its princely revenues and the social distinction conferred by its offices, than by the inducements of piety. These "patrician prelates" were characterized by the same odious pride and insolence that marked the lay nobles. They were hated alike by the humble clergy and the people. Though there were many noble exceptions, the great mass of the clergy, including both the superior and inferior members of the order, were ignorant, arrogant, avaricious, and so generally immoral in their lives, that they had lost all credit and authority with the people whose shepherds they ostensibly were.

The Commons. — Below the two privileged orders of the state stood the commons, who constituted the great bulk of the nation, and numbered, at the commencement of the Revolution, probably 25,000,000. These were divided into two classes, the *Bourgeoisie*, or Middle Class, composed of the wealthy and well-to-do merchants, traders, lawyers, and other professional men; and the *People*, embracing of course the great mass of the commons, and being made up of the peasants and the poorer inhabitants of the towns.

The Middle Class were despised by the privileged orders and hated by the People; yet they constituted the most intelligent portion of the French nation, and the conservatism of the body was often a great check upon the fury of the masses at different stages of the Revolution.

But it is with the condition of the lower classes, the People, that we are now particularly concerned. It is quite impossible to

give any adequate idea of the wrongs and abuses suffered by these, and of the wretched condition to which they were reduced during the century preceding the Revolution. Their only recognized use in the state was "to pay feudal services to the lords, tithes to the priests, and imposts to the king."

The peasants were vexed by the most burdensome feudal regulations. Thus they were forbidden to fence their fields for the protection of their crops, as the fences interfered with the lord's progress in the hunt; they were not allowed to frighten away the game which fed upon their vegetables; and they were even prohibited from cultivating their fields at certain seasons, as this disturbed the partridges and other game. Moreover, they must at all times calmly endure the sight of the lord's hunting party — men, horses, and hounds — sweeping through their crops, and be thankful that they themselves are not the object of the hunt. Louis XV. once deeply wounded the feelings of one of his great lords by gently reproving him "for shooting peasants as a pastime." In short, the French peasantry had been reduced to Helots.

Being thus kept in a state of abject poverty, a failure of their crops reduced the French tenants to absolute starvation. It was not an unusual thing to find women and children dead in the woods or along the roadways. One account tells how some children were discovered "sucking the bones in a cemetery." A noted writer thus pictures the appearance of the peasantry: "You see certain fierce animals, male and female, scattered through the country; they are black, livid, and burnt by the sun; . . . they have an articulate voice, and when they rise upon their feet, they show a human face, and are, in fact, men and women. They withdraw at night into dens, where they feed upon black bread, water, and roots; they spare other men the trouble of sowing, toiling, and harvesting for support, and thus deserve this bread which they have sown." [1]

[1] La Bruyére, as quoted by Lacombe in his *History of the French People*, to which work we are indebted for several of the other illustrations of the text.

Fénelon says to Louis XIV.: "Your people are dying of hunger. Instead of money being wrenched from these poor creatures, alms and food should be given them. France is simply a large hospital, full of woe and empty of food."

And thus the harrowing account runs through all the eighteenth century up to the outbreak of the Revolution.

When hereafter we see these wretched creatures turning like maddened demons upon those whom they regard as responsible for their sufferings, we must remember their terrible wrongs, and also bear in mind that it is the divine law that the sowers of the wind shall be the reapers of the whirlwind.

Revolutionary Spirit of French Philosophy. — French philosophy in the eighteenth century was skeptical and revolutionary. The names of the great infidel writers Rousseau and Voltaire suggest at once its prevalent tone and spirit.

Voltaire (1694–1778) was the very impersonation of the tendencies of his age. He gave expression, forcible and striking, to what the people were vaguely thinking and feeling. In the use of satire and irony he never had a superior, if a peer. He had a most marvelous faculty of condensing thought, and putting whole philosophies in an epigram, supplied the French people with proverbs for a century. His writings stirred all France, and did so much to precipitate the Revolution that in one sense there was much truth in his declaration, "I have accomplished more in my day than either Luther or Calvin." [1]

Rousseau (1712–1778), like Voltaire, had neither faith nor hope in any of the existing institutions of society. He persuaded himself that all the evils which afflict humanity arise from vicious, artificial arrangements, such as the family, the Church, and the State. Accordingly he would do away with these things, and have men return to a state of nature — that is, to simplicity. Savages, he declared, were happier than civilized men.

[1] Though often charged with being an atheist, Voltaire was not; he was a deist, combating alike atheism and Christianity. His last words were, "I die worshipping God, but detesting superstition."

Diderot (1713–1784) and D'Alembert (1717–1783) were the chief of the

The tendency and effect of this skeptical philosophy was to create hatred and contempt for the institutions of both State and Church, to foster discontent with the established order of things, to stir up an uncontrollable passion for innovation and change.

Nor was it difficult for the theoretical revolutionists to secure the ear of a people proverbially impulsive and imaginative, and suffering to the point of desperation from the unequal and oppressive arrangements of a wholly artificial society. The grand ideas and principles of the proposed crusade for the recovery of the Rights of Man, could not fail of appealing powerfully to that imaginative genius of the French people which had led them to be foremost in the romantic expeditions for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre.

This daring, skeptical, revolutionary philosophy, having once taken possession of the minds of the French people, was bound, sooner or later, to find expression in their acts. "Human thought," says Lamartine, "is like the Divine mind; it makes everything in its own image." We shall soon see this Philosophy making History, and making it like unto itself. With creative energy it exclaims, "Behold, I make all things new!"

Influence of the American Revolution. — Not one of the least potent of the proximate causes of the French Revolution was the successful establishment of the American Republic. The French people sympathized deeply with the English colonists in their struggle for independence. Many of the nobility, like Lafayette, — for the French nobles, strangely blind to the logical consequences of the New Philosophy, were, very many of them, its enthusiastic disciples, — offered to the patriots the service of their swords; and the popular feeling finally compelled Louis XVI. to extend to them openly the aid of the armies of France.

so-called Encyclopedists, — the disciples of Voltaire, and the compilers of an immense work in twenty-eight volumes. The purpose of this prodigious compilation was to gather up and systematize all the facts in science and history in possession of the world, in order that this knowledge might be made the basis of a philosophy of life and of the universe which should supersede all the old systems of thought and belief resting simply on ancient authority.

The final triumph of the cause of liberty awakened scarcely less enthusiasm and rejoicing in France than in America. The republican simplicity of the new-born state, contrasting so strongly with the extravagance and artificiality of the court at Versailles, elicited the unbounded admiration of the French people. In this young republic of the Western world they saw realized the Arcadia of their philosophy. It was no longer a dream. They themselves had helped to make it real. Here the Rights of Man had been recovered and vindicated. And now this liberty which the French people had helped the American colonists to secure, they were impatient to see France herself enjoy.

"After us, the Deluge." — The long-gathering tempest is now ready to break over France. Louis XV. died in 1774. In the early part of his reign his subjects had affectionately called him the "Well-beloved," but long before he laid down the sceptre, all their early love and admiration had been turned into hatred and contempt. Besides being overbearing and despotic, the king was indolent, rapacious, and scandalously profligate. During twenty years of his reign the king was wholly under the influence of the notorious Madame de Pompadour.

The inevitable issue of this orgy of crime and folly seems to have been clearly enough perceived by the chief actors in it, as is shown by that reckless phrase so often on the lips of the king and his favorite — "After us, the Deluge." And after them, the Deluge indeed did come. The near thunders of the approaching tempest could already be heard when Louis XV. lay down to die.

Calling of the States-General (1789). — Louis XV. left the tottering throne to his grandson, Louis XVI., then only twenty years of age. He had recently been married to the fair and brilliant Marie Antoinette, archduchess of Austria. The first act of the young couple upon learning that the burdens of sovereignty had descended upon their shoulders, was, we are told, to cast themselves upon their knees with the prayer, "O God! guide and protect us; we are too young to govern!" Well, indeed, might they appeal to heaven; there was no earthly aid

The king called to his side successively Maurepas, Turgot, Necker, and Calonne as his ministers and advisers; but their policies and remedies availed little or nothing. The disease which had fastened itself upon the nation was too deep-seated. The traditions of the court, the rigidity of long-established customs, and the heartless selfishness of the privileged classes, rendered reform and efficient retrenchment impossible. For illustration, the household of the princess, a child in arms, was reduced to eighty persons, and this was regarded as "a marvel of retrenchment and economy." The national debt grew constantly larger. The people charged all to the extravagance of the queen, whom they called "Madame Deficit."

In 1787 the king summoned the Notables, a body composed chiefly of great lords and prelates, who had not been called to advise with the king since the reign of Henry IV. But miserable counselors were they all. Refusing to give up any of their feudal privileges, or to tax the property of their own orders that the enormous public burdens which were crushing the commons might be lightened, their coming together resulted in nothing.

As a last resort it was resolved to summon the united wisdom of the nation, — to call together the States-General, the almost-forgotten national assembly, composed of representatives of the three estates, — the nobility, the clergy, and the commons, the latter being known as the Tiers État, or Third Estate. On the 5th of May, 1789, a memorable date, this assembly met at Versailles. It was the first time it had been summoned to deliberate upon the affairs of the nation in the space of 175 years. It was now composed of 1,200 representatives, more than one half of whom were deputies of the commons. The eyes of the nation were turned in hope and expectancy towards Versailles. Surely if the redemption of France could be worked out by human wisdom, it would now be effected.

II. The National or Constituent Assembly (June 17, 1789 – Sept. 30, 1791).

The States-General changed into the National Assembly. — At the very outset a dispute arose in the assembly between the privileged orders and the commons, respecting the manner of voting. It had been the ancient custom of the body to vote upon all questions by *orders;* and thinking that this custom would prevail in the present assembly, the king and his counselors had yielded to the popular demand and allowed the Third Estate to send to Versailles more representatives than both the other orders. The commons now demanded that the voting should be by individuals; for, should the vote be taken by orders, the clergy and nobility by combining could always outvote them. For five weeks the quarrel kept everything at a standstill.

Finally the commons, emboldened by the tone of public opinion without, took a decisive, revolutionary step. They declared themselves the National Assembly, and then invited the other two orders to join them in their deliberations, giving them to understand that if they did not choose to do so, they should proceed to the consideration of public affairs without them.

King, nobles, and clergy were alarmed at the bold attitude assumed by the commons. Their act was denounced as a most audacious and unheard-of usurpation of authority. The king, in helpless alarm, prorogued the assembly, and guarded the doors of the hall. But the commons, gathering in the tennis-court of the palace, bound themselves by oath not to separate until they had framed a constitution for France.

Shut out from the palace, the Third Estate met in one of the churches of Versailles. Most of the clergy had already joined the body. Bailly, President of the Assembly, in welcoming them, said: "There is still something to be desired; some brothers are wanting to this august assembly. What we want will be given to us: all our brothers will come here." Two days after this the nobility came. The eloquent Bailly, in receiving them, exclaimed,

"This day will be illustrious in our annals; it renders the family complete."

The States-General had become in reality the National Assembly.

Prominent Men in the Assembly. — Lamartine declares that the National Assembly was "the most imposing body of men that ever represented not only France, but the human race." It was impressive, not so much from the ability or genius of its individual members, as through the tremendous interests it held in its hands. Yet there were in the assembly a number of men whose names cannot be passed in silence.

Among the nobility was the patriotic Lafayette, who had won the admiration of his countrymen by splendid services rendered the struggling republic in the New World. Belonging by birth to the same order, but sitting now as a deputy of the commons, was Mirabeau, a large-headed, dissolute, unscrupulous man, an impetuous orator, the mouth-piece of the Revolution. He seemed to want to right the wrongs of the people, yet without undermining the power of the king. He had already demonstrated his fitness for leadership. When the king, during the quarrels attending the organization of the assembly, sent a messenger to the Third Estate commanding them to retire from the hall in which they were sitting, Mirabeau closed a fiery speech with these bold words to the herald: "Go tell your master that we are here by the will of the people, and here we shall stay unless driven out by the bayonet." "The only man able to direct the storm of the Revolution, he is destined to be carried off by death just as the tempest is breaking."

Also among the deputies of the Third Estate sat another man whom we must notice — Robespierre, not much known as yet, but of whom we shall hear enough by and by. The most eminent representative of the clergy was Abbé Siéyès, a person of wonderful facility in framing constitutions. France will have much need of such talent, as we shall see.

Origin of the Revolutionary Commune of Paris. — While the

States-General was metamorphosing itself into the National Assembly, the government of Paris was undergoing a somewhat similar transformation. During all these weeks the capital was in a seething ferment. The king at last imprudently began to mass troops about Versailles, as if to overawe the national representatives. A rumor was spread in Paris that he was on the point of closing the deliberations of the body by force. The inhabitants of the capital resolved to take precautionary measures against any such attempt upon the Assembly. The municipal authorities showing themselves worthless, the leading men of the different sections, or wards, of the city formed themselves into a sort of provisional City Council, and took upon themselves the government of the capital. Thus in this moment of tumult and confusion was born the revolutionary Commune of Paris, a body whose power came to overshadow that of the National Assembly itself.

The Formation of the National Guards. — We must here also speak of the origin of the celebrated National Guards. The members of the communal board had hastened their organization in order to impress some kind of order upon the mobs of the capital; for the rumor from Versailles of guns trained on the Assembly, and of foreign troops marching upon Paris, had maddened the populace to frenzy. Under the direction of the self-constituted Commune, the inhabitants of the capital now formed themselves into a sort of police force, with Lafayette as their commander. These hastily recruited bodies took the name of National Guards, and under that title were destined to act a most conspicuous part in the scenes of the Revolution.

Storming of the Bastile (July 14, 1789). — Thus all Paris was ready to burst into conflagration. A report that the guns of the Bastile, the old state prison, the emblem, in the eyes of the people, of despotism, were trained on the city, kindled the inflammable mass. "Let us storm the Bastile," rang through the streets. Rushing to the Hospital des Invalides, the mob seized the store of arms kept in that place, and then proceeded to lay regular siege to the grim old dungeon. In a few hours the prison-fortress was in

the hands of the besiegers. The curious crowds ransacked every corner of the mediæval horror, liberating the seven prisoners they found in its gloomy cells. One of these had been a captive for thirty years, and when led out into the sunlight, seemed dazed, like one awaking from a dream.

The governor and others of the defenders of the place were murdered, their heads placed at the end of pikes, and thus borne through the streets. The walls of the hated old dungeon were razed to the ground, and the people danced on the spot.

The destruction by the Paris mob of the Bastile is in the French Revolution what the burning of the Papal bull by Luther was to the Reformation. It was the death-knell not only of Bourbon despotism in France, but of royal tyranny everywhere. When the news reached England, the great statesman Fox, perceiving its significance for liberty, exclaimed, "How much is this the greatest event that ever happened in the world, and how much the best!"

Louis XVI. regarded the matter somewhat differently. When intelligence of the affair was carried to him at Versailles, he exclaimed, "What, *Rebellion!*" "No, sire," was the response, "it is *Revolution.*" The great French Revolution had indeed begun.

The Abolition of Privileges (Aug. 4, 1789). — The fall of the Bastile left Paris in the hands of a triumphant mob. Those suspected of sympathizing with the royal party were massacred without mercy. The peasantry in many districts, following the example set them by the capital, rose against the nobles, sacked and burned their castles, and either killed the occupants or dragged them off to prison. This terrorism caused the beginning of what is known as the emigration of the nobles, to which matter we shall recur a little later.

The storm without hastened matters within the National Assembly at Versailles. The privileged orders now realized that, to save themselves from the fury of the masses, they must give up those vexatious feudal privileges which were the real cause of the sufferings and anger of the people. Rising in the tribune, two prominent members of the nobility represented that they were willing to re-

nounce all their feudal rights and exemptions. A contagious enthusiasm was awakened by this act of patriotic generosity. Nobles and prelates crowded to the tribune to follow the example of disinterestedness. The impulsiveness of the Gallic heart was never better illustrated. Everybody wanted to make sacrifices for the common good. Like the early apostolic Church, the Assembly seemed on the point of resolving that everything should be held in common. The members embraced one another, and in their transports of joy sung the *Te Deum*, in celebration of the advent of equality, peace, and good will among men.

It was past the hour of midnight when the Assembly dissolved. The enthusiasm of the moment soon cooled, and the subsequent obstruction offered by the self-denying members to the carrying out of the resolutions of the evening, caused the people to give them little credit for a generosity followed by such hasty repentance. Nevertheless, a very great reform was accomplished. In a single night much of the rubbish of the feudal system had been cleared away.

"To Versailles." — An imprudent act on the part of the king and his friends at Versailles brought about the next episode in the progress of the Revolution. The arrival there of a body of Flemish troops was made the occasion of a banquet to the officers of the regiment. While heated with wine, the young nobles had trampled under foot the national tri-colored cockades, and substituted for them white cockades, the emblem of the Bourbons. Ladies and all took part in this and other acts expressive of sympathy with the king.

The report of these proceedings caused in Paris the wildest excitement. Other rumors of the intended flight of the king to Metz, and of plots against the national cause, added fuel to the flames. Besides, bread had failed, and the poorer classes were savage from hunger.

October 5th a mob of desperate women, terrible in aspect as furies, and armed with clubs and knives, collected in the streets of Paris, determined upon going to Versailles, and demanding relief

from the king himself. All efforts to dissuade them from their purpose were unavailing, and soon the Parisian rabble was in motion. A horrible multitude, savage as the hordes that followed Attila, streamed out of the city towards Versailles. The National Guards, infected with the delirium of the moment, forced Lafayette to lead them in the same direction. Thus all day Paris emptied itself into the royal suburb.

The mob encamped in the streets of Versailles for the night. Early the following morning they broke into the palace, killed two of the guards, and battering down doors with axes, forced their way to the queen's chamber, who barely escaped with her life to the king's apartments. The timely arrival of Lafayette alone saved the entire royal family from being massacred.

The Royal Family taken to Paris. — The mob now demanded that the king should go with them to Paris. Their object in this was to have him under their eye, and prevent his conspiring with the privileged orders to thwart the plans of the revolutionists. Louis was forced to yield to the demands of the people; and the immense mob, with National and Swiss Guards and Flemish soldiers, took up the line of march for the capital. In advance of the procession were borne, at the end of pikes, the heads of two of the king's guards. Around the royal coach, and everywhere else as well, swarmed hideous women, howling like demons, riding astride the cannon, insulting the queen, embracing the guards, singing ribald songs, and making the march a perfect bacchanalian orgie. "We shall have plenty of bread now," they shouted; "we have got the baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's boy."

The procession arrived at Paris in the evening. The royal family were placed in the Palace of the Tuileries, and Lafayette was charged with the duty of guarding the king, who was to be held as a sort of hostage for the good conduct of the nobles and foreign sovereigns while the new constitution was being prepared by the Assembly.

Such was what was called the "joyous entry" of October 6th. The palace at Versailles, thus stripped of royalty and left bespat-

tered with blood, was destined never again to be occupied as the residence of a king of France.

The Emigration of the Nobles. — It was immediately after the scenes of the Joyous Entry that the emigration, or flight of the nobles beyond the frontiers of France became general. This action of the nobility changed the entire course and issue of the Revolution. "Had the French noblesse," says Lamartine, "but employed one half the virtues and efforts they made to subdue the Revolution, in regulating it, the Revolution, although it changed the laws, would not have changed the monarchy."

The popular party at this stage of the revolutionary movement, we must bear in mind, had no desire of overturning the throne, but only of checking the arbitrary exercise of royal authority. Had the nobles remained and worked to this end with the people, all this might have been easily and quickly accomplished, and the republic would never have been established. To this unfortunate flight of the nobles is also to be attributed many of the worst crimes of the revolutionists. It was the threat of foreign interference and invasion, instigated and aided by the emigrant nobles, that, in the critical moments of the struggle, frenzied the people, and incited them to the commission of those terrible excesses which so stain the records of the Revolution.

The Flight of the King (June 20, 1791). — For two years following the Joyous Entry there was a lull in the storm of the Revolution. The king was kept a close prisoner in the Tuileries. The National Assembly were making sweeping reforms both in Church and State, and busying themselves in framing a new constitution. The emigrant nobles watched the course of events from beyond the frontiers, not daring to make a move for fear the excitable Parisian mob, upon any hostile step taken by them, would massacre the entire royal family.

Could the king only escape from the hands of his captors and make his way beyond the borders of France, then he could place himself at the head of the emigrant nobles, and, with foreign aid, overturn the National Assembly and crush the revolutionists. The

flight was resolved upon and carefully planned. Under cover of night the entire royal family, in disguise, escaped from the Tuileries, and by post conveyance fled towards the frontier. When just another hour would have placed the fugitives in safety among friends, the Bourbon features of the king betrayed him to a postboy, who gave the alarm, and the entire party was arrested. The bribes and commands of the king, the tears and entreaties of the queen, availed nothing. The terrible suspense and anxiety of the first night following the arrest caused the hair of the queen to turn perfectly white.

The attempted flight of the royal family was a fatal blow to the Monarchy. Many affected to regard it as equivalent to an act of abdication on the part of the king. The people begin to talk of a Republic. The word is only whispered as yet; but it will not be long before those who do not shout vociferously, "*Vive la Republique*," will be hurried to the guillotine.

The Clubs: Jacobins and Cordeliers. — In order to render intelligible the further course of the Revolution we must now speak of two clubs, or organizations, which came into prominence about this time, and which were destined to become more powerful than the Assembly itself, and to be the chief instruments in inaugurating the Reign of Terror. These were the societies of the Jacobins and Cordeliers. The Jacobins were so called from an old convent in which the first meetings of the club were held. The objects of the society were to watch for conspiracies of the royalists, and by constant agitation to keep alive the flame of the Revolution. Its membership embraced many of the leaders of the Commune of Paris, besides various deputies of the National Assembly, among whom was Robespierre. Branch societies were formed in all the great cities throughout France, and in time the organization grew into a most formidable political power, and assumed to direct and control the Revolution.

The Cordeliers were named after a Franciscan convent, where their assemblies were held. Their most prominent leaders were Danton and Marat. The Cordeliers were radical republicans, or,

more properly, communists. "They affected extreme poverty, dressed shabbily, and their club-room was lighted with only a few tallow candles. At first they were the more violent of the two clubs, but as the Revolution advanced, the Jacobins far outstripped them."

The New Constitution. — The work of the National Assembly was now drawing to a close. On the 14th of September, 1791, the new constitution framed by the body, which instrument made the government of France a constitutional monarchy, was solemnly ratified by the king. The National Assembly, having sat nearly three years, then adjourned (Sept. 30, 1791). The first scene in the drama of the French Revolution was ended.

III. The Legislative Assembly (Oct. 1, 1791 – Sept. 21, 1792).

The Three Parties. — The new constitution provided for a national legislature to be called the Legislative Assembly. The election for delegates to this new body had been held before the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, and two days after that event the new deputies convened at Paris.

By what was called a self-denying ordinance the old assembly had excluded all of its members from sitting in the new body. As a result it was made up of men inexperienced in the conduct of national affairs. The youthful appearance of the members also caused remark; there was scarcely a single white head to be seen in the assembly.

The body, comprising 745 members, was divided into three parties: the Constitutionalists, or Feuillants; the Girondists, or Moderates; and the Mountainists, or Red Republicans. The Constitutionalists of course supported the new constitution, being in favor of a limited monarchy. The Girondists, so called from the name (*La Gironde*) of the department whence came the most noted of its members, wished to establish in France such a republic as the American colonists had just set up in the New World. The leader of this party was Roland, the Minister of the

Interior; or, rather, their leader was a woman — Madame Roland, the wife of the minister. At her house the meetings of the chiefs of the Girondists were held, and the influence over them of this gifted woman was unbounded.

The Mountainists, who took their name from their lofty seats in the assembly, were radical republicans, or levelers. Many of them were members of the Jacobin club or that of the Cordeliers. The leaders of this faction were Marat, Danton, and Robespierre, — names of terror in the subsequent records of the Revolution.

The Temper of the Assembly. — Some seemingly trivial matters will serve to illustrate the spirit of the new assembly. At the very outset the members were very much perplexed in regard to how they should address the king and "wound neither the national dignity nor the royal dignity." Some were for using the titles *Sire* and *Majesty*, against which others indignantly protested, declaring that "the Law and the People are the only *Majesty*." It was finally decided that Louis XVI. should be called simply King of the French.

Another thing which troubled the republican members was the gilded throne in which the king was wont to sit when he visited the assembly. It was resolved that this article should be removed, and an ordinary chair substituted for it, this to be placed *in exact line* with that occupied by the President of the Assembly.

Again, there were objections raised to the ceremony of the members rising and standing uncovered in the king's presence. So it was decreed that the members might sit before Royalty with their hats on.

The members of the Assembly were at first much irritated by some imagined lack of reverence shown them by the king, who kept them waiting for the royal address; but finally the king appeared in the chamber and made a sensible and soothing speech, so that hope and confidence seemed again to find a place in all hearts. The hope expressed by the Constituent Assembly appeared to have been realized, and France to be regenerated. Festivities everywhere throughout the gay capital were the tokens

of joy and reconciliation. But the tranquility of the moment was only the delusive lull in which the tempest gathers strength for a fresh outbreak of its fury.

War with the Old Monarchies. — The kings of Europe were watching with the utmost anxiety the course of events in France. They regarded the cause of Louis XVI. as their own. If the French people should be allowed to overturn the throne of their hereditary sovereign, who any longer would have respect for the divine rights of kings? The old monarchies of Europe therefore resolved that the revolutionary movement in France, a movement threatening all aristocratical and monarchial institutions, should be crushed, and that these heretical French doctrines respecting the Sovereignty of the People and the Rights of Man should be proved false by the power of royal armies.

The warlike preparations of Frederick William II. of Prussia and the Emperor Francis II., awakened the apprehensions of the revolutionists, and led the Legislative Assembly to declare war against them (April 20, 1792). A little later, the allied armies of the Austrians and Prussians, numbering more than 100,000 men, and made up in part of the French emigrant nobles, passed the frontiers of France. The forces of the Assembly were entrusted to the command of Dumouriez. Thus were taken the first steps in a series of wars which were destined to last nearly a quarter of a century, and in which France almost single-handed was to struggle against the leagued powers of Europe, and to illustrate the miracles possible to enthusiasm and genius.

The Massacre of the Swiss Guards (Aug. 10, 1792). — The allies at first gained easy victories over the ill-disciplined forces of the Legislative Assembly, and the Duke of Brunswick, at the head of an immense army, advanced rapidly upon Paris. An insolent proclamation which this commander now issued (July 26, 1792), wherein he ordered the French nation to submit to their king, and threatened the Parisians with the destruction of their city should any harm be done the royal family, drove the French people frantic with indignation and rage.

In Paris occurs the first outbreak of the popular fury. The people, "hounded on by Prussian Terror, by Preternatural Suspicion" (they believed the king false and in communication with the allies), demanded that the king be deposed. The Assembly was irresolute, and hesitated. The Commune of Paris also lacking courage and decision to go to the lengths demanded by the people, was crowded out of the city hall by a usurping board, consisting of three "full-power delegates" from each of the forty-eight sections, — violent men most of them, and fully in accord with the Parisian mob. Thus did the "Insurrection make itself a Head." Now it could act under the semblance of legality and constituted authority.

Meanwhile the gathering hordes of the capital were swollen by the arrival of bands of desperate men from all parts of France. From the South come the "six hundred Marseillese who know how to die." The simple orders which they bore from their municipal authorities were "to strike down the tyrant." They brought with them "a better contingent than ten thousand pikemen" — the Marseillaise Hymn, the martial song of the Revolution. The stirring anthems of Tyrtæus did not more for the Spartans in the Messenian struggle than did this hymn for the French revolutionists in their struggle with despotism.

The capital was now ready to strike a blow which should carry dismay to the hearts of the royalists. Aug. 9, 1792, the bells of Paris rang out the signal — "the same metal that rang storm two hundred and twenty years ago; but by a Majesty's order then, on Saint Bartholomew's Eve."

By morning the hordes of the forty-eight sections were mustered. The Palace of the Tuileries, defended by a few hundred Swiss soldiers, the remnant of the royal guard, was assaulted. The royal family fled for safety to the hall of the Assembly near by. A terrible struggle followed in the corridors and upon the grand stairways of the Palace. The Swiss stood "steadfast as the granite of their Alps." But they were overwhelmed at last, and all were murdered, either in the building itself or in the surrounding courts and streets.

Some having climbed for refuge upon the monuments in the gardens of the Tuileries, the mob forced them to descend to their slaughter by pricking them with bayonets, not firing upon them through fear of injury to the statues to which they clung; "an instance of taste for art," says Alison, "mingled with revolutionary cruelty, unparalleled in the history of the world!"

The Flight of Lafayette. — The events of the 10th of August hastened the steps of the Revolution. The Legislative Assembly resolved that a great national convention should be called for the 21st of September to direct the future course of the state. Meanwhile the king was suspended from the exercise of royal authority, and with his family committed as a prisoner to the Temple, a strong castle of the ancient order of the Templars.

The army of the allies hurried on towards the capital, to avenge the slaughter of the royal guards and rescue the king. The rapid advance of the enemy alarmed the revolutionists. That the invaders might receive no aid from royalists within, all persons suspected of sympathizing with the king were seized and hurried to prison. The jails of the capital were crowded with aristocrats and other supposed enemies of the Revolution.

Lafayette strove to moderate the fury of the people, to save the king and the new constitution, and to hold the country back from the anarchy into which he saw it was drifting. But his moderatism offended the people; his popularity and influence were lost, and he was obliged to flee for his life. He escaped across the frontier, but was arrested by the Austrians and thrown into prison, where he remained four years.

The Massacre of September ("Jail Delivery"). — In the meanwhile the armies of the allies were advancing, and the city of Verdun was invested. The capital was all excitement. "We must stop the enemy," cried Danton, "by striking terror into the royalists." To this end the most atrocious measures were now adopted. It was resolved that all the royalists confined in the jails of the capital should be murdered. Marat and Danton, the leaders of the Commune of Paris, were the chief instigators of the horrible

plot. A hundred or more assassins were hired to butcher the prisoners.

A report that Verdun had fallen, and that in a few days the enemy would be in front of Paris, precipitated events. The Commune of the capital ordered all the citizens under arms. The Assembly sent twelve of their number to the camp without the city, "not to make exhortations, but to wield the spade with their own hands, in the sight of all the citizens." Swift couriers, on motion of Danton, were despatched in all directions, to arouse the nation. "To conquer our enemies," cried the same speaker, "we must annihilate them." The assassins were ordered to their work. Some of the prisoners were confined in the churches of the city. The murderers first entered these, and the unfortunate priests who had refused to take oath to support the new constitution, were butchered in heaps about the altars. The jails were now visited, one after another, the persons confined within slaughtered, and their bodies thrown out to the brutal hordes that followed the butchers to enjoy the carnival of blood.

When the assassins grew weary, refreshments were brought them — "bread and wine for the laborers who were delivering the nation from its enemies." Refreshed by the bread and the wine, and hounded on by the impatient mob, they resumed their work of emancipating France.

The victims of this terrible "September Massacre," as it is called, are estimated at from six to fourteen thousand. Europe had never before known such a "jail delivery." It was the greatest crime of the French Revolution. It is asserted that not more than three hundred ruffians took actual part in the massacre. But thousands more became accessories by cheering on the "laborers," and a still larger part of the population of the city became participators in their guilt by irresolutely acquiescing in the deed or afterwards justifying it. "Had they been allowed to live," was the very general comment, "they would have murdered us in a few days." The Legislative Assembly might doubtless have put a stop to the assassinations, had its leaders really been desirous of doing so.

The Commune of Paris unequivocally endorsed the action of its committee. The books of the body exhibit to this day as one item of expenditure at this time the sum of 1,463 livres paid to the assassins for their labors.

Defeat of the Allies. — After the flight of Lafayette the supreme command of the French armies was given to General Dumouriez, who was successful in checking the advance of the enemy, and finally at Valmy (Sept. 20, 1792) succeeded in inflicting upon them a decisive defeat, which caused their hasty retreat beyond the frontiers of France. The day after this victory the Legislative Assembly came to an end, and the same day the National Convention assembled.

IV. THE NATIONAL CONVENTION (Sept. 21, 1792–Oct. 26, 1795).

Parties in the Convention. — The Convention, consisting of seven hundred and forty-nine deputies, among whom was the noted infidel Thomas Paine, was divided into two parties, the Girondists and the Mountainists. There were no monarchists; all were republicans. No one dared to speak of a monarchy. The Girondists, or moderate republicans, had the advantage of numbers, being in the majority; but the Mountainists, headed by Marat, Danton, and Robespierre, the last two being the representatives of Paris, were superior in energy and daring, and were, moreover, backed by the Parisian mob. This party was resolved not only on the formation of a Republic, but also on the death of the king.

The Establishment of the Republic (Sept. 21, 1792). — The very first act of the Convention on its opening day was to abolish the Monarchy and proclaim France a Republic. The motion for the abolition of Royalty was not even discussed. "What need is there for discussion," exclaimed a delegate, "where all are agreed? Courts are the hot-bed of crime, the focus of corruption; the history of kings is the martyrology of nations."

A "stentorian trumpeter" was deputed to proclaim the decree

of the Convention, beneath the Temple Tower where the royal family were confined. The king was reading, heard the decree, for the dead alone could be deaf to that republican trumpet, but "did not lift his eyes from his book." Thus fell Royalty in France, amidst the "utmost enthusiasm."

All titles of nobility were also abolished. Every one was to be addressed simply as *citizen*. In the debates of the Convention, the king was alluded to as Citizen Capet, and on the street the shoeblack was called Citizen Shoeblack.

The day following the proclamation of the Republic (Sept. 22, 1792) was made the beginning of a new era, the first day of the YEAR I. That was to be regarded as the natal day of Liberty. A little later (November 19), excited by the success of the French armies, — the Austrians and Prussians had been beaten, and Belgium conquered and made a part of the French Republic, — the Convention called upon all nations to rise against despotism, and pledged the aid of France to any people wishing to secure freedom.

Trial and Execution of the King (Jan. 21, 1793). — The next work of the Convention was the trial and execution of the king. On the 11th of December, 1792, he was brought before the bar of that body, charged with having conspired with the enemies of France, of having opposed the will of the people, and of having caused the massacre of the 10th of August.

The proceedings were the mockery of a trial. Among the Girondists the unhappy king found earnest defenders; but the threats of the Jacobin leaders within, and the howlings of the mob without, sealed his fate. "What have not the friends of Liberty to fear," cried Robespierre, "when they see the axe unsteady in our grasp. . . . The last proof of devotion which we owe to our country is to stifle in our hearts every sentiment of sensibility."

The sentence of the Convention was immediate death. On January 21, 1793, the unfortunate monarch, after a last sad interview with his wife and children, was conducted to the scaffold. Upon his attempting to address the people, his voice was drowned

with the roll of drums, and the executioner quickly pushed his neck beneath the knife of the guillotine. "Son of St. Louis," exclaimed his faithful confessor, "ascend to Heaven." The knife flashed through its grooves, and the head of Louis XVI. was severed from its body. "*Vive la Republique*" burst from the surrounding multitudes, and echoed through the empty halls of the neighboring Palace of the Tuileries.

Coalition against France. — The regicide awakened the most bitter hostility against the French revolutionists, among all the old monarchies of Europe. The act was interpreted as a threat against all kings. A grand coalition, embracing Prussia, Austria, England, Sweden, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Piedmont, Naples, the Holy See, and later, Russia, was formed to crush the republican movement. Armies aggregating more than a quarter of a million of men threatened France at once on every frontier.

While thus beset with foes without, the Republic was threatened with even more dangerous enemies within. The people of La Vendée, in Western France, whose sympathies had not gone with the leaders of the Convention, but who still retained their simple reverence for Royalty, Nobility, and the Church, rose in revolt against the sweeping innovations of the revolutionists.

To meet all these dangers which threatened the life of the newborn Republic, the Convention ordered a levy, which placed 300,000 men in the field. The stirring Marseillaise Hymn, sung by the marching bands, awakened everywhere a martial fervor.

Leaving the armies of the Revolution fighting insurrection in the South, and invasion on the frontiers, we must now turn to watch the movement of events at the capital.

The Revolutionary Tribunal and Committee of Public Safety. The defeat of the French armies in the North, and uprisings of the royalists in the West and elsewhere, caused the greatest excitement among the Parisian populace, who now demanded that the Convention should overawe the enemies of the Revolution by the establishment of a judicial dictatorship, a sort of tribunal which should take cognizance of all conspiracies against the Republic.

In denouncing the proposed tribunal, a Girondist leader exclaimed, "Better die than consent to the establishment of such a Venetian inquisition." "It is," cried another, "to enable men to murder innocence under the shadow of law." On the other hand, Danton, while acknowledging the injustice that its summary processes might do to many unjustly suspected, justified its establishment by arguing that in time of peace society lets the guilty escape rather than harm the innocent; but in times of public danger it should rather strike down the innocent than allow the guilty to escape.

A little later was organized what was called the Committee of Public Safety, consisting of nine persons, members of the Convention. It was invested with dictatorial power. Danton urged the formation of this arbitrary executive body as the only expedient that would enable the nation to act with that dispatch and energy needful to save the Republic. The vast powers wielded by this committee were delegated to it at first only for a single month.

We must bear in mind the character of these two bodies in order to follow intelligently the subsequent events of the Revolution, and to understand how the atrocious tyranny of the Reign of Terror was exercised and maintained. Never did Revolution have placed in its hands two more perfect and terrible instruments of despotism. The Committee of Public Safety contained the germ of a Roman Triumvirate, and the Revolutionary Tribunal that of a Spanish Inquisition.

The Fall of the Girondists (June 2, 1793). — Still gloomier tidings came from every quarter, — news of reverses to the armies of the Republic in front of the allies, and of successes of the counter-revolutionists in La Vendée and other provinces. The Mountainists in the Convention, supported by the Commune of Paris, the Jacobins, and the sans-culottes, or rabble, of the capital, urged the most extreme measures. They proposed that "all civil business should be laid aside, . . . that the theatres should be closed, that the tocsin should be sounded, and the alarm-gun fired." The carriages of the wealthy were to be seized, and in them 30,000 volun-

teers hurried by post to the seat of war. The expenses of the government were to be met by forced contributions from the rich, who, after reserving a small amount of their income for their own use, were to be required to turn the remainder over to the public treasury.

The moderate party in the Convention opposed these communistic measures, and likened Paris to ancient Rome, in aspiring to rule over subject provinces. The Jacobins, in their clubs, denounced the Girondists as responsible, through their irresolute, half-way measures, for all the dangers that surrounded the Republic. Conspiracies were formed to assassinate them in their seats in the Convention. The Girondists, undismayed by the threatening mob that surrounded the hall of the Convention day after day, boldly maintained their attitude of resistance to what they regarded as anarchical measures. One of their chiefs, Isnard, referring to the cries of "Down with the Girondists," exclaimed, "If the person of the people's representatives be violated, Paris will be destroyed, and soon the stranger will be compelled to inquire on which bank of the Seine the city stood."

The Moderates, being yet in the majority in the Convention, determined to assert the independence of their body, and call the anarchists to account for the prevailing disorders. A commission of twelve was appointed to arrest and punish the instigators of the mob. Hébert, the editor of a most vile and inflammatory newspaper, was arrested, whereupon a hideous mob rushed to the chamber of the Convention, demanded his immediate release, and the suppression of the commission. The Girondists were forced to bow to the storm. In that concession may be read their doom.

Ten days afterwards (June 2, 1793) the mob, 80,000 strong, it is asserted, surrounded the Convention, and demanded that the Girondists be given up as enemies of the Republic. They were surrendered, and placed under arrest, a preliminary step to their speedy execution during the opening days of the Reign of Terror, which had now begun.

Thus did the Parisian mob purge the National Convention of

France, as the army purged Parliament in the English Revolution. That mob were now masters, not only of the capital, but of France as well. There is nothing before France now but anarchy, and the dictator to whom anarchy always gives birth. The Girondist leader, Vergniaud, had, just before this time, amidst the disgraceful scenes attending the dispute between the Moderates and the Mountainists, pictured the course of events with prophetic vision. "Citizens," said he, "there is too much reason to dread that the Revolution, like Saturn, will successively devour all its progeny, and finally leave only despotism, with all its attendant horrors."

The Reign of Terror (June 2, 1793 – July 27, 1794).

Opening of the Reign of Terror. — As soon as the expulsion of the Moderates had given the Extremists control of the Convention, they proceeded to carry out their policy of terrorism. Supreme power was vested in the Committee of Public Safety, which now became a terrific engine of tyranny and cruelty. Each of the twelve members at this time composing the board assumed the government of an allotted portion of France, and in this district his power was absolute. Marat was president of the Committee, and Danton and Robespierre were both members.

The scenes which now followed are only feebly illustrated by the proscriptions of Sulla and Marius in ancient Rome. All aristocrats, all persons suspected of lukewarmness in the cause of liberty, were ordered to the guillotine. Hundreds were murdered simply because their wealth was wanted. Others fell, not because they were guilty of any political offense, but on account of having in some way incurred the personal displeasure of the dictators. These infamous tyrants even went so far as to cancel their personal obligations to friends by beheading such persons as these friends might wish to have put out of the way.

Charlotte Corday: Assassination of Marat (July 13, 1793). — The atrocious tyranny of the revolutionary leaders at Paris caused the inhabitants of almost all the departments of the country to

fly to arms. At this moment appeared the Joan of Arc of the Revolution. A maiden of Caen, in Normandy, Charlotte Corday by name, conceived the idea of delivering France from the terrors of proscription and civil war, by going to Paris and killing Marat, whom she regarded as the head of the tyranny. With unfaltering resolution she carried out her determination. She went to the capital, and, on pretence of wishing to reveal to Marat something of importance about the Girondists at Caen, gained admission to his rooms, and stabbed him to the heart.

Marat is represented to us as a hideous monster, a leprous dwarf, who seemed in his ferocious, livid features to image the crime and delirium of the Revolution. He was called the "scare-crow of children," who fled in fright when he passed along the street. At the moment of his assassination he was lying, wrapped in filthy rags, in a bath, a position he was forced to assume on account of the diseased condition of his body. He was smeared with ink, and upon a board lying across the bath were the articles he was getting ready for his infamous paper. Such was the awful monster who was called the "Friend of the People," and who at the moment the dagger of Charlotte Corday found his heart held in his hands the life of every person in France.

The obsequies of the tyrant were designed to suggest those of Julius Cæsar. The bath in which he was slain, the knife that had pierced his heart, the pen that had fallen from his hand when he received the blow, and the manuscript smeared with blood were placed by his bier, that these emblems, like the pierced robe of Cæsar, might inflame the passions of the multitudes. Over the body, the speakers of the Jacobins and Cordeliers, in imitation of Mark Antony, called upon the people to vow vengeance upon all enemies of the Republic.

The fate of Charlotte Corday is briefly told. Immediately after the murder she was seized, and barely escaped being torn to pieces by the infuriated mob. When asked what had led her to the commission of the deed, she replied, "I saw civil war ready to rend France to atoms: persuaded that Marat was the principal

cause of the perils and calamities of the land, I have sacrificed my life for his to save my country."

She was soon led to the guillotine. Her calmness and radiant beauty touched many hearts, but not that of her executioner, who, lifting her head as it fell beneath the knife of the guillotine, wantonly struck the cheek, at which indignity the face, it is asserted, flushed a deep crimson.

Events after the Death of Marat. — The enthusiasm of Charlotte Corday had led her to believe that the death of Marat would be a fatal blow to the power of the Mountainists. But it only served to drive them to still greater excesses, under the lead of Danton and Robespierre. She died to staunch the flow of her country's blood; but, as Lamartine says, "her poniard appeared to have opened the veins of France." The prophetic Vergniaud, the eloquent chief of the Girondists, when intelligence of the deed and of the fate of the maiden was brought to him in his prison, said, "She destroys us; but she teaches us how to die." Soon enough were they to be called upon to show how well they had learned the lesson.

A sort of frenzy appeared now to seize the revolutionists, who displayed an almost preternatural energy in preparing France to meet her increasing perils. The Convention ordered all persons above the age of fifteen to devote themselves to the public service. The young were to join the mustering armies; the old to serve their country by stirring up the people with revolutionary addresses; the women were to act as nurses, and to make clothing for the army; the children were to scrape lint and make bandages for the wounded. Enthusiasm and terrorism — for the guillotine was everywhere striking off the heads of the disaffected — combined to secure the execution of the edicts of the Convention, and the decrees of the Committee of Public Safety. More than a million of men were put in the field. The flame of insurrection in the departments was quenched in deluges of blood. Some of the cities that had been prominent centres of the counter-revolution were made a terrible example of the vengeance of the

revolutionists. Lyons was an object of special hatred to the tyrants.

Respecting this place the Convention passed the following decree: "The city of Lyons shall be destroyed: every house occupied by a rich man shall be demolished; only the dwellings of the poor shall remain, with edifices specially devoted to industry, and monuments consecrated to humanity and public education." [1] So thousands of men were set to work to pull down the city. "In six months," says Taine, "the Republic expends fifteen millions in destroying property valued at three or four hundred millions, belonging to the Republic. Since the Mongols of the fifth and thirteenth centuries, no such vast and irrational waste had been seen — such frenzy against the most profitable fruits of industry and human civilization."

The Convention further decreed that a monument should be erected upon the ruins of Lyons with this inscription: "Lyons opposed Liberty! Lyons is no more!" [2]

Execution of Marie Antoinette (Oct. 16, 1793). — The rage of the revolutionists was now turned anew against the remaining members of the royal family, by the European powers proclaiming the Dauphin King of France. The queen, who had now borne nine months' imprisonment in a close dungeon, was brought before the terrible Revolutionary Tribunal and condemned to the guillotine. Given an opportunity to speak, she only said: "I was a queen, and you took away my crown; a wife, and you killed my husband; a mother, and you robbed me of my children; my blood alone remains, take it, but do not make me suffer long."

The queen was conveyed in a common cart to the same spot where, almost exactly one year before, her husband had suffered. When she first appeared in the chamber of the dread tribunal, with her robes disordered, her hair white from anguish, and her face furrowed with sorrow, — so changed from that fair vision of beauty

[1] Taine's *The French Revolution*, Vol. III. p. 39.
[2] Ibid., Vol. III. p. 40.

once the centre of the brilliant court of Versailles,[1] — a wave of pity had rushed over the hearts of all beholders; but the rising tide of sentiment had been checked, and now a hideous mob of men and women howled with savage delight around the cart which bore the unhappy queen to the scaffold.

We need not speak of the faults of Marie Antoinette, though they were many; her sufferings, her patience, and her heroism were ample atonement for them all. "The pathos of her story will even blind the eyes of her judges."

Madame Roland. — The guillotine was now fed with the most illustrious victims. Two weeks after the execution of the queen, twenty-one of the chiefs of the Girondists, who had been kept in confinement since their arrest in the Convention, were pushed beneath the knife. Philip Egalité, Duke of Orleans, who the people thought had designs upon the throne, was next executed. Hundreds of others followed. Day after day the carnival of death went on. Seats were arranged for the people, who crowded to the spectacle as to a theatre. The women busied their hands with their knitting, while their eyes feasted upon the swiftly-changing scenes of the horrid drama.

Most illustrious of all the victims after the queen was Madame Roland, who was accused of being the friend of the Girondists. Woman has always acted a prominent part in the great events of French history, because the grand ideas and sentiments which have worked so powerfully upon the imaginative and impulsive temperament of the men of France, have appealed with a still more fatal attraction to her more romantic and generously enthusiastic nature.

A little incident at the scaffold lights up the character of the

[1] "It is now sixteen or seventeen years since I saw the queen of France, then the dauphiness, at Versailles; and surely never lighted on this orb, which she hardly seemed to touch, a more delightful vision. I saw her just above the horizon, decorating and cheering the elevated sphere she just began to move in, — glittering like the morning star; full of life and splendor and joy." Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution.*

patriotic Madame Roland. As she was about to lay her head beneath the knife, her eye fell upon the statue of Liberty which stood near the scaffold. "O Liberty!" she exclaimed, "what crimes are committed in thy name!"

But thus it has ever been. The worst crimes that soil the pages of history have been committed in the name of that which is holiest, — in the name of Liberty, or Justice, or Religion.

Sweeping Changes and Reforms. — The revolutionists in the scenes about the guillotine had sunk to the lowest depths of brutal insensibility; they were now in their work of presumptuous innovation to touch the heights of audacious impiety. While clearing away the enemies of France and of liberty, they were also busy making the most sweeping changes in the ancient institutions and customs of the land. They hated these as having been established by kings and aristocrats to enhance their own importance and power, and to enthrall the masses. They proposed to sweep these things all aside, and give the world a fresh start.

A new system of weights and measures, known as the metrical, was planned, and a new mode of reckoning time was introduced. The first of these reforms — that respecting weights and measures — was a most admirable one, and must be named among the good and lasting results of the Revolution. That regarding the division of time did not survive the innovating spirit of the age that conceived it. The date of the era had already been changed. It was the divisions of the year that the reformers now attacked. They wished to divide the year into ten parts; but the conduct of the moon in making twelve revolutions in a year instead of ten, prevented this arrangement. Not being able to change the number of the months, they altered their names, giving them titles expressive of the character of each. Thus the winter months were named Snowy, Rainy, Windy; the spring months, Buddy, Flowery, Meadowy, and so on through the list.[1]

[1] The French names were as follows, beginning with the first autumn month, as in the new system September 22 marked the opening of the year: Vendémiaire, Brumaire, Frimaire — the fall months; Nivose, Pluviose, Ventose

Each month was divided into three periods of ten days each, called *decades*, and each day into ten parts. The tenth day of each decade took the place of the old sabbath. The five odd days not provided for in the arrangement were made festival days to Genius, Labor, Noble Actions, Reward, and Opinion. During this last festival everybody was to be perfectly free to say or write whatever he pleased about magistrates, and all persons holding public positions.

This institution of the Festival of Opinion seems to have been the only matter in which the bold reformers of the Revolution were behind us of the present age. They gave up only one day in the year to unrestrained abuse and calumny; whereas we set apart the entire year as a Carnival of Opinion.

Abolition of Christianity. — With these reforms effected, the revolutionists next proceeded to the more difficult task of subverting the ancient institutions of religion.

Straightway after the execution of the queen, the Convention had ordered that the tombs of the kings of France at St. Denis should be destroyed. A wild Parisian mob hastened to execute the decree of the Assembly. The sepulchres were broken open, and their ashes scattered to the winds. The iconoclastic delirium spread throughout the country, and everywhere the monuments of the past that in any way recalled royalty or nobility were overturned and broken in fragments. "The skulls of monarchs and heroes," says Alison, "were tossed about like footballs by the profane multitude; like the grave-diggers in Hamlet, they made a jest of the lips before which nations had trembled."

With Royalty on earth destroyed, the revolutionists next attacked the sovereignty of Heaven. Some of the chiefs of the Commune of Paris declared that the Revolution should not rest until it had "dethroned the King of Heaven as well as the kings of earth."

An attempt was made by the extremists to have Christianity abolished by a decree of the National Convention: but that body,

— the winter months; Germinal, Floréal, Prairial — the spring months; Messidor, Thermidor, Fructidor — the summer months.

fearing such an act might alienate many who were still attached to the Church, resolved that all matters of creeds should be left to the decision of the people themselves.

The atheistic chiefs of the Commune of the capital, foremost among whom was Chaumette, now determined to effect their purpose through the Church itself. Their plan was to persuade the Bishop of Paris, Gobel by name, to abdicate his office, believing that the example of the pontiff would be followed by the clergy throughout the country, and France be thus emancipated from what they denounced as a system of fraud, superstition, and fanaticism.

The bishop was prevailed upon to set the initiative. In order that his action might have full effect, it was arranged that it should be made the prominent feature of a public and imposing ceremony. Accompanied by the members of the Commune and all of the municipal authorities of Paris, the bishop appeared before the National Convention, and being introduced to its members, spoke as follows: "When the people wanted bishops, I suffered myself to be made a bishop. I cease to be so when the people do not desire to have any."

Thereupon he laid down his mitre, which he bore in his hands, and the other symbols of his sacred office. The President of the Convention replied: "This assembly has decreed freedom to all creeds, and resolved to interfere with none; but it applauds those, who, enlightened by reason, come to renounce their superstitions and their errors."

The priests who accompanied the bishop now hastened to follow his example, and abjure the Christian faith. Transported by the enthusiasm of the moment, many of the clergy members of the Convention arose and abdicated their office, and renounced their creed. As the apostate priests followed one after another, Catholic and Protestant, the hall echoed with tremendous applause. Thus was initiated the abolition of the Christian religion in France (Nov. 7, 1793).

The churches of Paris and of a great number of other cities,

which hastened to follow the example of the capital, were now closed, and the treasures of their altars and shrines confiscated to the State. The bells were melted down into cannon and muskets.

The images of the Virgin and of the Christ were torn down, and the busts of Marat and other patriots set up in their stead. And as the emancipation of the world was now to be wrought, not by the Cross, but by the guillotine, that instrument took the place of the crucifix, and was called the Holy Guillotine. All the visible symbols of the ancient religion were destroyed. All emblems of hope in the cemeteries were obliterated, and over their gates were inscribed the words, "Death is eternal sleep."

The Worship of Reason. — The madness of the people culminated in the worship of what was called the Goddess of Reason. The cathedral of Notre Dame at Paris was converted into a Temple for the use of the new worship, which was inaugurated at the capital with a grand festival and procession (Nov. 10, 1793). All the municipal authorities of the city participated in the ceremonies. A celebrated beauty, impersonating the Goddess of Reason, was elevated upon a throne borne on the shoulders of men, and thus carried in triumph through the city to the hall of the Convention. There one of the chiefs of the Commune, addressing the members of the assembly, while he pointed to the Goddess, said: "France has abandoned inanimate idols for Reason, for that animated image, the masterpiece of Nature." The Goddess, stepping from her throne, approached the President of the Convention, who embraced and kissed her. Carried away by the scene, the multitudes that crowded the hall burst into tumultuous applause, and the building echoed with cries of "Reason forever!" "Down with fanaticism!"

The procession, drawing with it the members of the Convention, now returned to Notre Dame, whence it had set out, and there the Goddess was placed upon the altar of what henceforth was to be the Temple of Reason.

The example of Paris was followed throughout France. Churches were everywhere converted into temples of the new

worship. The Sabbath having been abolished, the services of the temple were held only upon every tenth day. On that day the mayor or some popular leader mounted the altar and harangued the people, dwelling upon the news of the moment, the triumphs of the armies of the Republic, the glorious achievements of the Revolution, and the privilege of living in an era when one was oppressed neither by kings on earth, nor by a King in heaven.

Fall of Hébert and Danton (March and April, 1794). — Not quite one year of the Reign of Terror had passed before the revolutionists, having destroyed or driven into obscurity their common enemy, the Girondists, turned upon one another with the ferocity of beasts whose appetite has been whetted by the taste of blood.

During the progress of events the Jacobins had become divided into three factions, headed respectively by Danton, Robespierre, and Hébert. Danton, though he had been a bold and audacious leader, was now adopting a more conservative tone, and was condemning the extravagances and cruelties of the Committee of Public Safety, of which he had ceased to be a member.

Hébert was one of the worst demagogues of the Commune, the chief and instigator of the Parisian rabble. He was the editor of a vile and blasphemous sheet, called *Père Duchesne*, the most audacious and inflammatory of the papers that appeared during the Reign of Terror. He and his followers, the sans-culottes of the capital, would overturn everything and refound society upon communism and atheism.

Robespierre occupied a position midway between these two, condemning alike the moderatism of Danton and the atheistic communism of Hébert. To make his own power supreme he resolved to crush both.

Hébert and his party were the first to fall, Danton and his adherents working with Robespierre to bring about their ruin, for the Moderates and Anarchists were naturally at bitter enmity. The head of Hébert fell amidst the jeers and hisses of the inconstant multitude that only a few days before were exalting him almost to divinity (March 24, 1794).

Danton and his friends were the next to follow. Little more than a week had passed since the execution of Hébert before Robespierre had effected their destruction. Danton's popularity had failed, but he felt an insolent security in the great reputation which his prominent public services had won for him, and he met the warnings of his friends respecting the designs of Robespierre against his life, with the words: "He dare not! I defy him to touch a hair of my head." But Robespierre, who even already controlled the Convention, the committees, the tribunals, — all the machinery of the revolutionary government, — managed to secure the arrest and condemnation of Danton and his chief friends on the charge of encouraging and conspiring with the counter-revolutionists.

On the 5th of April, 1794, only ten days after the execution of Hébert, Danton was sent to the scaffold. His last words to the executioner were, "Show my head to the people; it will be well worth the display." The grim request was granted, and the head was held aloft to the view of the multitude, who had climbed upon wagons and temporary stands to witness the spectacle. At the sight of the reeking head of their late favorite, the fickle crowd applauded tumultuously.

With the Anarchists and Moderates both destroyed, Robespierre was now supreme. His ambition was attained. "He stood alone on the awful eminence of the Holy Mountain." But his turn was soon to come. Danton's prophecy, that "as Hébert dragged on Danton, Danton would drag on Robespierre," was destined speedily to be fulfilled.

Worship of the Supreme Being. — One of the first acts of the dictator was to give France a new religion in place of the worship of Reason. Robespierre wished to sweep away Christianity as a superstition, but he would stop at Deism. He did not believe that a state could be founded on Atheism. "Atheism," said he, "is aristocratic. The idea of a great being who watches over oppressed innocence, and who punishes triumphant guilt, is and always will be popular. The people, the unfortunate, will ever

applaud it; it will never find detractors save among the rich and the guilty. If God did not exist, it would behoove man to invent him."

Again, in a remarkable address, considering the lips from which it fell, delivered before the Convention (May 7, 1794), Robespierre eloquently defended the doctrines of God and immortality, and then closed his speech by offering for adoption by the Convention this decree: (1) The French people acknowledge the existence of the Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul; (2) They acknowledge that the worship most worthy of the Supreme Being is the practice of the duties of man. — THIERS.

The Convention adopted the resolution with the "utmost enthusiasm." The Jacobins appeared by a committee before the assembly and thanked them for the grand decree. Similar congratulations came from all parts of France.[1]

The churches which had been converted into temples of the Goddess of Reason were now consecrated to the new worship of the Supreme Being. A short time after the adoption of the decree by the Convention, an impressive ceremony, called the Festival of the Supreme Being, was celebrated at Paris. It was one of those magnificent fêtes in the arrangement of which the dramatic genius of the French is so splendidly displayed.

A part of the ceremonies consisted in the burning of the figures of Atheism, Discord, and Selfishness. As these disappeared in flames, the statue of Wisdom stood forth as though rising from their ashes; "but it was remarked that Wisdom was greatly disfigured by the flames of the burning images."

[1] The address of one of the sections of the capital is a good illustration of the extravagant declamation of the times: "O beneficent Mountain! protecting Sinai! accept also our expressions of gratitude and congratulations for all the sublime decrees which thou art daily issuing for the happiness of mankind. From thy boiling bosom darted the salutary thunder-bolt, which, in crushing atheism, gives us genuine republicans the consoling idea of living free, in the sight of the Supreme Being, and in expectation of the immortality of the soul. The Convention forever! The Republic forever! The Mountain forever!" — THIERS, *French Revolution.*

The Terror at Paris. — At the very same time that Robespierre was declaiming so speciously about the Virtues, and arranging fêtes in honor of the Supreme Being, he was desolating France with massacres of incredible atrocity, and ruling by a terrorism unparalleled since the most frightful days of Rome. The Committee of Public Safety had become a terrible decemvirate, of which Robespierre was the Appius Claudius. All the popular clubs had been suppressed, save those of the Jacobins, through which the decemvirs kept themselves in communication with the masses. Frequent meetings of these clubs, which were addressed by the very worst demagogues, inflamed the passions of the people, and kept them in a sanguinary mood. All the departments of government were carried on by means of twelve committees appointed by the Committee of Public Safety — committees which were in fact simply the creatures of Robespierre, the ready instruments by which he carried out his policy of terrorism. The Convention, affrighted by the hideous monster it had itself brought forth, was cowering before it. The Revolutionary Tribunal, in obedience to the demands of Robespierre, had been entirely unhampered in its modes of procedure, and "moral conviction" on the part of the Judges of the guilt of a person was all that was necessary upon which to ground a verdict of death.

With all power thus gathered in his hands, Robespierre proceeded to overawe all opposition and dissent by the wholesale slaughters of the guillotine. The prisons of Paris and of the departments were crowded with suspected persons, until 200,000 prisoners were crushed within these republican Bastiles. At Paris the dungeons were emptied of their victims and room made for fresh ones, by the swift processes of the Revolutionary Tribunal, which in mockery of justice caused the prisoners to be brought before its bar in companies of ten or fifty. The president of the tribunal kept a brace of pistols lying on the desk before him. The public prosecutor, named Fouquier-Tinville, was a perfect demon. Often a nod or wink from this infamous accuser was sufficient to produce in the minds of the Judges the "moral con-

viction" which was all that was required to send the unfortunate victim to the scaffold. Rank or talent was an inexpiable crime. "Were you not a noble?" asks the president, Dumas, of one of the accused. "Yes," was the reply. "Enough; another," was the Judge's verdict. And so on through the long list each day brought before the tribunal.

Carts were in waiting at the doors of this "Palace of Justice," to carry its victims to the scaffold. A bulletin containing a list of the condemned was issued each day by the tribunal, and the trembling prisoners in the Bastiles could hear the cries of the news-boys beneath their windows: "Here are the names of those who have drawn prizes in the lottery of St. Guillotine."

The scenes about the guillotine were simply infernal. Benches were arranged around the scaffold and rented to spectators, like seats in a theatre. A special sewer had to be constructed to carry off the blood of the victims. In the space of a little over a single month (from June 10th to July 17th) the number of persons guillotined at Paris was 1,285, an average of 34 a day.

Massacres in the Provinces. — While such was the terrible state of things at the capital, matters were even worse in many of the other leading cities of France. The scenes at Nantes, Bordeaux, Marseilles, and Toulon surpassed, in all the elements of horror, the most awful conceptions of the terrific imagination of Dante. The agent of the government at Nantes was one Carrier, whose ingenious atrocities even far exceeded those of the notorious accuser at Paris. At first he caused his victims to be shot singly or guillotined; but finding these methods too slow, and the disposal of the bodies laborious and expensive, the fiendish ingenuity of Carrier devised a number of more expeditious modes of execution. To these he playfully gave the names of "Republican Baptisms," "Republican Marriages," and "Battues."

The Republican Baptism consisted in crowding a hundred or more persons into a vessel, which was then towed out into the Loire and scuttled. In the Republican Marriages a man and woman were bound together, and then thrown into the river. The

Battues consisted in ranging the victims in long ranks, and mowing them down with discharges of cannon and musket.

By these various methods fifteen thousand victims were destroyed in the course of a single month. The entire number massacred at Nantes during the Reign of Terror is estimated at thirty thousand. What renders these murders the more horrible is the fact that a considerable number of the victims were women and children. Nantes was at this time crowded with the orphaned children of the Vendean counter-revolutionists. These children, many of them not more than six or seven years of age, were torn from the families that had opened their doors to them, and the greater portion of them destroyed. Upon a single night three hundred of these innocents were taken from the city prisons and drowned in the Loire. When some one less hardened than Carrier interceded for them, he replied, "They are all wolf whelps, they are all vipers; let them be stifled." [1]

The Loire from Nantes to the sea was so full of floating bodies that a boat could hardly be rowed across it without striking one or more. Ships in weighing anchor sometimes drew up the scuttled hulls loaded with bodies. The corpses, heaped in great windrows, like drift-wood, along the banks of the river, spread fearful epidemics through the adjoining country. The fish of the stream, from feeding upon the decomposing bodies, became poisonous, so that it was necessary to issue a decree forbidding their use as food.

The Fall of Robespierre (July, 1794). — By such terrorism did Robespierre and his creatures rule France for a little more than three months. The awful suspense and dread drove many into

[1] "On one occasion," says Alison, "five hundred children of both sexes, the oldest of whom was not fourteen years old, were led out to the same spot to be shot. The littleness of their stature caused most of the bullets at the first discharge to fly over their heads; they broke their bands, rushed into the ranks of the executioners, clung around their knees, and sought for mercy. But nothing could soften the assassins. They put them to death even when lying at their feet."

insanity and to suicide. The strain was too great for human nature to bear. A reaction came. The successes of the armies of the Republic, and the establishment of the authority of the Convention throughout the departments, caused the people to look upon the massacres that were daily taking place, as unnecessary and cruel. They began to turn with horror and pity from the scenes of the guillotine. The better feelings of the nation were gaining the mastery over the brutal passions that, under the incitement of danger and political fanaticism, had borne such fatal sway.

The first blow at the power of the dictator was struck in the Convention. Robespierre was planning the arrest of some of its members on the charge of their being counter-revolutionists. A member dared to denounce him, upon the floor of the assembly, as a tyrant. The spell was broken. The Convention ordered his arrest. The Jacobins and the rabble of Paris rallied their hordes, and rescued their favorite from the hands of the officers. The Convention, knowing that the death struggle had come, hastily decreed that Robespierre and all his adherents were enemies of the Republic, declared them outlaws, and summoned the National Guards to protect the representatives of the nation, and retake Robespierre from the hands of his rescuers. The Convention was secured and the tyrant rearrested; not, however, until he had inflicted a severe wound upon himself in an unsuccessful attempt to commit suicide.

The next day he was sent to the guillotine with a large number of his confederates. The people greeted the fall of the tyrant's head with demonstrations of unbounded joy. The delirium was over. "France had awakened from the ghastly dream of the Reign of Terror" (July 28, 1794).

The Reaction. — The reaction which had swept away Robespierre and his associates continued after their ruin. The clubs of the Jacobins were closed, and that infamous society which had rallied and directed the hideous rabbles of the great cities was broken up. The deputies that had been driven from their seats in

the Convention were invited to resume their places. The Christian worship was reëstablished. The busts of Marat were thrown down, broken in pieces, and flung into the gutter.

These measures of the Convention did not fail of arousing the bitter opposition of the scattered forces of the Terrorists, as they were called; but the better classes of the people rallied to the support of the assembly, and dispersed the mobs that several times gathered threateningly around the building in which the Convention was sitting.

Successes of the French Arms. — Meanwhile the republican generals were making head against the armies of the allies round all the frontiers of France: in the South, the French armies held possession of the passes of the Alps and Pyrenees, and were ready to descend into Italy and Spain; in the North, Flanders and Holland had been overrun, and the latter country made into a republic under the name of the Batavian Republic (1795); upon the East, the German army had been pushed back, and important territory gained, by the brilliant campaigns of the able commander Hoche.

These successes of the French led Prussia and Spain to make treaties with the Convention, in which they recognized the French Republic (1795).

Napoleon defends the Convention (Oct. 5, 1795). — The Reign of Terror had illustrated the defects in the Constitution of '93, and the Convention now set about framing a new one, which provided for a stronger and more centralized government. There were to be two legislative bodies, — the Council of Five Hundred, and the Council of the Ancients, embracing 250 persons, of whom no one could be under fifty years of age. The executive power was vested in a board of five persons, which was called the Directory. Each director was to be President in turn for the space of three months.

A party in Paris were displeased with certain features of the new constitution. The sections of the turbulent capital again gathered their hordes, and on the 5th of October, 1795, a mob of forty thousand men advanced to the attack of the Tuileries, where

the Convention was sitting. The assembly had entrusted their defense to Barras, who selected as his lieutenant Napoleon Bonaparte, a young artillery officer — a native of the island of Corsica — who had made a great reputation for himself at the siege of Toulon (in 1793). The young artillerist trained his guns in such a manner as to sweep all the avenues leading to the Tuileries. As the mob came on they were met by a storm of grape-shot, which sent them flying back in wild disorder.

The Revolution had at last brought forth a man of genius capable of controlling and directing its tremendous energies.

V. The Directory. (Oct. 27, 1795 – Nov. 9, 1799.)

The Republic becomes Aggressive. — A few weeks after the defense of the Convention by Napoleon, that body, declaring its labors ended, closed its sessions, and immediately afterwards the Councils and the Board of Directors provided for by the new constitution, assumed control of affairs.

Under the Directory the Republic, which up to this time had been acting mainly on the defensive, entered upon an aggressive policy. The Revolution, having accomplished its work in France, having there destroyed royal despotism and abolished class privilege, now set itself about fulfilling its early promise of giving liberty to all peoples. In a word, the revolutionists became propagandists. France now exhibits what her historians call her social, her communicative genius. "Easily seduced herself," as Lamartine says, "she easily seduces others." She would make all Europe like unto herself. Herself a Republic, she would make all nations republics. And this was not only a necessity of genius, but of circumstances. The French republicans understood perfectly, that their ideas and principles must triumph not only in France, but throughout the surrounding countries as well, if the Revolution would escape death in its cradle. The Republic must conquer or be conquered. The kings of Europe had forced the alternative.

Had not the minds of the people in all the neighboring countries

been prepared to welcome the new order of things, the Revolution could never have spread itself as widely as it did. But everywhere irrepressible longings for social and political equality and freedom, born of long oppression, were stirring the souls of men. The French armies were everywhere welcomed as deliverers. Thus was France enabled to surround herself with a girdle of commonwealths. She conquered Europe not by her armies, but by her ideas. "An invasion of armies," says Victor Hugo, "can be resisted: an invasion of ideas cannot be resisted."

The republics established were, indeed, short-lived; for the times were not yet ripe for the complete triumph of democratic ideas. But a great gain for freedom was made. The reëstablished monarchies never dared to make themselves as despotic as those which the Revolution had overturned.

The Plans of the Directory. — After the treaties which the generals of the Convention forced Spain and Prussia to sign, Austria and England were the only formidable powers that persisted in their hostility to the Republic. The Directors resolved to strike a decisive blow at the first of these implacable foes. To carry out their design, two large armies, numbering about 70,000 each, were mustered upon the Middle Rhine, and entrusted to the command of the two young and energetic generals Moreau and Jourdan, who were to make a direct invasion of Germany. A third army, numbering about 36,000 men, was assembled in the neighborhood of Nice, in South-eastern France, and placed in the hands of Napoleon, who was assigned the work of driving the Austrians out of Italy. The brilliant achievements of the young Corsican so completely eclipsed the operations of the other two commanders, that it is his movements alone which we will watch, simply noticing, at the proper time, the results of the German campaigns of Moreau and Jourdan.

Napoleon's Italian Campaign (1796–1797). — Straightway upon receiving his command, Napoleon, now in his twenty-seventh year, animated by visions of military glory to be gathered on the fields of Italy, hastened to join his army at Nice. For the accom-

plishment of the conquest of Italy, a formidable undertaking, he found a force of a little more than 30,000 men, and these without pay, and almost without food and clothes. Napoleon at once aroused all the latent enthusiasm of the discontented soldiers, by one of those short, stirring addresses for which he afterwards became so famous. "Soldiers," said he, "you are badly fed and almost naked. Your country owes you much, but can do little for you. Your patience and courage do you honor, but can give you neither glory nor profit. I have come to lead you into the most fertile fields of the world: there you will find large cities, rich provinces, honor, glory, and wealth. Soldiers of Italy, will you fail in courage?"

Before the mountain roads were yet free from snow, Napoleon set his army in motion for the passage of the Genoese or Maritime Alps. The Austrian and Piedmontese armies were divided, and driven from the slopes and passes; and from the summit of the mountains the French soldiers looked down upon the magnificent plains of Piedmont. The Carthaginian had been surpassed. "Hannibal," exclaimed Napoleon, "crossed the Alps; as for us, we have turned them."

Now followed a most astonishing series of victories and negotiations. What genius had accomplished in less than twelve months, and what greater things it still proposed to itself, may be learned best from Napoleon's address to the army after the fall of Mantua: "Soldiers, the capture of Mantua has put an end to the war of Italy. You have been victorious in fourteen pitched battles and seventy actions; you have taken 100,000 prisoners, 500 field-pieces, 2,000 heavy cannon, and four pontoon-trains. The contributions you have laid on the countries you have conquered have fed, maintained, and paid the army; besides which you have sent 30,000,000 francs to the minister of finance for the use of the public treasury. You have enriched the Museum of Paris with three hundred masterpieces of ancient and modern Italy, which it had required thirty centuries to produce. You have conquered for the Republic the finest countries in Europe. The kings of Sar-

dinia and Naples, the Pope, and the Duke of Parma, are separated from the coalition. You have expelled the English from Leghorn, Genoa, and Corsica. Still higher destinies await you. You will prove yourselves worthy of them. Of all the foes who have combined to stifle our Republic in its birth, the Emperor alone remains."

A few lines in the nature of a running commentary on this proclamation will serve to call attention to some of the most noticeable features of the campaign, the results of which it summarizes.

One of the most noted of the numerous engagements alluded to in the address, was the battle of Lodi (May 10, 1796). The army of Napoleon in its advance from the foot of the Maritime Alps to Mantua, had to cross a large number of streams, which run from the Swiss Alps southward to the Po. One of these, the Adda, was spanned by a stone bridge at the town of Lodi. This structure was defended by a strong force of Austrians. Twenty cannon swept it from end to end. It was necessary for the French to cross it, and that without delay. In the face of a terrific fire, Napoleon charged across the bridge, at the head of a column of four thousand men. The desperate enterprise was successful, and Napoleon, who was the second man over the bridge, became from this moment the idol of his soldiers. They now began to call him affectionately the "Little Corporal," a name suggested by his boyish frame and looks. And while this battle revealed the beardless boy to the world as a man of destiny, it also revealed him to himself. "It was not till after Lodi," said he in after years, "that I was struck with the possibility of becoming famous. It was then that the first spark of my ambition was kindled."

The contributions in money mentioned as being exacted from the different states of Italy were a not unusual expedient of conquerors; but the demand which Napoleon made of these states for their chief works of art, was a thing unheard of since the art-robberies of the ancient Romans. Napoleon, like the proprætor

Verres, had a taste for art, and all through his career he was constantly carrying masterpieces from the countries he conquered to France, to enrich the museums of the capital. His motives in this were both artistic and political. He thought that such trophies, while contributing to adorn an empire, also serve to inspire national pride and sentiment.

Among the Italian princes of whom Napoleon demanded works of art, as the price of peace, was the Duke of Parma. In the list of works he was required to give up was a picture of St. Jerome by a celebrated artist. The envoys of the Duke offered Napoleon a million francs to redeem this single piece. Napoleon refused the ransom, and then justified his action to his soldiers as follows: "The money we would soon have spent; besides, we shall find more of that. But a masterpiece is everlasting; it will adorn our country."

The higher destinies which the address assures the soldiers are yet awaiting them, are the passage of the Alps, and the defeat of the Austrians on their own soil. While he had been gaining his surprising victories in Italy, Moreau and Jourdan had been meeting with severe reverses in Germany, their invading columns having been forced back upon the Rhine by the Archduke Charles. Napoleon, having effected the work assigned to the army of Italy, now proposed to climb the Alps, and do the work assigned to the double army of the Rhine, but in the accomplishment of which it had most signally failed.

Treaty of Campo Formio (1797). — Early in March, 1797, while the passes of the Alps were still covered with snow, Napoleon set his army in motion, and, after heavy losses among the mountains, — the narrow valleys and upper snow-fields of which were stubbornly disputed by the Austrians, — led his soldiers down upon the plains of Austria. In a short time his columns were within sight of the spires of Vienna. The near approach of the French induced the Emperor, Francis II., to listen to proposals of peace, which Napoleon was led to offer through fear of being cut off by uprisings in his rear. An armistice was agreed

upon, and a few months afterwards (Oct. 17, 1797) the important treaty of Campo Formio was arranged.

By the terms of this treaty Austria ceded her Belgian provinces to the French Republic, surrendered important provinces on the west side of the Rhine, and allowed Lombardy and other states of Italy to be formed into a commonwealth, upon the model of the new French state, to be known as the Cisalpine Republic.

Against these losses Austria received the Venetian dominions (excepting the Ionian Islands), which Napoleon, who arranged the terms of the treaty with the bearing and power of a dictator, gave to her. His avowed object in doing this was to stir up strife among the powers forming the late coalition against France; for he well knew that some of these at least would regard with great jealousy the addition of so strong and rich a state as Venetia to the dominions of the House of Austria.

With the treaty arranged, Napoleon was impatient to set out for Paris, where a triumph and ovation such as Europe had not seen since the days of the old Roman conquerors, awaited him. The Italian people generally, save the Venetians, who felt that he had selfishly sacrificed them to Austrian tyranny, regretted his departure. In his farewell address to the citizens of the new Cisalpine Republic, he said: "We have given you liberty; take care to preserve it. . . . Divided and bowed down for ages by tyranny, you could not have conquered your liberty; but in a few years, were you left to yourselves, no power on earth will be strong enough to wrest it from you. Till then the great nation will protect you against the attacks of your neighbors; its political system will be united to yours. I shall leave you in a few days. The orders of my government and an immediate danger to the Cisalpine Republic will alone bring me back among you."

Napoleon now hastened to Paris, carrying the treaty of Campo Formio with him. He was received with extraordinary enthusiasm. All the capital was in a tremor of excitement. The air was alive with shouts of "Long live the Republic!" "Long live Bonaparte!" A magnificent festival was arranged for the presentation

to the Republic by Napoleon of the treaty he had brought. The Directors were dressed in the costume of Roman senators. Napoleon appeared in a simple attire, looking like a mere boy among his aides-de-camp, who were "nearly bent by the respect which they paid him." After a short and characteristic speech, he delivered to the Directors the treaty of Campo Formio. The people applauded tumultuously, and the Directors flung themselves into the arms of their great general, who, while liberating Italy and humiliating the pride of Austria, had carried to the highest possible pitch the fame of the armies of the French Republic.

Napoleon's Campaign in Egypt (1798–1799). — The Directors had received Napoleon with apparent enthusiasm and affection; but at this very moment they were disquieted by fears lest the conqueror's ambition might lead him to play the part of a second Cæsar. There were reports whispered about that he was meditating the seizure of the government, in order to prevent its falling into the hands of the royalists, who were just now displaying great activity. The Directors, influenced in part, doubtless, by fear and jealousy, resolved to engage Napoleon in an enterprise which would take him out of France. This undertaking was an attack upon England, which they were then meditating. Bonaparte opposed the plan of a direct descent upon the island as impracticable, declaring that England should be attacked through her Eastern possessions. He presented a scheme very characteristic of his bold, imaginative genius. This was nothing less than the conquest and colonization of Egypt, by which means France would be able to control the trade of the East, and cut England off from her East India possessions.

The Directors assented to the plan, and with feelings of relief saw Napoleon embark from the port of Toulon to carry out the enterprise. The expedition consisted of four hundred ships, which carried many of the veterans of the Italian campaign. About Napoleon were several of his lieutenants, who had already earned brilliant reputations, but who were destined to win still wider renown as the marshals of the great commander. Attached to the

expedition was also a number of learned men, who were to improve the opportunity to investigate the antiquities of Egypt.

On his way Napoleon seized the island of Malta, and finally, having escaped the vigilance of the British fleet that was patrolling the Mediterranean, landed in Egypt July 1, 1798. The following day Alexandria fell into his hands, from which place he advanced upon Cairo. When within sight of the Pyramids, the French army was checked in its march by a determined stand of the renowned Mameluke cavalry. Napoleon animated the spirits of his men for the inevitable fight by one of his happiest speeches. One of the sentences is memorable: "Soldiers," he exclaimed, pointing to the Pyramids, "forty centuries are looking down upon you."

The terrific struggle that followed is known in history as the "Battle of the Pyramids." Napoleon gained a victory that opened the way for his advance. Cairo was now entered in triumph, and all Lower Egypt fell into the hands of the French.

Napoleon had barely made his entrance into Cairo, before the startling intelligence was borne to him that his fleet had been destroyed in the bay of Abukir, at the mouth of the Nile, by the English admiral Nelson (Aug. 1, 1798). Being by this disaster shut up in Egypt, Napoleon gave himself to composing the affairs of the conquered territory, and organizing for it a firm government. In the meantime, the *savants* were exploring the antiquities of the country.

In the spring of 1799, Napoleon led his army into Syria, the Porte having joined a new coalition against France. He captured Gaza and Jaffa,[1] and finally invested Acre. The Turks were assisted in the defense of this place by the distinguished English admiral, Sir Sidney Smith.[2] All of Napoleon's attempts to carry

[1] At this place Napoleon shot 1,200 prisoners, for no other reason, it has been asserted, than that he did not wish to have the trouble of guarding them. It seems quite certain, however, that they were men who, once paroled, had again been taken with arms in their hands.

[2] The besieged were further assisted by a Turkish army outside. With these the French fought the celebrated Battle of Mount Tabor, in which they gained a complete victory.

the place by storm, though seventeen times he threw his assaulting columns against its walls, were defeated by the skill and bravery of the English commander. "That man Sidney," said Napoleon afterwards, "made me miss my destiny." Doubtless Napoleon's vision of conquests in the East embraced Persia and India. With the ports of Syria secured, he would have imitated Alexander, and led his soldiers to the foot of the Himalayas.

Bitterly disappointed, Napoleon abandoned the siege of Acre, and led his army back into Egypt. There his worn and thinned ranks were attacked near Abukir by a fresh Turkish army, but the genius of Napoleon turned threatened defeat into a brilliant victory. The enthusiastic Kleber, one of Napoleon's lieutenants, clasping his general in his arms, exclaimed, "Sire, your greatness is like that of the universe."

Establishment of the Tiberine, the Helvetic, and the Parthenopæan Republics. — We must turn now to view affairs in Europe. The year 1798 was a favorable one for the republican cause represented by the Revolution. During that year and the opening month of the following one, the French set up three new Republics. First, they incited an insurrection at Rome, made a prisoner of the Pope, and proclaimed the Roman or Tiberine Republic. Then they invaded the Swiss cantons and united them into a commonwealth under the name of the Helvetic Republic. A little later the French troops drove the king of Naples out of his kingdom, and transformed that state into the Parthenopæan Republic. Thus were three new republics added to the commonwealths which the Revolution had already created.

The Reaction: Napoleon overthrows the Directory (18th and 19th Brumaire). — Most of this work was quickly undone. Encouraged by the victory of Nelson over the French fleet in the battle of the Nile, the leading states of Europe had formed a new coalition against the French Republic. Early in 1799 the war began, and was waged in almost every part of Europe at the same time. The campaign was on the whole extremely disastrous to the French. They were driven out of Italy, and were barely able

to keep the allies off the soil of France. The Cisalpine, the Tiberine, and the Parthenopæan Republics were abolished.

The reverses suffered by the French armies caused the Directory to fall into great disfavor. They were charged with having through jealousy exiled Napoleon, the only man who could save the Republic. Confusion and division prevailed everywhere. The royalists had become so strong and bold that there was danger lest they should gain control of the government. On the other hand, the threats of the Jacobins began to create apprehensions of another Reign of Terror.

News of the desperate state of affairs at home reached Napoleon just after his victory in Egypt, following his return from Syria. He instantly formed a bold resolve. Confiding the command of the army in Egypt to Kleber, he set sail for France, disclosing his designs in the significant words, "The reign of the lawyers is over."

Napoleon was welcomed in France with the wildest enthusiasm. A great majority of the people felt instinctively that the emergency demanded a dictator. Siéyès, one of the leading members of the Directory, had already declared that "the nation must have a chief."

A *coup d'état* was planned, — one of those peculiar strategic movements which the French politicians know so well how to arrange. Siéyès, Ducos (another member of the Directory), Napoleon, and a large number of the members of the Council of the Ancients were concerned in the plot. The Councils were transferred to St. Cloud, five miles from the capital, on the ostensible ground that the Jacobins were planning an attack upon them; the real purpose, however, being to get them where they could be dissolved without a commotion being excited. Paris, meanwhile, was strongly garrisoned with troops devoted to Napoleon.

The Directors concerned in the plot now resigned; the others were placed under arrest. The government was thus disorganized, being without a head. Napoleon, hastening to St. Cloud, appeared in the chamber of the Council of the Ancients. With much con-

fusion he explained to the members his purpose, and was favorably received. But when, attended by some soldiers, he appeared in the Council of the Five Hundred, he was met with cries of "Down with the Dictator!" "Down with the tyrant!" and was actually hustled out of the hall.

The moment for decisive action had come. Napoleon now ordered a body of grenadiers to clear the chamber. As the soldiers entered the building, the deputies fled from the hall, some in their haste escaping through the windows (Nov. 9, 1799).

The French Revolution had at last brought forth its Cromwell. Napoleon was master of France. The first French Republic was at an end, and what is distinctively called the French Revolution was over. Now commences the history of the Consulate and the First Empire, — the story of that surprising career, the sun of which rose so brightly at Austerlitz and set forever at Waterloo.

Secret of Napoleon's Power. — Napoleon Bonaparte, as has been seen, first represented the Revolution, then betrayed it; became, as we have intimated, its Cromwell, and upon its ruins erected a military despotism. If we ask, How was he able to do this? the answer is, By the prestige of success and genius. He had stood with the Republican armies of France on the summit of the Alps, and exclaimed, "Hannibal is surpassed!" He had led these same Republican soldiers to victory beneath the pyramids, with the stirring words, "Forty centuries look down upon you." Not only his enthusiastic Kleber, but *all France* had embraced him with the exclamation, "Sire, your greatness is like that of the universe!"

Having won such a place in the affections of the French people, having gained such an ascendency over their imagination, it was safe to utter, and easy to make good, the threat, "The reign of the lawyers is over."

CHAPTER VI.

THE CONSULATE AND THE FIRST EMPIRE: FRANCE SINCE THE SECOND RESTORATION.

I. The Consulate and the Empire (1799–1815).

The Veiled Military Despotism. — After the overthrow of the Directorial government, a new constitution — the fourth since the year 1789 — was prepared, and having been submitted to the approval of the people, was heartily endorsed. This new instrument vested the executive power in three consuls, elected for a term of ten years, the first of whom really exercised all the authority of the Board, the remaining two members being simply his counselors. Napoleon, of course, became the First Consul.

The other functions of the government were carried on by a Council of State, a Tribunate, a Legislature, and a Senate. But the members of all these bodies were appointed either directly or indirectly by the consuls, so that the entire government was actually in their hands, or, rather, in the hands of the First Consul.

The object of the *coup d'état* of the eighteenth and nineteenth Brumaire was to substitute a strong centralized authority for the feeble Directorial government, and certainly that object had now been secured. France was still called a republic, but it was such a republic as Rome was under Julius Cæsar or Augustus. The republican names and forms merely veiled a government as absolute and personal as that of Louis XIV., — in a word, a military despotism.

Wars of the First Consul. — Napoleon now took up his resi-

dence in the palace of the Tuileries, gathering about him so brilliant a throng of ladies and courtiers as to revive memories of the magnificent court of the Bourbons at Versailles. But he by no means gave himself up to social dissipations. With astonishing energy he set about the work of reorganizing the political, financial, and military affairs of the Republic. He well knew that France's greatest need was peace, in order that she might have opportunity to recuperate her wasted energies; and doubtless he was sincerely desirous of avoiding hostilities with the surrounding powers. But neither Austria nor England would acknowledge the government of the First Consul as legitimate. In their view he was simply an upstart, a fortunate usurper. The throne of France belonged, by virtue of divine right, to the House of Bourbon.

Napoleon mustered his soldiers. His plan was to deal Austria, his worst continental enemy, a double blow. A large army was collected on the Rhine, for an invasion of Germany. This was entrusted to Moreau. Another, intended to operate against the Austrians in Italy, was gathered at the foot of the Alps. Napoleon himself assumed command of this latter force.

In the spring of the year 1800 Napoleon made his memorable passage of the Alps, and astonished the Austrian generals by suddenly appearing, with an army of 40,000 men, on the plains of Italy. Upon the renowned field of Marengo the Austrian army, which outnumbered that of the French three to one, was completely overwhelmed, and Italy lay for a second time at the feet of Napoleon (June 14, 1800).

But at the moment Italy was regained, Egypt was lost. On the very day of the battle of Marengo, Kleber, whom Napoleon had left in charge of the army in Egypt, was assassinated by a Turkish fanatic, and shortly aftewards the entire French force was obliged to surrender to the English.

The French reverses in Egypt, however, were soon made up by fresh victories in Europe. A few months after the battle of Marengo, Moreau gained a decisive victory over the Austrians at Hohenlinden, which opened the way to Vienna. The Emperor

Francis II. was now constrained to sign a treaty of peace at Luneville, in which he allowed the Rhine to be made the eastern frontier of France (February, 1801). The Emperor also recognized the Cisalpine, Ligurian, Helvetian, and Batavian Republics. The following year England was also glad to sign a peace at Amiens (March, 1802).

His Works of Peace: the Code Napoleon. — Napoleon having wrung from both England and Austria an acknowledgment of his government, was now free to devote his amazing energies to the reform and improvement of the internal affairs of France. So at this time were begun by him those great works of various character which were continued through all the fifteen years of his supremacy.

Napoleon's remarkable genius seemed to unite the diverse abilities of the greatest of Rome's commanders and emperors. With the practical genius of a Julius Cæsar he constructed roads, erected bridges, dug canals, established arsenals, and improved the ports of the country. His great military road over the Alps by the Simplon Pass eclipses in bold engineering the most difficult of the Roman roads.

With the military ambition of a Trajan, he possessed a Hadrian's passion for building, and adorned Paris and the other chief cities of France with cathedrals, churches, fountains, and memorial monuments of every description. Many of these works of the First Consul are the pride of France at the present day.

Like a second Justinian, he caused the laws of France to be revised, condensed, and harmonized, producing the celebrated *Code Napoleon*, a work that is not unworthy of comparison with the *Corpus Juris Civilis* of the Eastern emperor. The influence of this Code upon the development of Liberalism in Western Europe is simply incalculable. It secured the work of the Revolution. It swept away the unequal, iniquitous, oppressive customs, regulations, decrees, and laws that were an inheritance from the feudal ages. It recognized the equality in the eye of the law of noble and peasant. "It is to-day the frame-work of law

Roman Empire
Austrian
Prussian
England & Hanover
Danish
Swedish
French
Savoyard
CENTRAL EUROPE
1801.
DENMARK
SWEDEN
RUSSIA
PRUSSIA
ENGLAND
IRELAND
WALES
LONDON
FRANCE
SPAIN
HOLLAND
BELGIC REPUB.
HOLSTEIN
MECKLENBURG
HANOVER
BRANDENBURG
POMERANIA
SAXONY
SILESIA
NEW GALICIA
OLD HUNGARY
BOHEMIA
AUSTRIA
BAVARIA
WURTEMBURG
BADEN
SALZBURG
HELVETIC REPUBLIC
CISALPINE REPUBLIC
LIGURIAN REPUBLIC
PARMA
TUSCANY
CORSICA
SARDINIA
MONTENEGRO
Amsterdam
Ghent
Brussels
Cologne
Liege
Aix-la-Chapelle
Coblence
Frankfurt
Treves
Mayence
Worms
Spiers
Metz
Strasbourg
PARIS
Besançon
Bern
Geneva
Lyons
Chambery
Turin
Milan
Venice
Florence
Bordeaux
Orange
Avignon
Marseille
Nice
Andorra
Hamburg
Bremen
Hanover
Berlin
Dresden
Prague
Posen
Breslau
Warsaw
Danzig
Konigsberg
Cracow
Vienna
Buda
Pesth
Ragusa
Cattaro
S. Marino
ROME
Copenhagen
BORNHOLM
RÜGEN
R. Eider
R. Niemen
R. Vistula
R. Rhine
R. Meuse
R. Moselle
R. Saone
R. Rhone
R. Loire
R. Drave
R. Danube
R. Theiss
40
50
0
5
10
15
20
25

in France, Holland, Belgium, Western Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. In France it repealed a chaos of laws and decrees and welded the old legislation which was worth retaining with the new improvements of the revolutionary epoch."[1] Had Napoleon done nothing else save to give this Code to Europe, he would have conferred an inestimable benefit upon mankind.

In imitation of Augustus he encouraged men of letters and science, and attached many to his person and government by a royal liberality in the bestowal of titles and honors. He established schools and colleges, and endowed libraries, museums, and art galleries. He instituted what was called the Legion of Honor, to take the place of the feudal orders which the Revolution had swept away, and restored titles of distinction, thus creating a sort of new aristocracy. Agriculture, manufactures, and all the industrial arts also received a share of his fostering attention.

Napoleon's capacity for work was simply enormous. His mind acted with almost preternatural energy and quickness. Four or five hours a day sufficed him for sleep: thus he was able to gain time for the accomplishment of labors so varied and prodigious.

Napoleon made Consul for Life (1802). — As a reward for his vast services to France, and also in order that his magnificent schemes of reform and improvement might be pursued without fear of interruption, Napoleon was now, by a vote of the people, made Consul for Life, with the right to name his successor (August, 1802). Thus he moved a step nearer the coveted dignity of the Imperial title.

Plots against his Life. — The year following the conferring of these new powers and dignities upon Napoleon, a plot was laid for his assassination, in which three of his generals, Cadoudal, Pichegru, and Moreau, were implicated. It seems also that members of the English government abetted the conspiracy. The plot was discovered, and the chiefs concerned in it were executed or banished. The Duke of Enghien, the last prince of the House of Condé, in whose interest it was suspected the conspiracy was

[1] Ropes, *The First Napoleon*, p. 91.

laid, was seized at Ettenheim, carried to Vincennes, and there shot, virtually without trial. No act of Napoleon has been more severely censured than this, for the young prince was very generally regarded as innocent of any participation in the plot.

Napoleon proclaimed Emperor (1804). — The above conspiracy, and the increased activity of the enemies of the First Consul, caused the French people to resolve to increase his power, and secure his safety and the stability of his government, by placing him upon a throne. Napoleon, while seeming to resign himself to the popular movement, really incited and directed it. A decree conferring upon him the title of Emperor having been submitted to the people for approval, was ratified by an almost unanimous vote, less than three thousand persons opposing the measure.[1]

The coronation took place in the cathedral of Notre Dame, on the 2d of December, 1804; the Pope, Pius VII., having been invited from Rome to take part in the ceremonies. The presence of the Pope was desired by Napoleon, because it was his design to have himself regarded not as the successor of the Bourbons, but as the successor of Charlemagne and the Cæsars, and it had always been thought necessary, by many at least, that the candidate for the Imperial dignity should be consecrated to his office by the Roman Pontiff. The Pope poured upon the head of the kneeling Emperor the holy oil, and invested him with the Imperial sceptre; but when he would have placed the crown upon his head, Napoleon checked him, and taking the diadem from the Pope crowned himself with his own hands. This was to symbolize that the temporal power was paramount to the spiritual.

Surrounding Republics changed into Kingdoms. — Thus was the First French Republic metamorphosed into an unveiled Empire. We may be sure that the cluster of republics which during the Revolution sprang up around the great original, will speedily undergo a like transformation; for Napoleon was right when he said that a revolution in France is sure to be followed by

[1] The actual figures were 3,572,329 affirmative and 2,569 negative votes.

a revolution throughout Europe. As France, a republic, would make all states republics, so France, a monarchy, would make all nations monarchies. Within five years from the time that the government of France assumed an imperial form, all the surrounding republics raised up by the revolutionary ideas and armies of France, had been transformed into monarchies dependent upon France, or had become a component part of the French Empire. Thus the Cisalpine or Italian Republic was changed into a Kingdom, and Napoleon, crowning himself at Milan with the iron crown of the Lombards, assumed the government of the state, with the title of King of Italy (May 26, 1805). The Ligurian Republic, embracing Genoa and a portion of Sardinia, was made a part of France; while the Batavian Republic was changed into the Kingdom of Holland, and given by Napoleon to his brother Louis (June, 1806). Thus was the political work of the Revolution undone. Political liberty was taken away; the people were not yet ready for self-government. Equality was left.

The Wars of Napoleon. — It will not be supposed that the powers of Europe were looking quietly on while France was thus metamorphosing herself and all the neighboring countries. The colossal power which the soldier of fortune was building up was a menace to all Europe. The Empire was more dreaded than the Republic, because it was a military despotism, and as such an instrument of irresistible power in the hands of a man of such genius and resources as Napoleon. Coalition after coalition, always headed by England, — who had sworn a Punic hatred to the Napoleonic Empire, — was formed by the monarchies of Europe against the "usurper," with the object of pressing France back within her original boundaries and setting up again the subverted throne of the Bourbons.

From the coronation of Napoleon in 1804 until his final downfall in 1815, the tremendous struggle went on almost without intermission. It was the war of the giants. Millions of men were mustered under the standard of France and the opposing ensigns of the allied monarchies. Europe was shaken from end to end

with such armies as the world had not seen since the days of Xerxes. Napoleon, whose hands were upheld by a score of distinguished marshals, performed the miracles of genius. His brilliant achievements still dazzle, while they amaze, the world.

To relate in detail the campaigns of Napoleon from Austerlitz to Waterloo would require the space of volumes. We shall simply indicate in a few brief paragraphs the successive steps by which he mounted to the highest pitch of power and fame, and then trace hurriedly the decline and fall of his astonishing fortunes.

Austerlitz (1805): **End of the Holy Roman Empire** (1806).— The year following his coronation, Napoleon made a gigantic effort to break the coalition which England, Russia, Austria, and Sweden had formed against him. He massed an immense army at Boulogne, on the Channel, preparatory to an invasion of England; but the failure of his fleet to carry out its part of the plan, and intelligence of the advance of the Austrians and Russians towards the Rhenish frontier, caused him suddenly to transfer his troops to the opposite side of France.

Without waiting for the attack of the allies Napoleon flung his Grand Army, as it was called, across the Rhine, defeated the Austrians in the battle of Ulm, and marched in triumph through Vienna to the field of Austerlitz beyond, where he gained one of his most memorable victories over the combined armies of Austria and Russia, numbering more than 100,000 men (Dec. 2, 1805).

This battle, "the masterpiece of Napoleon's tactics," changed completely the map of Europe. Austria was forced to give up Venetia and other provinces about the head of the Adriatic, this territory being now added to the kingdom of Italy. Sixteen of the German states, declaring themselves independent of the Empire, were formed into a league, called the *Confederation of the Rhine*, with Napoleon as Protector. Furthermore, the Emperor Francis II. was obliged to surrender the crown of the *Holy Roman Empire*, and hereafter to content himself with the title of *Emperor of Austria.*

Thus did the Holy Roman Empire of the west come to an end

(1806), after having maintained an existence, since its revival under Charlemagne, of almost exactly one thousand years. Reckoning from its establishment by Cæsar Augustus, it had lasted 1836 years. The *Kingdom of Germany*, which was created by the partition of the Empire of Charlemagne, now also passed out of existence, even in name.

Trafalgar (Oct. 21, 1805). — Napoleon's brilliant victories in Germany were clouded by an irretrievable disaster to his fleet, which occurred only two days after the engagement at Ulm. Lord Nelson having met, near Cape Trafalgar on the coast of Spain, the combined French and Spanish fleets, — Spain had become the ally of Napoleon, — almost completely destroyed the combined armaments. The gallant English admiral fell at the moment of victory. "Thank God, I have done my duty," were his last words.

This decisive battle gave England the control of the sea, and relieved her from all danger of a French invasion. Even the "wet ditch," as Napoleon was wont contemptuously to call the English Channel, was henceforth an impassable gulf to his ambition. He might rule the continent, but the sovereignty of the ocean and its islands was denied him.

Jena and Auerstadt (1806). — Prussia was the state next after Austria to feel the weight of Napoleon's power. Goaded by insult, the Prussian king, Frederick William III., very imprudently threw down the gauntlet to the French emperor. Moving with his usual swiftness, Napoleon overwhelmed the armies of Frederick in the battles of Jena and Auerstadt, which were both fought upon the same day (Oct. 14, 1806). All Prussia was now trampled down by the French armies, which entered in triumph the capital, Berlin. Thus the great military power consolidated by the genius of Frederick the Great, was crushed and almost annihilated. What had proved too great an undertaking for the combined powers of Europe during the Seven Years' War, Napoleon had effected in less than a month. The sword of the great Frederick, with many treasures stolen from the museums and art galleries of Berlin, were carried as trophies to Paris.

Eylau and Friedland (1807). — The year following his victories over the Prussians Napoleon led his Grand Army against the forces of the Czar, Alexander I., who had entered Prussia with aid for King Frederick. A fierce but indecisive battle at Eylau was followed, a little later in the same season, by the battle of Friedland, in which the Russians were completely overwhelmed (June 14, 1807). The Czar was forced to sue for peace. Napoleon arranged a series of meetings with him on a gayly decorated raft, moored midway in the Niemen, the frontier river of Russia.

Alexander seems to have been quite fascinated by the genius and address of his conqueror, who, on this occasion, played the part of a Black Prince with admirable tact and advantage. The outcome of the conferences was the Treaty of Tilsit, soon after signed, and a strange and romantic friendship and alliance between the French Emperor and the Czar.

By the terms of the Treaty of Tilsit Prussia was stripped of more than half of her former dominions, a part of which was made into a new state, called the Kingdom of Westphalia, with Napoleon's brother, Jerome, as its king, and added to the Confederation of the Rhine ; while Prussian Poland, reorganized and clumsily christened the "Grand Duchy of Warsaw," was given to Saxony. What was left of Prussia became virtually a dependency of the French Empire.

The Continental System: the Berlin and Milan Decrees. — While Napoleon was carrying on his campaigns against Prussia and Russia, he was all the time meditating vengeance upon England, his most uncompromising foe, and the leader or instigator of the coalitions which were constantly being formed for the overthrow of his power. We have seen how the destruction of his fleet at Trafalgar dashed all his hopes of ever making a descent upon the British shores. Unable to reach his enemy directly with his arms, he resolved to strike her through her commerce. By two celebrated imperial edicts, called from the cities whence they were issued the Berlin and Milan decrees, he closed all the ports of the continent against English ships, and forbade any of the European

nations from holding any intercourse with Great Britain, all of whose ports he declared in a state of blockade.

So completely was Europe under the domination of Napoleon, that England's trade was by these measures very seriously crippled, and great loss and suffering were inflicted upon her industrial classes. We shall have occasion a little later to speak of the disastrous effects of the system upon the French Empire itself.

Beginning of the Peninsular Wars (1808). — One of the first consequences of Napoleon's "continental policy" was to bring him into conflict with Portugal. The prince regent of that country presuming to open its ports to English ships, Napoleon at once deposed him, and sent one of his marshals to take possession of the kingdom. The entire royal family, accompanied by many of the nobility, fled to Brazil, and made that country the seat of an empire which has endured to the present day.

Having thus gained a foothold in the Peninsula, Napoleon now resolved to possess himself of the whole of it. Insolently interfering in the affairs of Spain, — the government of which, it must be confessed, was in a very distracted state, — he forced the weak-minded Bourbon king to resign to him, as "his dearly beloved friend and ally," his crown, which he bestowed at once upon his brother, Joseph Bonaparte (1808). The throne of Naples, which Joseph had been occupying,[1] was transferred to Murat, Napoleon's brother-in-law. Thus did this audacious man make and unmake kings, and give away thrones and kingdoms.

But the high-spirited Spaniards were not the people to submit tamely to such an indignity. The entire nation, from the Pyrenees to the Straits of Gibraltar, flew to arms. Portugal also arose, and England sent to her aid a force under Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, and the hero of Waterloo. The French were soon driven out of Portugal, and pushed beyond the Ebro in Spain. Joseph fled in dismay from his throne, and Napoleon found it necessary to take the field himself, in order to restore the prestige of the French arms. He entered the Penin-

[1] Napoleon dethroned the Bourbons in Naples in 1805.

sula at the head of an army of 80,000 men, and scattering the Spaniards wherever he met them, entered Madrid in triumph, and reseated his brother upon the Spanish throne.

Threatening tidings from another quarter of Europe now caused Napoleon to hasten back to Paris.

Second Campaign against Austria (1809).—Taking advantage of Napoleon's troubles in the Peninsula, Francis I. of Austria, who had been watching for an opportunity to retrieve the disaster of Austerlitz, gathered an army of half a million of men, and declared war against the French Emperor. But Austria was fated to suffer even a deeper humiliation than she had already endured. Napoleon swept across the Danube, and at the end of a short campaign, the most noted battles of which were those of Eckmühl and Wagram, Austria was again at his feet, and a second time he entered Vienna in triumph. Austria was now still farther dismembered, large tracts of her possessions being ceded directly to Napoleon or given to the various neighboring states (1809).

The Papal States and Holland joined to the French Empire.—That Napoleon cared but little for the thunders of the Church is shown by his treatment of the Pope. Pius VII. opposing his continental system, the Emperor incorporated the Papal States with the French Empire (1809). The Pope thereupon excommunicated Napoleon, who straightway arrested the Pontiff, and dragged him over the Alps into France. He held him in captivity for four years, moving him from place to place, and part of the time limiting him to prison fare.

The year following the annexation of the Papal States to the French Empire, Louis Bonaparte, king of Holland, who disapproved of his brother's continental system, which was ruining the trade of the Dutch, abdicated the crown. Thereupon Napoleon incorporated Holland with France, on the ground that it was simply "the sediment of the French rivers."

Napoleon's Second Marriage (1810).—The year following his triumph over Francis I. of Austria, Napoleon divorced his wife Josephine, in order to form a new alliance, with Maria Louisa,

French Empire and Dependent States
Austrian
Prussian
Swedish
Savoyard
IRELAND
ENGLAND
WALES
LONDON
Hague
Amsterdam
HOLLAND
Brussels
Waterloo
Boulogne
Cologne
Aix la Chapelle
Rouen
Treves
Metz
Strasbourg
Fontainbleau
PARIS
Nantes
Napoleon
Vendee
Bordeaux
St. Sebastian
Toulouse
SPAIN
Zaragoza
Lyon
Geneva
Turin
Milan
Genoa
Nice
Marseille
Florence
CORSICA
ROME
KM OF SARDINIA
Naples
KM OF NAPLES
Venice
ITALY
ILLYRIAN PROVINCES
SLAVONIA
BOSNIA
SERVIA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
MONTENEGRO
Copenhagen
DENMARK
Lubeck
Hamburg
MECKLENBURG
RUGEN
Dantzic
Friedland
R. Niemen
Konigsberg
PRUSSIA
RUSSIA
Berlin
Warsaw
DUCHY OF WARSAW
Erfurt
Jena
Dresden
SAXONY
SILESIA
Cracow
GALICIA
Prague
BOHEMIA
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
Wagram
Vienna
Peath
HUNGARY
Hohenlinden
BAVARIA
AUSTRIA
Berne
HELVETIC REPUBLIC
CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE
WESTPHALIA
WURTEMBURG
BADEN
R. Rhine
R. Elbe
R. Vistula
R. Bug
R. Danube
R. Drave
R. Loire
R. Seine
CENTRAL EUROPE
1810.

Archduchess of Austria. The fond and faithful Josephine bowed meekly to the will of her lord, and went into sorrowful exile from his palace. Napoleon's object in this matter was to cover the reproach of his own plebeian birth, by an alliance with one of the ancient royal families of Europe, and to secure the perpetuity of his government by leaving an heir who might be the inheritor of his throne and fortunes. His hope seemed realized when, the year following his marriage with the Archduchess, a son was born to them, who was given the title of "King of Rome."

Napoleon at the Summit of his Power (1811). — Napoleon was now at the height of his marvelous fortunes. Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena, Friedland, and Wagram were the successive steps by which he had mounted to the most dizzy heights of military power and glory. This man of destiny was now the arbiter of the destinies of Europe. The empire which he had built up stretched from the Baltic to Southern Italy, embracing France proper, Belgium, Holland, Northwestern Germany, Italy west of the Apennines as far south as Naples, besides large possessions about the head of the Adriatic. On all sides were allied, vassal, or dependent states. Several of the ancient thrones of Europe were occupied by Napoleon's relatives or favorite marshals. He himself was head of the Kingdom of Italy, and Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine. Austria and Prussia were completely subject to his will. Russia and Denmark were his allies.

Such were the relations of the once great powers and independent states of Europe to this soldier of fortune. Not since the time of the Cæsars or of Charlemagne had one man's will swayed so much of the world.

Elements of Weakness in the Empire. — But splendid and imposing as at this moment appeared the external affairs of Napoleon, the sun of his fortunes, which had risen so brightly at Austerlitz, had already passed its meridian. There were many things just now contributing to the weakness of the French Empire and foreboding its speedy dissolution. Founded and upheld by the genius of Napoleon, it depended solely upon the life and for-

tunes of this single man. The diverse elements it embraced were as yet so loosely joined that there could be no hope or possibility of its surviving either the misfortune or death of its founder.

Again, Napoleon's continental system, through the suffering and loss it inflicted upon all the maritime countries of Europe, had caused murmurs of discontent all around the circumference of the continent. This ruinous policy had also involved the French Emperor in a terribly wasteful war with Spain, which country was destined — more truly than Italy, of which the expression was first used — to become "the grave of the French." Napoleon after his downfall himself admitted that his passage of the Pyrenees was the fatal misstep in his career.

Furthermore, the conscriptions of the Emperor had drained France of men, and her armies were now recruited by mere boys, who were utterly unfit to bear the burden and fatigue of Napoleon's rapid campaigns. The heavy taxes, also, which were necessary to meet the expenses of Napoleon's wars, and to carry on the splendid public works upon which he was constantly engaged, produced great suffering and discontent throughout the Empire. And the crowd of deposed princes and dispossessed aristocrats in those states where Napoleon had promulgated his new code of equal rights, were naturally restless and resentful: they were "subjected but indignant," and were ever watchful for an opportunity to recover their ancient power and privileges. Even the large class in the surrounding countries that at first welcomed Napoleon as the representative of the French ideas of equality and liberty, and applauded while he overturned ancient thrones and aristocracies, which, like the monarchy and feudal nobility in France swept away by the Revolution, had become unbearably proud, corrupt, and oppressive, — even these early adherents had been turned into bitter enemies through Napoleon's adoption of imperial manners, and especially by his setting aside his first wife, Josephine, in order that he might ally himself to one of the old royal houses of Europe, which act was looked upon as a betrayal of the cause of the people.

Nothing save the prestige of Napoleon's name and the dread of his vengeance keeps his enemies at bay. Let the lion be wounded, and a hundred enemies will spring upon him from every side.

The Invasion of Russia (1812–1813). — The signal for the uprising of Europe was the terrible misfortune which befell Napoleon in his invasion of Russia. The Czar having cast aside the old ties of alliance and friendship, and entered a coalition against France, Napoleon crossed the frontiers of Russia, at the head of what was proudly called the Grand Army, numbering more than half a million of men. The boundaries of that country had never been crossed by such an army since Darius I. led his immense hosts across the Danube twenty-four centuries before.[1]

The Russians threw themselves across the path of the invaders at Borodino, but their lines were swept back by the strong columns of the Grand Army, although the victory cost the French dear. Following closely the retreating enemy, the French pushed on towards the ancient Russian capital Moscow. This city Napoleon had thought would supply food for his army, and shelter from the severity of the northern winter, which was now approaching. But to his astonishment he found the city deserted by its inhabitants; and scarcely had he established himself in the empty palace of the Czar (the Kremlin), before the city, probably fired by persons whom the Russians had left behind for this purpose, burst into flames in a hundred places at once. After waiting about the ruins until the middle of October, in hopes that the Czar would accept proposals of peace, Napoleon was forced to give the command for the return of the army to France.

[1] "The French army of invasion included Frenchmen, Italians, Swiss, Dutch, Poles, and contingents from all the German princes of the Confederacy of the Rhine; in fact, the smaller part of the army was French." — PLOETZ, *Epitome of Universal History*, p. 474.

"It was indeed the 'army of twenty nations,' as it is still called by the Russian people. Napoleon swept all the races of the West against the East by a movement similar to that of the great invasions, and Russia seemed likely to be overwhelmed by a human avalanche." — RAMBAUD, *History of Russia*, Vol II. p. 324.

The retreat was attended with incredible sufferings and horrors. The Russian winter setting in earlier than usual and with terrible severity, thousands of the French soldiers were frozen to death, and falling upon the snow, traced with a long black line the trail of the retreating army. The spot of each bivouac was marked by the circles of dead around the watch-fires. Thousands more were slain by the wild Cossacks, who surrounded the retreating columns and harassed them day and night. The passage of the river Beresina was attended with appalling losses.

Soon after the passage of this stream, Napoleon, conscious that the fate of his empire depended upon his presence in Paris, left the remnant of the army in charge of his marshals, and hurried by post to his capital. Marshal Ney, the "bravest of the brave," performed miracles in covering the retreat of the broken and dispirited columns. Almost single-handed he beat back again and again the pursuing bands of the enemy. He was the last man, it is said, to cross the Niemen. His face was so haggard from care and so begrimed with powder, that no one recognized him. Being asked who he was, he replied, "I am the rear guard of the Grand Army."

The loss by death of the French and their allies in this disastrous campaign is reckoned at about 300,000 men,[1] while that of the Russians is estimated to have been almost as large.

"The Battle of the Nations" (Leipsic, 1813). — Napoleon's fortunes were buried with his Grand Army in the snows of Russia. His woful losses emboldened the surrounding powers to think that now they could crush him. A sixth coalition was formed, embracing Russia, Prussia, England, and Sweden. Napoleon made gigantic efforts to prepare France for the struggle. By the spring of 1813 he was at the head of a new army, numbering over 300,000 men, or boys we should rather say, so extremely young were a large number of the fresh recruits.

Falling upon the allied armies of the Russians and Prussians,

[1] The Russians took 100,000 prisoners, and about 100,000 recrossed the Niemen.

German Confederation
Austrian
Prussian
England and Hanover
Netherlands
Danish
French
Savoyard
CENTRAL EUROPE
1815.
IRELAND
ENGLAND
WALES
LONDON
Amsterdam
Hague
Antwerp
Ghent
Boulogne
Brussels
NETHERLANDS
Copenhagen
SWEDEN
DENMARK
HOLSTEIN
Lubeck
MECKLENBURG
Hamburg
Bremen
HANOVER
Berlin
BRANDENBURG
POMERANIA
WEST PRUSSIA
EAST PRUSSIA
RUSSIA
POSEN
POLAND
Warsaw
R. Bug
R. Vistula
SAXONY
Leipzig
Dresden
KM. OF SAXONY
WEIMAR
Rep. of Cracow
GALICIA
PRUSSIA
SILESIA
Köln
Frankfurt
Mainz
Luxemburg
Metz
Strasbourg
Rouen
R. Seine
PARIS
R. Loire
Nantes
FRANCE
Bordeaux
Toulouse
SPAIN
Rhine
Prague
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
Regensbg.
Munich
Danube
AUSTRIA
Vienna
Pesth
HUNGARY
EMPIRE
CONFEDERATION
Bern
SWITZERLAND
TYROL
CARINTHIA
R. Drave
BANAT
SLAVONIA
CROATIA
BOSNIA
SERVIA
SAVOY
Turin
Milan
LOMBARDY
VENETIA
CARNIOLA
Venice
Genoa
Piacenza
Parma
Modena
Bologna
Florence
Su. Marino
DALMATIA
MONTENEGRO
Leghorn
GD. DY. TUSCANY
ELBA
CORSICA
PAPAL STATES
ROME
TWO SICILIES
Naples
KM. OF SARDINIA
Nizza
Marseille

first at Lutzen and then at Bautzen, he gained a decisive victory upon both fields. Austria now appeared in the lists, and at Leipsic the French were met by the leagued armies of Europe. So many were the powers represented upon the renowned field, that it is known in history as the "Battle of the Nations." The combat lasted three days. Napoleon was defeated, and forced to retreat into France.

The Abdication of Napoleon (1814). — The armies of the allies now poured over all the French frontiers. Wellington, having driven Napoleon's marshals from the Iberian Peninsula, was already in the South of France; the Russians and Swedes were advancing through the Netherlands; while in the east two strong German armies, commanded by Blücher and Schwarzenberg, were upon the Rhine.

Napoleon's tremendous efforts to roll back the tide of invasion were all in vain. As the struggle became manifestly hopeless, his most trusted officers deserted and betrayed him. Paris surrendered to the allies (March 31, 1814). Napoleon was forced to abdicate, and the ancient House of the Bourbons was re-established in the person of a brother of Louis XVI., who took the title of Louis XVIII. Napoleon was banished to the little island of Elba in the Mediterranean, being permitted to retain his title of Emperor, and to keep about him a few hundreds of his old guards. But Elba was a very diminutive empire for one to whom the half of Europe seemed too small, and we shall not be surprised to learn that Napoleon was not content with it.

The Congress of Vienna (Sept., 1814–June, 1815). — After the overthrow of Napoleon, commissioners of the different European states met at Vienna to readjust the map of Europe. It was a great task to harmonize the conflicting claims that came before the convention, and to effect a settlement of the continent that should satisfy all parties. At one time war among the allies seemed inevitable. But after nearly a year of negotiations and debate an agreement respecting the boundaries and relations of the various states was reached. As we shall hereafter, in connec-

tion with the history of the separate countries, have occasion to say something respecting the relations of each to the Congress, we shall here say but a word regarding the temper of the assembly and the general character of its work.

The Vienna commissioners seemed to have but one thought and aim — to put everything back as near as possible in the shape that it was in before the Revolution. They had no care for the people; the princes were their only concern. The crowd of thrones that Napoleon had overturned were righted, and the old despots were invited to remount them. Italy and Germany were divided among a horde of petty tyrants. The old iniquitous partition of Poland was confirmed. In Spain and Naples the old Bourbon families were re-instated, and the former despotisms renewed. In short, the clock was set back to the hour when the Bastile was attacked. Everything that had happened since was utterly ignored.

But the Revolution had destroyed privilege as expressed in the effete feudal aristocracies of Europe, and impaired beyond restoration the monstrous doctrine of the divine right of kings. An attempt to bring these things back again was an attempt to restore life to the dead, — to set up again the fallen Dagon in his place.

Notwithstanding, the commissioners at Vienna, blind to the spirit and tendencies of the times, did set up once more the broken idol, — only, however, to see it flung down again by the memorable social upheavals of the next half century. The kings had had their Congress: the people were to have theirs, — in 1820 and '30 and '48.

The Hundred Days (March 20–June 29, 1815). — The allies who placed Louis XVIII. upon the French throne set back the boundaries of France as nearly as possible to the lines they occupied in 1792. In like manner the king himself, seemingly utterly oblivious to the spirit and tendencies of the times, as soon as he was in possession of the ancient inheritance of his family, began to put back everything just as it was before the reforms of the Revolution. He always alluded to the year he began to rule as the nineteenth of his reign, thus affecting to ignore entirely the government of the Republic and Empire.

The result of this reactionary policy was widespread dissatisfaction throughout France. Many began to desire the return of Napoleon, and the wish was perhaps what gave rise to the report which was spread about that he would come back with the spring violets.

In the month of March, 1815, as the commissioners of the various powers were sitting at Vienna rearranging the landmarks and boundaries obliterated by the French inundation, news was brought to them that Napoleon had escaped from Elba and was in France. At first the members of the Congress were incredulous, regarding the thing as a jest, and were with difficulty convinced of the truth of the report.

Taking advantage of the general dissatisfaction with the rule of the restored Bourbons, Napoleon had resolved upon a bold push for the recovery of his crown. Landing with a few followers at one of the southern ports of France, he aroused all the country with one of his stirring addresses, and then immediately pushed on towards Paris. Never was the changeable, impulsive character of the French people better illustrated than now; and never was better exhibited the wonderful personal magnetism of Napoleon. His journey to the capital was one continuous ovation. One regiment after another, forgetting their recent oath of loyalty to the Bourbons, hastened to join his train. His old generals and soldiers embraced him with transports of joy. Marshal Ney, sent to arrest the Emperor, whom he had promised to bring to Paris in a cage, at the first sight of his old commander threw himself into his arms, and pledged him his sword and his life.

Louis XVIII., deserted by his army, was left helpless, and, as Napoleon approached the gates of Paris, fled from his throne. The fickle populace, who only a few months before had cheered enthusiastically the entry of the allies into the capital, now seemed delirious with joy over the return of the Emperor.

Napoleon desired peace with the sovereigns of Europe; but they did not think the peace of the continent could be maintained so long as he sat upon the French throne. For the seventh and

last time the allies leagued their armies to crush the man of destiny. A million of men poured over the frontiers of France.

Hoping to overwhelm the armies of the allies by striking them one after another before they had time to unite, Napoleon moved swiftly into Belgium with an army of 130,000, in order to crush there the English and Prussians. He first fell in with and defeated the Prussian army under Blücher, and then faced the English at Waterloo (June 18, 1815).

The story of Waterloo need not be told, — how all day the French broke their columns in vain on the English squares; how, at the critical moment at the close of the day, Blücher with a fresh force of 30,000 Prussians turned the tide of battle; and how the famous Old Guard, which knew how to die but not how to surrender, made its last charge, and left its hitherto invincible squares upon the lost field.

A second time Napoleon was forced to abdicate, and a second time Louis XVIII. was lifted by the allies upon his unstable throne. Bonaparte desired to be allowed to retire to America, but his enemies believed that his presence there would not be consistent with the safety of Europe. Consequently he was banished to the island of St. Helena, in the South Atlantic, and there closely guarded by the British until his death, in 1821.

The story of these last years of Napoleon Bonaparte, as gathered from the companions of his exile, is one of the most absorbing and pathetic in all history. At the time of his death Napoleon was in his fifty-second year. As upon the death of Cromwell, so now the elements by their turmoil seemed to signal the departure of a mighty spirit; for, while the man of destiny lay dying, the island was swept by a terrific tempest, which caused the little rock "to tremble as though shaken by an earthquake."

II. France since the Second Restoration (1815–).

Character of the Period. — The history of France since the second restoration of the Bourbons may be characterized briefly. It has been simply a continuation of the Revolution, of the struggle between democratic and monarchical tendencies. The aim of the Revolution was to abolish privileges and establish rights, — to give every man lot and part in shaping the government under which he lives. These republican ideas and principles have, on the whole, notwithstanding repeated reverses, gained ground; for revolutions never move backward. There may be eddies and counter-currents in a river, but the steady and powerful sweep of the stream is ever onward towards the sea. Not otherwise is it with the great political and intellectual movements of History.

Reign of Louis XVIII. — Profiting by the lessons of The Hundred Days, Louis XVIII. ruled after this second restoration with reasonable heed to the results and changes effected by the Revolution. Giving up his dream of re-establishing the despotism of Louis XIV., he reigned in accordance with the provisions of the new constitution, which was somewhat like that of England; and France, seeming also to have forgotten her dream of a Republic, rested quietly under his rule.

The Revolution of 1830. — But upon the death of Louis in 1824 and the accession of Charles X., a reactionary policy was adopted. The new king seemed utterly incapable of profiting by the teachings of the Revolution. His blind, stubborn course gave rise to the saying, "A Bourbon learns nothing and forgets nothing." The result might have been foreseen. The people rose in revolt, and by one of those sudden movements for which Paris is so noted, the despot was driven into exile, and Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, was placed on the throne (1830).

A new constitution was now given to France, and as Louis Philippe had traveled about the world considerably, and had experienced various vicissitudes of fortune, — having at one time

been obliged to support himself by teaching mathematics in Switzerland, — the people regarded him as one of themselves, and anticipated much from their "citizen king," and their reformed constitution.

The French "July Revolution," as it is called, lighted the signal fires of liberty throughout Europe. In almost every country there were uprisings of the Liberals. Existing constitutions were so changed as to give the people a larger share in the government; and where there were no constitutions, original charters were granted. In some instances, indeed, the uprisings had no other result than that of rendering the despotic governments against which they were directed more cruel and tyrannical than they were before; yet, on the whole, a decided impulse was given to the cause of constitutional, republican government.[1]

Establishment of the Second Republic (1848). — The reign of Louis Philippe up to 1848 was very unquiet, yet was not marked by any disturbance of great importance. But during all this time the ideas of the Revolution were working among the people, and the republican party was constantly gaining strength. Finally, in 1848, some unpopular measures of the government caused an uprising similar to that of 1830. Louis Philippe, under the assumed name of Mr. Smith, fled into England. The Second Republic was now established, with the poet and historian Lamartine as its provisional head. An election being ordered, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, nephew of the great Napoleon, was chosen President of the new republic (Dec. 20, 1848).

The truth of the first Napoleon's declaration, which we have before quoted, that a revolution in France is sure to be followed by a revolution throughout Europe, was now illustrated anew.

[1] It was at this time that Belgium became an independent state; for upon the downfall of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1815, the Congress of Vienna had made the Low Countries into a single kingdom, and given the crown to a prince of the House of Orange. The Belgians now arose and declared themselves independent of Holland, adopted a liberal constitution, and elected Leopold I., of Saxe-Coburg, as their king (1831).

Almost every throne upon the continent felt the shock of the French Revolution of 1848. The constitutions of many of the surrounding states again underwent great changes in the interest of the people and of liberty. "It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that, during the month of March, 1848, not a single day passed without a constitution being granted somewhere." France had made another of her irresistible invasions of the states of Europe — "an invasion of ideas."

The Second Empire (1852–1870). — The life of the Second Republic spanned only three years. By almost exactly the same steps as those by which his uncle had mounted the French throne, Louis Napoleon now also ascended to the imperial dignity, crushing the Republic as he rose.

Dissensions having arisen between the President and the Legislative Assembly, he suddenly dissolved that body, placed its leaders under arrest, and then appealed to the country to endorse what he had done. By a most extraordinary vote of 7,437,216 to 640,737 the nation approved of the President's *coup d'état*, and rewarded him for it by electing him President for ten years, which was virtually making him dictator. The next year he was made Emperor, and took the title of Napoleon III. (1852).

The important political events of the reign of Napoleon III. were the Crimean War (1853–1856), the Austro-Sardinian War (1859), and the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871).

The first and second of these wars need not detain us at this time, as we shall speak of them hereafter in connection with Russian and Italian affairs.

The third war was with Prussia. The real causes of this war were French jealousy of the growing power of Prussia, and the Emperor's anxiety to strengthen his government in the affections of the French people by reviving the military glory of the reign of his great uncle.[1] The pretext upon which the war was actually declared was that Prussia was scheming to augment her influence

[1] Lands to the west of the Rhine, once held by France but now in possession of Germany, were to be regained.

by allowing a Prussian prince (Leopold of Hohenzollern) to become a candidate for the vacant throne of Spain.

The French armies invaded Germany, but were pushed back by the Prussians and their allies, who followed the retreating enemy across the frontier, defeated one large French army at Gravelotte (Aug. 18, 1870) and imprisoned it in Metz, captured the strong fortress of Sedan — making a prisoner here of the Emperor himself[1] — and then advancing upon Paris, forced that city, after an investment of a few months, to capitulate (Jan. 28, 1871).

The most lamentable part of the struggle now began. Outside of Paris, at Bordeaux, was a sort of provisional government, headed by M. Thiers, which had been organized after the capture of the Emperor. With this body the conquerors carried on their negotiations for peace. The terms of the treaty were that France should surrender to Germany the greater portion of the Rhenish provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, pay an indemnity of 5,000,000,000 francs (about $1,000,000,000), and consent to the occupation of certain portions of French territory until the fine was paid.

The Red Republicans, or Communists, of Paris, indignant at the terms of the treaty, shut the gates of the city, and called the population to arms, declaring that the capital would never submit to see France thus dismembered and humiliated.

The Germans left to the provisional government the task of reducing the insubordinate capital to submission. As the French armies were in captivity in Germany, the government was forced to wait for them to be sent home. With the regular army upon the ground, the Communists were able to hold out but a short time. When they saw that they would soon be overpowered, they resolved that the capital should perish with them. The Tuileries, the Palais Royal, the Hotel de Ville, and many other public buildings were fired, and a second Reign of Terror was set up. Finally, the government succeeded in suppressing the Anarchists, and order was restored, though only after frightful slaughters in the streets and squares of the city (May, 1871).

[1] After the war Louis Napoleon found an asylum in England (at Chiselhurst), where he died January 9, 1873.

The Third Republic (1871–).—The organization of the Third Republic was now completed. M. Thiers, the historian, was made its first President (Aug. 31, 1871). He was followed (May 24, 1873) by Marshal MacMahon, who, resigning in 1879, was succeeded by M. Grévy, the present head of the Republic (1885).

CHAPTER VII.

RUSSIA SINCE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

Paul I. (1796–1801) **and Napoleon.** — Catherine II. of Russia was an ardent disciple of the French philosopher Voltaire and the Encyclopedists; but when the Revolution began to reduce to practice the theories of these writers, Catherine became frightened, caused the bust of Voltaire in her palace to be taken down, and set herself in violent opposition to the whole French movement.

Catherine's son, Paul I., with the sure instinct of a born autocrat, hated the Revolution and all the ideas it represented. But when Napoleon came to the head of French affairs and began to exhibit his despotic character, Paul was delighted, became his most ardent admirer, and proposed to him a scheme for the humiliation of England by the conquest of her East Indian possessions. The plan was a bold one. The attacking forces were to march to the Indies by two routes: a Russian army was to move through Khiva and Bokhara, and an allied Russian and French force to march from the Caspian by the way of Herat and Kandahar. What would have come of the project it is hard to divine, had not the whole scheme been suddenly frustrated by the assassination of the Czar.

Alexander I. (1801–1825) **and the Holy Alliance.** — Alexander I., the son and successor of Paul I., held, during the greater part of his reign, a most commanding position among the rulers of Europe. The great defect in his character was inconstancy. At first he was the friend of Napoleon, then his enemy, again his ardent admirer, and finally the one to call upon the nations of Europe to crush him as an outlaw.

This same vacillation characterizes all his acts. During the earlier years of his reign he was a zealous advocate of liberal ideas. It was due largely to his influence that the French secured a constitution upon the restoration of the Bourbons. He granted the Poles a liberal constitution. He freed the serfs in Livonia and Courland. He introduced many beneficent reforms into Russia, and even encouraged his subjects to hope that they should have a constitution which should give them a part in the government.

Toward the middle of his reign he became a sort of mystic, and upon the downfall of Napoleon, he organized the celebrated union known as the *Holy Alliance.* This was a league embracing as its chief members Russia, Austria, and Prussia, the ostensible object of which was the maintenance of religion, peace, and order in Europe, and the reduction to practice in politics of the maxims of Christ. The several sovereigns entering into the union promised to be fathers to their people, to rule in love and with reference solely to the promotion of the welfare of their subjects, and to help one another as brothers to maintain just government and prevent wrong. In a solemn address to the world (Sept. 26, 1815) they announced that they would henceforth rule in exact accord with Christian love, regarding themselves as the "plenipotentiaries of Heaven."

All this had a very millennial look. But the "Holy Alliance" very soon became practically a league for the maintenance of absolute principles of government, in opposition to the liberal tendencies of the age. Under the pretext of maintaining religion, justice, and order, the sovereigns of the union acted in concert to suppress every aspiration among their subjects for political liberty.

Yet, although such was the final history of the league, Alexander, when he founded it, meant all that he said. But conspiracies among his own subjects, the ingratitude of the Poles, and the uprisings throughout Europe, all tended to create in him a revulsion of feeling. His disposition underwent a complete change. From an ardent apostle of liberal ideas, he was transformed into a violent absolutist, and spent all his latter years in aiding the des-

potic rulers of Spain, Italy, and Germany to crush every uprising among their subjects for political freedom.

This reactionary policy of Alexander caused bitter disappointment among the Liberals in Russia, the number of whom was large, for the Russian armies that helped to crush Napoleon came back from the West with many new and liberal ideas awakened by what they had seen and heard and experienced.

The Russo-Turkish War of 1828–1829. — In 1825 Alexander I. was succeeded by his brother Nicholas I. (1825–1855), "a terrible incarnation of autocracy." He carried out the later policy of his predecessor, and strove to shut out from his empire all the liberalizing influences of Western Europe.

A war with Persia, which ended in 1828, greatly extended Russian influence in the regions of the Caspian. The same year, taking advantage of the embarrassment of the Sultan through a stubborn insurrection in Greece,[1] Nicholas declared war against the Ottoman Porte. The Balkans were quickly passed, and the victorious armies of the Czar were in full march upon Constantinople, when their advance was checked by the jealous interference of England and Austria, through whose mediation the war was brought to a close by the Peace of Adrianople (1829). Nicholas restored all his conquests in Europe, but held some provinces in Asia which gave him control of the eastern shore of the Euxine. Greece was liberated, and Servia became virtually independent of the Sultan. Thus the result of the contest was greatly to diminish the strength and influence of Turkey, and correspondingly to increase the power and prestige of Russia.

Revolution in Poland (1830–1832). — The Congress of Vienna (1815) re-established Poland as a constitutional kingdom

[1] This was the struggle known as the "War of Grecian Independence." It was characterized by the most frightful barbarities on the part of the Turks. Lord Byron enlisted on the side of the Greeks. The result of the war was the freeing of Greece from Turkish rule. England, France, and Russia became the guardians of the little state, the crown of which was given to Prince Otto of Bavaria (Otto I., 1832–1862).

dependent upon Russia in some such way as Ireland was subject to England previous to the Union in 1801. Under their constitution the Poles could manage their own finances and administer their local affairs; yet the Polish patriots were still impatient of the subjection of their country to the authority of the Czar, for memories of the prouder days of Poland's power and independence were kept fresh among them. Moreover, the agreement for local self-government was not faithfully kept by Russia.

The revolutionary movements of the year 1830 sent a wave of hope through Poland, and the people arose, set up a provisional government, and drove out the Russian garrisons. But the armies of the Czar quickly poured over the frontiers of the revolted state, and before the close of the year 1831 the Polish patriots were once more under the foot of their Russian master.

It was a hard fate that awaited the unhappy nation. Their constitution was taken away, and Poland was made a province of the Russian Empire (1832). The Polish regiments, instead of being allowed to form an independent army as hitherto, were scattered in widely separated provinces. Everything in the nature of a weapon was taken away from the people, the peasant being deprived even of his scythe. Multitudes were banished to Siberia, while thousands more expatriated themselves, seeking an asylum in England, America, and other countries. Nicholas even attempted to root out the Polish language, the Russian being introduced into all the schools and made a requisite for holding any office whatever. Of all the peoples that rose for freedom in 1830 none suffered so cruel and complete an extinguishment of their hopes as did the patriot Poles.

Russia and the Revolutions of 1848. — Russia's chief part in the affairs of the revolutionary years of 1848 and 1849 was to help Austria suppress the liberal movement in her dominions.

The uprising of 1848 in Paris sent an electric thrill throughout Europe. Poland "quivered with excitement," but dared not and could not rise. Hungary, however, rose against Austria, and under the lead of the illustrious patriot Louis Kossuth, made a noble

fight for freedom. The Emperor of Austria asked and secured aid of Czar Nicholas. An army of 190,000 Russians and 300,000 Austrians crushed the uprising. Hungary was made a second Poland.

The Crimean War (1853–1856). — A celebrated phrase used by the Czar Nicholas in conversation with Sir George Hamilton Seymour, the English minister at St. Petersburg, throws a good deal of light upon the circumstances that led to the Crimean War. "We have on our hands," said the Czar, "a sick man — a very sick man; I tell you frankly, it would be a great misfortune if he should give us the slip some of these days, especially if it happened before all the necessary arrangements were made." [1]

Nicholas had cultivated friendly relations with the English government, and he now proposed that England and Russia, as the parties most directly interested, should divide the estate of the "sick man," by which phrase Turkey of course was meant. England was to be allowed to take Egypt and Crete, while the Turkish provinces in Europe were to be taken under the protection of the Czar, which meant of course the complete absorption, in due time, of all South-eastern Europe into the Russian Empire. Nicholas indeed disclaimed any intention of appropriating Constantinople, but it was very evident that the Czar would not long be content to leave in other hands that "key to the Russian house."

A pretense for hastening the dissolution of the sick man was not long wanting. A quarrel between the Greek and Latin Christians at Jerusalem about the holy places was made the ground by Nicholas for demanding of the Sultan the admission and recognition of a Russian protectorate over all Greek Christians in the Ottoman dominions, a guardianship which the Russians insisted was created by a celebrated clause of the Treaty of Kainardji, made between the Sublime Porte and Catherine the Great in 1774.

As if on purpose to render sure the rejection of the Russian proposition, the embassador of the Czar, Prince Menshikof, — of whom the Emperor Napoleon's commissioner to King William of Prussia in 1870 would seem to have taken lessons in court eti-

[1] Rambaud's *History of Russia*, Vol. III. p. 88.

quette, — presented himself before the Turkish cabinet in a dress so uncourtly and careless as to show intended insult. The proposals he bore respecting the Russian protectorate were of course promptly rejected, and Nicholas prepared for war.

As the Czar held himself out as the champion of the Greek Christian subjects of the Porte, — of whom there were at this time probably over 10,000,000, — by which pretension he hoped to arouse the entire Christian population of the Ottoman Empire to what might be regarded as a crusade of the Cross against the Crescent, the Sultan, in order that this portion of his subjects might be held to their allegiance, issued a solemn firman guaranteeing to all his Christian subjects the fullest protection in their religion; and then, calling upon Egypt and Tunis for their war contingents, he appealed to the Western powers for help. England and France responded to the appeal, and later Sardinia joined her forces to theirs. England fought to prevent Russia from getting through the Bosphorus to the Mediterranean, and thus endangering her route to her Eastern possessions. The French Emperor fought to avenge Moscow, and to render his new imperial throne attractive to his people by surrounding it with the glamour of successful war. Sardinia was led to join England and France through the policy of the far-sighted Cavour, who would thus have the Sardinians win the gratitude of these powers, so that in the next conflict with Austria the Italian patriots might have some strong friends to help them. Russia declared war towards the close of 1853, the Western powers early the following year.

The main interest of the struggle, notwithstanding some naval operations in the Baltic, centered about Sebastopol, in the Crimea, Russia's great naval and military depot, and the key to the Euxine. Around this strongly fortified place were finally gathered 175,000 soldiers of the allies. The siege, which lasted eleven months, was one of the most memorable and destructive in history. The Russian general Todleben earned a great fame through his masterly defense of the works. The English "Light Brigade" earned immortality in their memorable charge at Balaklava. The French

troops, through their dashing bravery, brought great fame to the Emperor who had sent them to gather glory for his throne.

Two strong redoubts, the Malakoff and the Redan, were the key to the Russian position. The English captured the Redan, but lost it again; the French, however, made a successful assault upon the Malakoff, and held it. The possession of this fortress by the enemy rendered Sebastopol untenable, and the Russians straightway evacuated the place, leaving it, however, a "second Moscow." The war was now soon brought to an end by the Treaty of Paris (March 30, 1856).

Every provision of the treaty had in view the maintenance of the integrity of the empire of the Sultan, and the restraining of the ambition of the Czar. Russia was given back Sebastopol, but was required to give up some territory at the mouth of the Danube, whereby her frontier was pushed back from that river; to abandon all claims to a protectorate over any of the subjects of the Porte; to agree not to raise any more fortresses on the Euxine nor keep upon that sea any armed ships, save what might be needed for police service. The Christian population of the Turkish dominions were placed under the guardianship of the great powers, who were to see that the Sublime Porte fulfilled its promise of granting perfect civil and religious equality and protection to all its subjects.

Emancipation of the Serfs (1858–1863). — Alexander II. (1855–1881), who came to the Russian throne in the midst of the Crimean War, abandoned the narrow, exclusive, and intolerant system of his predecessor Nicholas, and reverting as it were to the policy of Peter the Great, labored for popular reform, and for the introduction into his dominions of the ideas and civilization of Western Europe. The reform which will ever give his name a place in the list of those rulers who have conferred singular benefits upon their subjects, was the emancipation of the serfs, a measure that had long been agitated, and for which there was now a strong popular demand.

Serfdom had been a legalized system in Russia for only a comparatively short time. It was in the reign of Feodor Ivanovitch

(1584–1598) that the peasants, whose restless, barbarian instincts led them to be constantly wandering from one place to another, much to their own disadvantage as well as to that of the country at large, were forced by an imperial edict to remain in one place, and attend in a regular way to the tilling of the land. The order was in effect a decree against vagrancy.

Now, in order to render intelligible just what the imperial edict of emancipation did for the serfs, we must say a word respecting the former land-system in Russia, and the personal status of the serf. As to the first, the estate of the lord was divided into two parts, the smaller of which was reserved by the proprietor for his own use, the larger being allotted to his serfs, who formed a village community, known as the *mir*.

Besides working the village lands, the fruits of which were enjoyed by the serfs, the villagers were obliged to till the lands of the lord, three days in a week being the usual service required. The serfs were personally subject to the lord to the extent that he might flog them in case of disobedience, but he could not sell them individually as slaves are sold; yet when he sold his estate, the whole community of serfs passed with it to the new proprietor. Exemption from the customary labor due the lord could be purchased by the payment of a certain sum of money, and enterprising serfs, doing this, entered into business for themselves in the towns, and often rose to positions of influence and distinction, while still remaining nominally bondsmen.

We shall now understand what the edict of emancipation, which was issued in 1861, did for these semi-slaves. The owners of the peasant serfs were forced to give them the lands they had farmed for themselves, for which, however, they were to make some fixed return in labor or rent. The lands thus acquired became the common property of the village, being held as communal lands. All other serfs, such as house-servants and operatives in factories, were to gain their freedom at the end of two years' additional service, during which time, however, they were to receive fair wages.

The Russian peasant has still some restrictions placed upon his

movements. Thus, he cannot move from the village, or *mir*, to which he belongs, without first having secured the consent of the community. Usually such a privilege is granted only upon the payment of a certain sum of money.

The measure of emancipation, so far as it touched the ownership of the land, was opposed by the aristocracy, while the masses of the people — it concerned personally over 45,000,000 [1] of them — were clamorously eager for its adoption. Alexander set a good example in freeing, by a series of special decrees (the first of which was issued in 1858), all the serfs of the crown lands, about 23,000,000 in number, who were given at once, and without any return being exacted, the lands they had so long tilled as nominal bondsmen. We say *nominal* bondsmen, for this class labored under only a few restrictions, and were subject simply to the payment of a light rent. "In their case nothing more was needed than to give the name of freemen to men substantially free." — RAMBAUD.

Besides the emancipation measure Alexander's name is associated with other reforms, the earlier part of his reign especially being characterized by a very liberal spirit. He reformed the administration of justice, conferred upon the districts into which the empire was divided a certain degree of local self-government, abolished flogging in the army, built railroads, and fostered the education of the clergy. This liberal policy was followed until the revolt of the Poles in 1863, when Alexander was led to adopt a more reactionary policy, a policy which persistently pursued has yielded bitter fruit in Nihilism.

The Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878. — Anxiously as the Treaty of Paris had provided for the permanent settlement of the Eastern Question, barely twenty-two years had passed before it was again

[1] "The unfree population of Russia amounted, at the time of the emancipation, to 45,863,068 individuals, divided into 23,300,000 Crown peasants, 936,477 peasants of appanages, — institutions such as churches, schools, hospitals, mines, and factories, — 21,158,231 attached to the soil and belonging to proprietors, and 1,467,378 *dvorovuiè*, or domestic servants." — RAMBAUD. *History of Russia*, Vol. III. p. 217.

SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE
According to the Treaty of Berlin. 1878.
Slaves
Austrian
Greek
Roumanian
Bulgarian
Ottomans
English

up before Europe, and Russia and Turkey were again in arms. The Sultan could not or would not give to his Christian subjects that equal protection of the laws which he had solemnly promised should be given. The Moslem hatred of the Christians was constantly leading to disturbance and outrage. In 1860 there occurred a great massacre of Syrian Christians by the Druses and Turks, which led to the interference of the Western powers. In 1875 the Greek Christian population of Herzegovina and Bosnia, goaded to desperation by the oppression of Turkish tax-gatherers, rose in revolt. Presently, inspired by the Herzegovinian and Bosnian movement, the Bulgarians arose. The English government, favorably disposed to the Sultan, urged him to deal promptly with the insurgents, lest a general European war be kindled. To suppress the revolt, the Turkish government now armed the Mohammedan population, these militia-men being known by what became the terrible name of Bashi-Bazouks. The result was what are known as the "Bulgarian atrocities," massacres of men, women, and children, more revolting perhaps than any others of which history tells. The greatest indignation was kindled throughout Europe. Servia and Montenegro declared war (1876). The Russian armies were set in motion (1877). Kars in Asia Minor and Plevna in European Turkey fell into the hands of the Russians, and the armies of the Czar were once more in full march upon Constantinople, with the prospect of soon ending forever Turkish rule on European soil, when England, as in 1829, interfered, and by the movements of her iron-clads in the Bosphorus again arrested the triumphant march of the Russians.

The Treaty of Berlin (1878) adjusted once more the disorganized affairs of the Sublime Porte, and bolstered as well as was possible the "sick man." But he lost a good part of his estate. Out of those provinces of his dominions in Europe in which the Christian population was most numerous, there was created a group of wholly independent or half-independent states. The absolute independence of Servia, Roumania, and Montenegro (which last state had really never bowed its neck to the Turkish conquerors)

was formally acknowledged; Bulgaria, north of the Balkans, was to enjoy self-government, but was to pay a tribute to the Porte; East Roumelia was to have a Christian governor, but was to remain under the dominion of the Sultan. The Balkans were thus made the northern boundary of the Turkish Empire in Europe. Bosnia and Herzegovina were given to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Russia acquired some places (Ardahan, Kars, and Batum) in Armenia, which gave her fuller control of the eastern shores of the Euxine, and also received Bessarabia on the Lower Danube, which territory she had been forced to give up at the close of the Crimean War, and which now again advanced her frontier to that river, a foothold upon which has been just such an object with the Czars as a hold upon the Rhine has been with the French rulers.

In a word, Russia regained everything she had lost in the Crimean struggle, while Turkey was shorn of half her European possessions. There were left in Europe under the direct authority of the Sultan barely 5,000,000 subjects, of which number about one half are Christians. England alone is responsible for the work of emancipation not having been made complete.

Nihilism. — Russian Nihilism is a smothered French Revolution. It is the form which Liberalism has taken under the repressions of a despotic autocracy; for the government of Russia is a perfect absolutism, the Czar alone being legislator, judge, and executive for the Russian nation of 85,000,000 souls. He makes laws, levies taxes, expends the revenue, and condemns his subjects to exile or death, according to his own will, without let or hindrance.

It was not, according to Müller, until the year 1878 that the desperate character of Nihilism began to manifest itself, while the present strict, secret organization was not perfected until the following year. The larger part of the membership of the society is made up of educated men, a considerable number being students of the universities. Although there is a minority who, like the Levelers of the French Revolution, would like to destroy all social and political institutions, the majority of the organization are reasonable. "The demands of the order are (1) a constitutional

government, (2) abolition of the infamous third division (secret police), (3) more humane treatment of political prisoners, (4) reform in the judicial system, and (5) prohibition of the inquisitorial proceedings by which confessions are extorted from political prisoners by starvation, thirst, and the knout."

As an illustration of the terrible character of the repressive measures of the government, we have the statement that during the years 1879 and 1880 sixty thousand persons were, without trial, sent into exile in Siberia. It seemed to the Russian people as though they might be allowed to shed their blood like water for the deliverance from despotism of the subjects of the Porte, but that they themselves must be content to live subject to the most unendurable tyranny.

The principle of the extreme Nihilists, that assassination is a righteous means of political reform, was now acted upon. Many officers of the government were murdered as the "hell brood of despotism," and various attempts were made upon the life of the Czar. Stricter repressive measures were instituted, and at length Count Melikoff was appointed as a sort of dictator. Although he introduced many reforms in the administration of the government, yet he refused to change its form according to the demands of the Nihilists, so the dangerous opposition to the Czar's government continued unabated. Finally, on March 13, 1881, the Czar was assassinated by means of a bomb filled with dynamite.

The son of the murdered Czar, who now came to the throne as Alexander III., immediately instituted a still more sternly repressive system than that pursued by his father, whom he seemed to regard as the victim of the over-liberal policy of the earlier years of his reign. It appears to be his determination to close his empire against the entrance of all liberal or progressive ideas, political, religious, and scientific, of Western Europe. A rigid censorship of the press has been established (1884), and the writings of such authors as Huxley, Spencer, Agassiz, Lyell, and Adam Smith are forbidden circulation.

There can be but one outcome to this contest between the

"Autocrat of all the Russias" and his subjects. Either through wise concessions on the part of its rulers, or through the throes of a terrible revolution, like that of 1789 in France, the Russian empire will sooner or later come to possess a constitutional representative government. The Czar of Russia is simply fighting the hopeless battle that has been fought and lost by the despotic sovereigns of every other European country — a battle which has the same invariable issue, the triumph of liberal principles and the admission of the people to a participation in the government.

CHAPTER VIII.

GERMAN FREEDOM AND UNITY.

Formation of the German Confederation (1815). — The events of 1806 left Germany dismembered and crushed beneath the foot of Napoleon (see page 638). Passing the years of Napoleon's ascendency, we come to the celebrated Congress of Vienna, which convened in September, 1814. The affairs of Europe had not been in such confusion since the meeting of the commissioners who arranged the Peace of Westphalia. Germany especially was in a most chaotic state. It is the re-adjustment of its affairs alone that now concerns us.

The German states were reorganized as a Confederation, with the Emperor of Austria President of the league. The union consisted of the Austrian Empire, the kingdoms of Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Würtemberg, and Hanover, the Electorate of Hesse-Cassel, grand-duchies, duchies, free cities, and principalities, — in all, thirty-nine states. A Diet formed of representatives of the several states was to settle all questions of dispute between the members of the Confederation, and determine matters of general concern. The league was to maintain an army of 300,000 men, the commanders of which were to be elected by the Diet. In all matters concerning itself alone, each state was to retain its independence. It might carry on war with foreign states, or enter into alliance with them, but it must do nothing to harm any member of the Confederation. The articles of union, in a spirit of concession to the growing sentiment of the times, provided that all sects of Christians should enjoy equal toleration, and that every state should establish a constitutional form of government.

Under this scheme of union Germany was to rest half a century — until 1866. Though Austria was nominally head of the Confederation, Prussia was actually the most powerful member of the league.

The Uprisings of 1830: First Step towards Freedom. — For a long time previous to the French Revolution there had been gradually forming among the German people a double sentiment — a longing for freedom and unity. It was the influence of the rising patriotic party that had secured the provision in the act of confederation which required that all the princes of the union should give their states a representative form of government. But the faces of these rulers, like those of the restored Bourbons in France, were turned towards the past. They opposed all changes that should give the people any part in the government, and clung to the old order of things.

We have seen what was the consequence of the reactionary policy of the Bourbons in France, — how in 1830 the people arose, drove out Charles X., and set upon the throne the "Citizen King," Louis Philippe. Events ran exactly the same course in Germany. The princes refused or neglected to carry out in good faith that article of the act of confederation which provided for representative governments in all the German states. The natural result was widespread discontent among the people. Consequently, when the French Revolution of 1830 occurred, a sympathetic thrill shot through Germany, and in places the popular party made threatening demonstrations against their tyrannical and reactionary rulers.

Especially obnoxious to his people was the Duke of Brunswick, whose palace was destroyed and he himself driven into exile. His brother, into whose hands the government now passed, gave to the people the constitution demanded.

Similar concessions were also made by the rulers of several other small states. Thus a little was gained for freedom, though after the flutter of the revolutionary year the princes again took up their retrograde policy, and did all in their power to check the popular

movement and keep governmental matters out of the hands of the people.

The Customs Union: First Step towards Unity. — Just about this time the first step was taken towards the real union of the German states. Under the Act of Confederation of 1815 the members of the Germanic body were situated almost precisely as the American colonies were under the Articles of Confederation of 1781 And as it was the necessity of some general regulations in regard to commerce that impelled the American States to form a closer union, so it was the same necessity which now led the loosely confederated states of Germany to enter into an arrangement known as the Customs Union. This was a sort of commercial treaty binding those states that became parties to it — and eventually all the states save Austria acceded to the arrangement — to adopt among themselves the policy of free trade — that is, there were to be no duties levied on goods passing from one state of the Union to another belonging to it.

Trade was thus left untrammeled, and the internal commerce of Germany greatly encouraged. But the greatest good resulting from the Union was, that it taught the people to think of a more perfect national union. And as Prussia was a prominent promoter and the center of the trade confederation, it accustomed the Germans to look to her as their head and chief.

Uprising of 1848: a Second Step towards Freedom. — The history of Germany from the uprising of 1830 to that of 1848 may be summarized by saying that during all these years the people were steadily growing more and more earnest in their demands for liberal forms of government, while the princes, strangely blind to the spirit and tendency of the times, were stubbornly refusing all concessions that should take from themselves any of their power as absolute rulers. In some instances the constitutions already granted were annulled, or their articles were disregarded.

Finally, in 1848, news flew across the Rhine of the uprising in France against the reactionary government of Louis Philippe, and the establishment by the French people of a new republic. The

intelligence kindled a flame of excitement throughout Germany. The liberal party everywhere arose and demanded constitutional government.

Almost all of the princes of the minor states yielded to the popular clamor, and straightway adopted the liberal measures and instituted the reforms demanded. In Austria and Prussia, however, the popular party carried their point only after demonstrations that issued in bloodshed. Prince Metternich, the celebrated prime minister of the Emperor of Austria, was forced to flee the country, because he had opposed so obstinately all the demands of the Liberals. At last the Emperor, thoroughly frightened, assented to the calling of a Diet, or Parliament, to be formed of representatives from all his hereditary dominions, chosen by popular vote.

At the Prussian capital Berlin there was serious fighting in the streets between the people and the soldiers, and the excitement was not quieted until the king, Frederick William IV., assured the people that their demands for constitutional government should be granted. According to his promise a National Assembly was called, and a more liberal policy adopted. A constitution was framed, and on February 6, 1850, the king took an oath to rule in accord with its provisions. "From that time Prussia may be regarded as, at least nominally, a constitutional state."

The Revolution of 1848 thus effected much for the cause of liberal government in Germany. The movements of that revolutionary year brought into the hands of the people much more power than they had ever before exercised.

The popular assemblies, however, it should be added, did not at once fulfill all the expectations of the friends of liberal government. The members composing these bodies were usually ignorant of the modes of procedure in deliberative assemblies, and consequently at first made awkward work of their new business.

The National Assembly: Efforts after Union. — At this same time the longing for nationality expressed itself in an attempt to bind the German states in a closer union by means of a national Parliament to take the place of the inefficient Diet created by the

Act of Confederation in 1815. This new assembly met in Berlin in May, 1848. In its aims and hopes this body may be likened to our own Federal Convention of 1787. Unlike the Convention, however, which framed the constitution under which the American States formed a permanent union, this assembly failed in the ends it had in view. The states could not be brought to accept a national constitution. It was the rivalry of Austria and Prussia that, more than anything else, prevented the end sought from being reached. Austria, through her unreasonable demands, drove the majority of the assembly into opposition to her, and led them to offer the Imperial crown to the Prussian king, Frederick William, who, however, refused it, for the reason that the proposed constitution would not give him sufficient power to act efficiently as the head of the nation.

Soon after this some of the states recalled their delegates, and the assembly fell to pieces, disappointing the hopes of those who had looked to it for the unification of the Fatherland. But, although failing in its direct object, the assembly served to show how widespread and earnest was the feeling among the German states that they should draw together in a closer and firmer union.

Hungary: Kossuth. — While these efforts for German unity were being made, the Austrian Emperor was having serious trouble with his Hungarian subjects. Led by the distinguished orator Kossuth, they had revolted, and declared their independence. A memorable struggle now followed (1848–1849), in which the patriotic Hungarians made a noble fight for freedom, but were at last overpowered and crushed by the combined Austrian and Russian armies, the Czar having been induced to aid in the suppression of the revolt through fear that the example of successful rebellion on his frontier might be a dangerous incitement to his own discontented subjects.

Rivalry between Austria and Prussia. — While the attention of Austria was directed to the suppression of the Hungarian rebels, Prussia proposed a plan for the unification of Germany, with herself as the head of the body, Austria being excluded from the con-

federation. Several of the states joined Prussia in this move, and an alliance called the "German Union" was formed. Austria watched with the greatest concern this bold move of her rival for leadership in German affairs, a move whereby she was to be pushed aside entirely, and just as soon as the Hungarian trouble was composed, she made a counter-move to that of Prussia, by forming a confederation of all those states which she could persuade to accept her leadership.

The state of Germany at this moment, divided between the allies of Austria and those of Prussia, may be likened to the condition of Greece at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, when the Hellenic states had grouped themselves, according to their sympathies, about Athens and Sparta. It does not require a second Pericles to see war lowering in the horizon.

The Seven Weeks' War between Austria and Prussia (1866). —The inevitable war which was to decide whether Austria or Prussia should be leader in German affairs came on apace. Every event seemed to crowd Germany on towards it.

First came the Austro-Sardinian War in 1859. In that year Victor Emmanuel, king of Sardinia, to whom the disunited and oppressed Italians had begun to look as the champion of the cause of Italian unity, demanded of the Emperor of Austria that he should give Lombardy and Venetia "separate and national government," with the threat of immediate war in case of refusal. He also demanded further that Austria should cease meddling in Italian affairs.

War was the outcome. France aided Sardinia. In the great battles of Magenta and Solferino the Austrian armies were completely overwhelmed. Several of the Italian states now united themselves to the Sardinian Kingdom, and thus a long step was taken towards the unification of Italy. This partial nationalization of the Italian peoples naturally intensified the longing for unity in Germany; and, as the agitation increased, the rival claims of Austria and Prussia as to which should be first in the future nation were more and more warmly discussed, until jealousy developed into the bitterest hatred.

Then, in the year 1861, Frederick William IV. of Prussia died, and his brother, already an old man of sixty, yet destined to be for more than a score of years the central figure in the movement for German unity, came to the Prussian throne as William I. He soon called to his side the now distinguished Otto von Bismarck as his prime minister, a man of wonderful energy and decision, whose policies have shaped German affairs for a quarter of a century. He saw clearly enough how the vexed question between Austria and Prussia was to be settled — "by blood and iron." His appearance at the head of Prussian affairs marks an epoch in history. He was in disposition a conservative and despot, and the liberal party distrusted and hated him. In the Prussian Assembly the national party steadily opposed all his measures, being fully persuaded that anything emanating from Bismarck must look towards despotism.

Then, in the year 1864, came the Schleswig-Holstein troubles. Holstein was a German duchy held by the Danish king, just as the first sovereigns of the present dynasty in England held Hanover. When, in 1863, Frederick VII. of Denmark died, the male line of the royal family became extinct, and it was held by the Germans that now the two duchies (for an old treaty made them inseparable), should become entirely free of the Danish crown, just as Hanover dropped away from England upon the death of William IV. and the accession of Victoria in 1837. The dispute soon ripened into war, in which all the German states joined against the king of Denmark, Christian IX. Of course Denmark was soon overpowered, and was forced to resign her claims to the duchies.

Straightway the duchies became a bone of contention between Prussia and Austria. Prussia was bent upon annexing them to her dominions; Austria did not want them for herself, but was determined that her rival should not have them. There was endless disputing and treaty-making about the petty matter, in all of which Count von Bismarck was evidently aiming to entangle things more hopelessly, in order that he might have a pretext for using the sword to cut the Gordian knot, and for applying to the solution of the entire dispute between Prussia and Austria his cure of "blood and iron."

Early in 1866 the war opened. Almost all of the lesser states grouped themselves about Austria. Prussia, however, found a ready ally in Italy, which served to divert a part of the Austrian forces. Yet it seemed an unequal contest, the population of Prussia at this time not being more than one third (19,000,000) that of the states arrayed against her. But Bismarck had been preparing Prussia for the struggle which he had long foreseen, and now the little kingdom, with the best disciplined army in the world, headed by the great commander Von Moltke, was to astonish the world by a repetition of her achievements under the inspiration of Frederick the Great.

The Prussian armies, numbering more than a quarter of a million of men, began to move about the middle of June. Saxony, Hanover, and some other smaller states were commanded to remain neutral, and were given twelve hours to decide what course they would adopt. They returned no reply, and forthwith the Prussian armies were marched into all the states. Battle followed battle in rapid succession. Almost every encounter proved a victory for the Prussians. On the third of July was fought the great battle of Sadowa, in Bohemia, the Waterloo of the war. The Austrians were utterly routed, and "on the battle-field the army struck up the same old choral which the troops of Frederick the Great had sung on the field of Leuthen."

The victory of Sadowa practically decided the war. The Prussians pushing on towards Vienna, the Emperor was forced to sue for peace, and on the 23d day of August the Peace of Prague was signed.

The long debate between Austria and Prussia was over. By the terms of the treaty Austria was shut out from participation in German affairs. Prussia was now without a rival in Germany.

Establishment of the North-German Union (1867). — Now quickly followed the reorganization of the northern states of Germany into what was called the North-German Union, under the leadership of Prussia, whose territories were enlarged by the annexation of Frankfort, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, and Nassau. Prussia was to have command of the entire military force of the several

states composing the league, the Prussian king being President of the Union. A constitution was adopted which provided that the affairs of the confederation should be managed by a Diet, the members of which were to be chosen by the different states.

Thus was a long step taken towards German unity. Bismarck's policy of "blood and iron," though seemingly rough and brutal, now promised to prove a cure indeed for all of Germany's troubles. Though so much had been effected, there was still remaining much to be desired. The states to the south of the Main — Baden, Bavaria, and Würtemberg — were yet wanting to complete the unification of the Fatherland. Many patriots both north and south of the dividing line earnestly desired the perfect union of North and South. But the Catholics of the southern states were bitterly opposed to Prussia's being exalted to the chief place in Germany because she was Protestant, while many of the democratic party were loth to see Germany reconstructed under the supremacy of Prussia on account of the repressive and despotic character of her government. But the fervid enthusiasm awakened by another successful war serves to weld the states of both North and South into a firm and close union, and complete the work of Germany's unification.

The Franco-Prussian War (1870–71). — The war to which we referred in the above paragraph was the struggle which broke out between France and Prussia in 1870. It will be recalled with what jealousy France viewed the rise to power of the House of Hohenzollern. All of her old bitter hostility to the House of Austria seems to have been transferred to her successful rival in the North. So when in 1870 the vacant throne of Spain was offered to Leopold, a member of the Hohenzollern family, the Emperor Napoleon III. affected to see in this a scheme on the part of the House of Hohenzollern to unite the interests of Prussia and Spain, just as Austria and Spain were united, with such disastrous consequences to the peace of Europe, under the princes of the House of Hapsburg. Even after Leopold, to avoid displeasing France, had declined the proffered crown, the Emperor Napoleon

demanded of King William assurance that no member of the House of Hohenzollern should ever become a candidate for the Spanish throne. The demand was rudely made, was refused, and the two nations rushed together in a struggle which was destined to prove terribly disastrous to France, and memorable to Germany for the glory and unity it won for her.

The important thing for us to notice here is the enthusiasm that the war awakened not only throughout the states of the North-German Confederation, but among the states of the South as well, which placed their armies at the disposal of King William. The cause was looked upon as a national one, and a patriotic fervor stirred the hearts of all Germans alike. "It must not be supposed," says Sime, "that the miserable Hohenzollern dispute had really anything to do with the war. It was even less important than the Schleswig-Holstein quarrel had been in the Austro-Prussian war. In a few days the world forgot that the Prince of Hohenzollern had been a candidate for the Spanish throne. What France was really about to fight for was the maintenance of her supposed supremacy in Europe. Germany had taken up arms in her own defense, and perhaps was not unwilling to engage in a struggle by which she might thoroughly humble a power that had for centuries lost no opportunity of adding to her divisions, robbing her of her territory, and depriving her of her just place among the nations."

Establishment of the New German Empire (1871). — The astonishing successes of the German armies on French soil created among Germans everywhere such patriotic pride in the Fatherland, that all the obstacles which had hitherto prevented anything more than a partial union of the members of the Germanic body were now swept out of the way by an irresistible tide of national sentiment. While the siege of Paris was progressing, commissioners were sent by the southern states to Versailles, the headquarters of King William, to represent to him that they were ready and anxious to enter the North-German Union. Thus in rapid succession Baden, Bavaria, and Würtemberg were received into the

30 Longitude 20 West 10 0 10 Long. 20 East 30 from 40 Greenw. 50 60 70
EUROPE
1880.
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 300 500
ARCTIC OCEAN
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NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
ICELAND
JAN MAYEN I.
FAROE IS.
SHETLAND IS.
BRITISH ISLES
IRELAND
SCOTLAND
ENGLAND
WALES
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
GERMANY
DENMARK
SWEDEN
NORWAY
LAPLAND
RUSSIA
POLAND
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
SWITZERLAND
ITALY
TURKEY
ROUMANIA
BULGARIA
SERVIA
GREECE
ASIA MINOR
ARMENIA
TRANS CAUCASIA
PERSIA
MESOPOTAMIA
ARABIA
AFRICA
Christiansund
Bergen
CHRISTIANIA
STOCKHOLM
Umea
Torneo
Kola
Archangel
Dwina R.
Obi R.
Tobolsk
Viatka
Kungur
Perm
Ural Mts.
L. Onega
Canal
Gulf of Bothnia
Gulf of Finland
Cronstadt
ST. PETERSBURG
Pskov
Moscow
Orenburg
Orsk
Saratov
R. Volga
Bolkhev
Minsk
Grodno
Koursk
Kharkov
K. Dnieper
K. Don
Astrakhan
N. Alexandrovsk
Stavropol
Petrovsk
Kranovodsk
Sea of Azov
Odessa
Sebastopol
Sinope
Kars
Diarbekir
Hamadan
Smyrna
Adrianople
CONSTANTINOPLE
ATHENS
Sparta
RHODES
Baghdad
Aleppo
Tripoli
Beyrout
Jerusalem
Damascus
Alexandria
Cairo
Suez
Red Sea
Nile R.
Abyssinia
Nubia
Libya
Tunis
Algiers
Oran
Tangier
Fez
Morocco
Mt. Atlas
Gibraltar
Ceuta
Tarifa
Cadiz
Seville
Malaga
Murcia
Madrid
Lisbon
Oporto
Leon
Barcelona
BALEARIC IS.
Marseilles
Gulf of Lyons
Gulf of Genoa
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Palermo
SICILY
Naples
MT. VESUVIUS
Brindisi
ROME
Florence
Leghorn
Genoa
Milan
Turin
Parma
Modena
Venice
Trieste
Bologna
Ancona
Pisa
Mt. Cenis
Gulf of Venice
ADRIATIC SEA
Bosna Serai
Belgrade
Widdin
Roustchouk
Danube R.
Sofia
Philippopolis
Adrianople
Constantinople
Sea of Marmora
Dardanelles
Smyrna
Rhodes
Cyprus
Aleppo
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Persian Gulf
Mesopotamia
Arabia
Red Sea
Abyssinia
Nubia
Libya
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Balearic Is.
Marseilles
Gulf of Lyons
Gulf of Genoa
Corsica
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Sicily
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Milan
Turin
Parma
Modena
Venice
Trieste
Bologna
Ancona
Pisa
Mt. Cenis
Gulf of Venice
Adriatic Sea

Confederation, the name of which was now changed to that of the German Confederation.

Scarcely was this accomplished, when, upon the suggestion of the king of Bavaria, King William, who now bore the title of *President* of the Confederation, was given the title of *German Emperor*, which honor was to be hereditary in his family. On the 18th of January, 1871, within the Palace of Versailles, — the siege of Paris being still in progress, — amidst indescribable enthusiasm, the Imperial dignity was formally conferred upon King William, and Germany became a constitutional Empire.

Thus amidst the throes of war the free German *nation* was born. The German peoples, after long centuries of division and servitude, had at last found Freedom and Unity

CHAPTER IX.

THE LIBERATION AND UNIFICATION OF ITALY.

Three Centuries of Servitude. — The history of Italy during the first three centuries of the modern era is an uninstructive and painful story of division, servitude, and humiliation. Throughout this entire period Italy was simply a "geographical division." If ever the declaration of Milton respecting the quarrels of the petty Saxon states in early England, to the effect that they no more concern the student of history than the "battles of crows and kites," might be properly made in regard to any such contentions, it surely could be most appropriately made in reference to the interminable wars and wranglings of which Italy was the scene during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. The wars and contentions of the nineteenth century have been, indeed, almost as numerous and constant as were those of the preceding ages, but they have been animated, on one side at least, by a singleness and loftiness of purpose which have not only redeemed them from all triviality, but have lent to them the very greatest dignity, significance, and interest.

During almost the whole of the period in question the influence of the House of Hapsburg was supreme in Italian affairs, dominion resting first in the Spanish branch and then in the Austrian.

Italy at the Downfall of Napoleon. — In Italy as well as in other countries the French Revolution awakened hopes which were doomed to bitter disappointment. It rid the Italians of their old masters, and for a moment gave them the institutions of freedom and self-government. But as liberty in France gave place to despotism, so did it in Italy, and the Italians soon discovered that

they had simply exchanged masters. Hence they were as ready in 1814 to drive out the French as a little before, in response to Napoleon's call, they had been to help chase the Austrians beyond the Alps.

But now came a second disappointment. Instead of being left to themselves to set up constitutional monarchies or republican governments as they might prefer, the Italian peoples, as being the most dangerously infected with the ideas of the Revolution, were, by the reactionary Congress of Vienna, condemned to the most strict and ignominious slavery. The former commonwealths were forbidden to restore their ancient institutions, while the petty principalities were handed over in almost every case to the tyrants or the heirs of the tyrants who had ruled them before the Revolution. Austria appropriated Venetia and Lombardy, and from Northern Italy assumed to direct the affairs of the whole peninsula. Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and Piacenza were given to princes of the House of Hapsburg. Naples was restored to its old Bourbon rulers. The Pope and Victor Emmanuel I., king of Sardinia, were the only native rulers. The latter, besides the island of Sardinia, which had been his retreat during the Napoleonic upheaval, now came again into possession of Piedmont, to which was added the territory of Genoa. The little republic of San Marino, whose very insignificance had protected it during the changes of the Revolution, was the only patch of free population left in the entire peninsula.[1]

"Italy was divided on the map, but she had made up her mind to be one." The Revolution had sown the seeds of Liberty, and time only was needed for their maturing. The Cisalpine, the Ligurian, the Parthenopæan, the Tiberine republics, short-lived though they were, had awakened in the people an aspiration for self-government; while Napoleon's Kingdom of Italy, though equally

[1] "On the top of a little mountain at the outskirts of the Apennines which overlook the sea by Rimini, sat Liberty, the queen of a few hundred citizens, surveying the muddy ocean of Franco-Spanish, Italo-Teutonic despotism which drowned Italy through all her length and breadth." — SYMONDS.

delusive, had nevertheless inspired thousands of Italian patriots with the sentiment of national unity. Thus the French Revolution, disappointing as seemed its issue, really imparted to Italy her first impulse in the direction of freedom and national organization.

Arbitrary Rule of the Restored Princes. — The setting up of the overturned thrones meant, of course, the re-instating of the old tyrannies. The liberal constitutions of the revolutionary period were set aside, and the old constitutions were brought out like "wonder-working relics." The restored despots came back with an implacable hatred of everything French. They swept away all French institutions that were supposed to tend in the least to Liberalism. In the Papal States the restored Pope went to the most absurd lengths in his policy of retrogression. The Inquisition was again set up, and a strict censorship of the press established. Convents that had been closed, were re-opened. Vaccination and street-lamps, French innovations, were abolished.

In Sardinia, King Victor Emmanuel I. instituted an equally retrograde policy. Nothing that bore the French stamp, nothing that had been set up by French hands, was allowed to remain. Even cases that had been tried and decided in the French courts had now to be tried over again. Thus everything was unsettled. The monks were given back their monasteries, which had been converted into factories. Even the French furniture in the royal palace at Turin was thrown out of the windows, and the French plants in the royal gardens were pulled up root and branch. The magnificent bridge over the Po, built by Napoleon, barely escaped destruction, and travel over the Mount Cenis road, also constructed by the French Emperor, was discouraged, in order that this monument of French genius might be forgotten.

Thus was Italy subjected to the despotism of the restored tyrants, who bowed in vassalage to Austria, and in obedience to her behests and their own vindictive and reactionary proclivities, set about carrying out in the Italian peninsula the repressive and retrograde principles of the Holy Alliance.

The Carbonari: Uprising of 1820–1821. — The natural results

of the arbitrary rule and retrogressive policy of the restored princes was deep and wide-spread discontent. The French Revolution, as we have said, had sown broadcast in Italy the seeds of liberty, and their growth could not be checked by the repressions of tyranny. An old secret organization, the members of which were known as the *Carbonari* (charcoal-burners), formed the nucleus about which gathered the elements of disaffection. Organized at first to oppose tyranny in the Church, it now turned its opposition against despotism in the State, and made national unity and independence its watchword.

In 1820, incited by the revolution in Spain, the *Carbonari* raised an insurrection in Naples, and forced King Ferdinand, who was ruler of both Naples and Sicily, now united under the name of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, to grant his Neapolitan subjects what was known as the Spanish Constitution of 1812, which he swore faithfully to observe, in these words: "Almighty God, whose all-seeing eye reaches the soul and the future, if I lie or should break my oath, send down at once the lightnings of thy revenge upon me."

The new constitutional kingdom was very soon in trouble. First, the people in Sicily rose against the revolutionary government and demanded independence; but this secession movement was quickly suppressed by the Neapolitan army. Then Prince Metternich, who had been watching the doings of the Liberal party in Naples, interfered to mar their plans. He reasoned that Lombardy and Venetia could be kept free from the contagion of Liberalism only by the stamping out of the infection wherever else in Italy it might show itself. Consequently he now gave the *Carbonari* notice that Austria would maintain the existing order of things in the peninsula, and having secured the assent or co-operation of the Emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia, he announced to the Neapolitans that unless the revolutionary companies were straightway disbanded, an Austrian army would appear at Naples, and if need be, a Russian force to support it. The Neapolitans, in a noble burst of indignation at this interference in their affairs by the insolent Austrian,

resolved that death was better than submission to such dictation. But the 60,000 Austrian troops which were sent against them very quickly crushed the revolutionary forces. Ferdinand was now re-instated in his former absolute authority, and everything was put back on the old footing.

Meanwhile a similar revolution was running its course in Piedmont, the aim of which was to secure a liberal constitution for Sardinia, and to drive the Austrians out of Lombardy and join it to the Sardinian kingdom, and thus to make a beginning in the work of Italian liberation and unification. Advantage had been taken of the absence of the Austrian army in Naples, and an uprising planned. King Victor Emmanuel I., rather than yield to the demands of his people for a constitutional government, gave up his crown, and was succeeded by his brother Charles Felix, who, by threatening to call to his aid the Austrian army, compelled his subjects to cease their clamor about kings ruling, not by the grace of God, but by the will of the people.

The Revolution of 1830–1831. — For just ten years all Italy lay in sullen vassalage to Austria. Then the revolutionary years of 1830–31 witnessed a repetition of the scenes of 1820–21. The revolution in France which placed Louis Philippe upon the French throne sent a tremor of excitement and hope through all Italy. The centre of the revolution was the Papal States, the people of which were suffering a worse than Oriental despotism. The death of the Pope towards the close of the year 1830 appeared to favor the undertaking. In a short time nearly all the States of the Church were in revolt, and a resolution of the insurrectionists declared that the temporal rule of the Pope was and by right ought to be forever ended. A new government with a President at its head was formed for what was to be known as the United Italian Provinces.

But the election of a new Pope who had no idea of giving up the patrimony of St. Peter, and the presence of Austrian troops, who, "true to their old principle of hurrying with their extinguishers to any spot in Italy where a crater opened," had poured into Central Italy, resulted in the speedy quenching of the flames of the insurrection.

The Three Parties: Plans for National Organization. — Twice now had Austrian armies crushed the aspirations of the Italians after national unity and freedom. Italian hatred of these foreign intermeddlers who were causing them to miss their destiny, grew ever more intense, and "death to the Germans" became the watch-cry that united all the peoples of the peninsula.

But while united in their deadly hatred of the Austrians, the Italians were divided in their views respecting the best plan for national organization. One party, known as Young Italy, founded and inspired by the patriot Joseph Mazzini, wanted a republic; another party wanted a confederation of the various states; while still a third wished to see Italy a constitutional monarchy, with the king of Sardinia at its head.

The chief of the democratic party, as we have just mentioned, was the eloquent and impetuous Mazzini, whose prophetic faith saw Italy in the near future united and free and self-governed. He was rash and hasty, and would, by a general onset of the Italians, drive the Austrians out of the land.

Among those in favor of the federal plan was Pope Pius IX., who came to the papal chair in 1846. He was in favor of the states adopting liberal constitutions, and then forming a league, the centre and head of which should be Rome and the Pope.

The constitutional monarchy party looked to the king of Sardinia as the only possible liberator of Italy, he being the representative of the single royal house in the whole peninsula that might in any sense be regarded as native or national.

The means adopted by the Red Republicans for the attainment of their ends was too often "violence without policy"; by the Federalists, a vigorous policy of reform; by the Constitutionalists, the fostering of liberal and patriotic sentiments through the constant use of the press.

The Revolution of 1848–1849. — After the suppression of the uprising of 1830, until the approach of the momentous year of 1848, Italy lay restless under the heel of her oppressor. The republican movements throughout the continent of Europe which

characterized that year of revolutions inspired the Italian patriots to make another attempt to achieve independence and nationality. Everywhere throughout the peninsula they rose against their despotic rulers, and forced them to grant constitutions and institute reforms. The interest of the conflict centered in North Italy. Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, unfortunately a rash and incapable man, though a true-hearted and zealous patriot, taking advantage of the embarrassment of the Austrian government caused by popular uprisings in all parts of its dominions, declared war against Austria, and straightway flung upon her forces in Italy the Sardinian army, which had been augmented by volunteers from all parts of Italy, and by exiles who had flocked from their foreign places of refuge. At first he was everywhere successful, and Lombardy and Venice both placed themselves under his rule; but finally the veteran Austrian general Radetzky turned the tide of war against him, recovered Lombardy, and invading Piedmont, inflicted upon the Sardinian army such a defeat that Charles Albert was constrained to resign his crown in favor of his son Victor Emmanuel II., who, he hoped, would be able to secure more advantageous terms from the victorious Austrians than he himself could expect to obtain. Going into exile, the self-deposed king soon died of a broken heart, a martyr to the cause of Italian freedom.

Meanwhile Rome, under the inspiration of Mazzini and Garibaldi, had risen and driven out the Pope, — who had disappointed all the hopes which his earlier espousal of the popular cause had awakened, — and metamorphosed itself into a Republic. But the new Tiberine Republic was overthrown by the troops of the new French Republic, and the Pope was re-instated. This interference by the French in Italian affairs was instigated by their jealousy of Austria, and by the anxious desire of Louis Napoleon to win the good-will of the Catholic clergy in France.

Thus through the intervention of foreigners was the third Italian revolution thwarted. By the fall of the year 1849 the Liberals were everywhere crushed, their leaders executed, imprisoned, or

driven into exile, and the dream of Italy's unity and freedom dispelled by the hard present fact of renewed tyranny and foreign domination.

Much, however, had been gained. The patriotic party had had revealed to itself its strength, and at the same time the necessity of united action, — of the adoption of a single policy. Henceforth the Republicans and Federalists were more inclined to give up as impracticable their plans of national organization, and with the Constitutionalists to look upon the kingdom of Sardinia as the only possible basis and nucleus of a free and united Italy.

Victor Emmanuel II., Count Cavour, and Garibaldi. — Sardinia was a state which had gradually grown into power in the northwest corner of the peninsula. We have just noticed the accession to its throne of Victor Emmanuel II. To him it was that the hopes of the Italian patriots now turned. Nor were these hopes to be disappointed. Victor Emmanuel was the destined liberator of Italy, or perhaps it would be more correct to say that his was the name in which the achievement was to be effected by the wise policy of his great minister Count Cavour, and the reckless daring of the hero Garibaldi.

Victor Emmanuel represented the only native Italian dynasty — the old and famous House of Savoy, founded in 1027, and thus probably the oldest of the reigning families of Europe. Starting at first with the title of Count, the princes of the family had won first the ducal and then the royal dignity. The possessions of the House consisted at first of the county of Savoy in Southeastern France ; but gradually it lost its territory north of the Alps and as constantly added to its possessions south of the mountains, until at the time where we have arrived it had become essentially an Italian state, known as the Kingdom of Sardinia, embracing Piedmont[1] in Italy itself, and the island of Sardinia, which was acquired by the House of Savoy in 1720, and which raised the Dukes of Savoy to the kingly rank, and gave name to their kingdom. This was the state which was destined to become the centre of a free and united

[1] From the Latin *Pedemontium*, "foot of the mountain."

Italy, just as Castile grew into Spain, and Prussia into the German Empire.

Count Cavour was a man of large hopes and large plans. His single aim and purpose was the independence and unification of Italy. He was the genius of Italian liberty. He looked not alone to the welfare of Sardinia, but to that of the whole peninsula. He expostulated with the despots of the different states, and urged upon them the adoption of more liberal forms of government. It will be recalled that it was his far-sighted policy that sent the Sardinian troops to aid England and France against Russia in the Crimean War, with the double purpose of humbling the Czar, whom Cavour regarded as one of the leading champions of despotic government, and of earning the gratitude of the allies, so that the Italians in their future struggles with Austria might not have to fight their battles alone. Cavour in this did not miscalculate, as we shall see.

Garibaldi, "the hero of the red shirt," the knight-errant of Italian independence, whose name has been already mentioned in connection with the uprising in Rome in 1848, was a most remarkable character. Though yet barely past middle life, he had led a career singularly crowded with varied experiences and romantic adventures. Because of his violent republicanism, he was exiled from Italy in 1834. A little later we find him teaching in Constantinople, then fighting in South America (1835), then participating in the Italian struggle of 1848–49. Banished from Italy a second time, he became a candle-maker in the city of New York (1854). Then he returned to his native land in time to take part in the struggle of France and Sardinia against Austria in 1859–60.

The Austro-Sardinian War (1859–1860). — The hour for striking another blow for the freedom of Italy had now arrived. In 1859 Count Cavour, in pursuance of his national policy for Italy, having first made a secret arrangement with the French Emperor, gave Austria to understand that unless she granted Lombardy and Venetia free government and ceased to interfere in the affairs of

the rest of Italy, Sardinia would declare war against her. Of course the Austrian government refused to accede to the demand, and almost immediately war followed. The French Emperor, actuated probably less by gratitude for the aid of the Sardinian contingent in the Crimean struggle than by jealousy of Austria and the promise of Savoy and Nice in case of a successful issue of the war, supported the Sardinians with the armies of France. The two great victories of Magenta and Solferino seemed to promise to the allies a triumphant march to the Adriatic. But just now the threatening attitude of Prussia and other German states, in connection with other considerations, led Napoleon to enter upon negotiations of peace with the Austrian Emperor at Villafranca.

The outcome was that Austria retained Venice, but gave up to Sardinia the larger part of Lombardy. The Sardinians were bitterly disappointed that they did not get Venetia, and loudly accused the French Emperor of having betrayed their cause, since at the outset he had promised them that he would free Italy from the mountains to the sea. But Sardinia found compensation for Venice in the accession of Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and Romagna, the peoples of which states, having discarded their old rulers, besought Victor Emmanuel to permit them to unite themselves to his kingdom. Thus, as the result of the war, the king of Sardinia had added to his subjects a population of 9,000,000. One long step was taken in the way of Italian unity and freedom. A strong Italian kingdom had been formed, and thus a firm basis laid for the national organization of the entire peninsula.

But while the Sardinian kingdom was thus vastly extended to the east and the south, it was cut away a little on other sides. Savoy and Nice, the former "the cradle of the Savoyard House," were given as the price of her services to France. Victor Emmanuel's, or rather Count Cavour's, surrender of this territory greatly displeased many Italians, and especially Garibaldi, who was a native of Nice.

Sicily and Naples added to Victor Emmanuel's Kingdom (1860). — The romantic and adventurous daring of the hero Gari-

baldi now added Sicily and Naples to the possessions of Victor Emmanuel, and changed the kingdom of Sardinia into the kingdom of Italy.

The king of Naples and Sicily, Ferdinand II., was a typical despot and bigot. Hundreds of his subjects, fleeing from his intolerable tyranny, found an asylum in the dominions of Victor Emmanuel. His son, known as Francis II., who came to the throne in 1859, followed in the footsteps of his father. The second year of his reign his subjects rose in revolt. Victor Emmanuel and his minister Cavour were in sympathy with the movement, yet dared not send the insurgents aid through fear of arousing the jealousy of Austria or France. But Garibaldi, untrammeled by any such considerations, having gathered a band of a thousand or more volunteers, set sail from Genoa for Sicily, where upon landing he assumed the title of Dictator of Sicily for Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy, and quickly drove the troops of King Francis out of the island. Then crossing to the mainland, he marched triumphantly to Naples, whose inhabitants hailed him tumultuously as their Deliverer.

The Neapolitans and Sicilians now voted almost unanimously for annexation to the Sardinian kingdom. The hero Garibaldi, having first met and hailed his sovereign "King of Italy," surrendered his dictatorship, and retired to the island of Capri, in the bay of Naples. He had earned the lasting gratitude of his country.

In February, 1861, the first Italian Parliament was assembled in Turin, and by this body was formally conferred upon Victor Emmanuel the title which had already been bestowed by universal acclamation.

Thus was another great step taken in the unification of Italy. Nine millions more of Italians had become the subjects of Victor Emmanuel. There was now wanting to the complete union of Italy only Venetia and the Papal territories.

Death of Cavour. — A few months after the liberation of Naples and Sicily the beloved Count Cavour, overburdened with cares and anxieties, was taken away by sudden death. For the few days

that he lingered on the verge of the grave, the distressed nation hung about him as though they would by their love hold him among them until the work of Italy's emancipation was complete. His last words to his sovereign, Victor Emmanuel, were strangely impressive. Upon taking leave of his dying minister the day before his death, the king promised to call again on the morrow. "I shall not be here to-morrow," was the reply of the departing patriot.

Venetia added to the Kingdom (1866). — The Seven Weeks' War which broke out between Prussia and Austria in 1866 afforded the Italian patriots the opportunity for which they were watching to make Venetia a part of the kingdom of Italy. Victor Emmanuel formed an alliance with the king of Prussia, one of the conditions of which was that no peace should be made with Austria until she had surrendered Venetia to Italy. The speedy issue of the war added the coveted territory to the dominions of Victor Emmanuel. Rome alone was now lacking to the complete unification of Italy.

Rome becomes the Capital (1870). — It has been seen that after the liberation of Naples and Sicily the city of Turin, the old capital of the Sardinian kingdom, was made the capital of the new kingdom of Italy. In 1865 the seat of government was transferred to Florence. But the Italians looked forward to the time when Rome, the ancient mistress of the peninsula and of the world, should be their capital. The power of the Pope, however, was upheld by the French, and this made it impossible for the Italians to have their will in this matter without a conflict with France. Twice did Garibaldi raise an army of volunteers to seize the city for Italy and for freedom, as he had seized Sicily and Naples; but the French Emperor informed Victor Emmanuel that he should hold him strictly responsible for the acts of this irrepressible "knight-errant," and thus the king was constrained to oppose Garibaldi by force, although it would have been very much more to his mind to aid him in his enterprise.

But events soon gave the coveted capital to the Italian govern-

ment. In 1870 came the sharp, quick war between France and Prussia, and the French troops at Rome were hastily summoned home. Upon the overthrow of the French Monarchy and the establishment of the Republic, Victor Emmanuel was informed that France would no longer sustain the Papal power. The Italian government at once gave notice to the Pope that Rome would henceforth be considered a portion of the kingdom of Italy, and forthwith an Italian army entered the city, which by a vote of 133,681 to 1,507 joined itself to the Italian nation.

The family was now complete. Rome was the capital of a free and united Italy. July 2, 1871, Victor Emmanuel himself entered the city and took up his residence there. "It was a proud moment for him when he saw the task of his life accomplished, and all Italy fully united under his scepter."

End of the Temporal Power of the Pope. — The Pope protested against this invasion of his dominions, this spoliation of the Father of the Church, and called upon the king of Prussia to become the defender of Rome, prophesying the upheaval and overturning of everything in the world should the sacrilege be allowed. He would have Europe rush to the rescue of the sacred lands of the Pope's patrimony, as the continent arose when Turk profaned with his unhallowed presence the holy places of Palestine. But neither King William nor any other sovereign would have anything to do with Italian affairs. So, without a hand being raised in his defense, the Pope was stripped of every vestige of that temporal power wherewith Pepin and Charlemagne had invested the Bishop of Rome more than a thousand years before.

The Papal troops were disbanded, but the Pope, Pius IX., still retained all his spiritual authority, the Vatican with its 11,000 chambers being reserved to him as a place of residence. Just a few months before the loss of his temporal sovereignty a great Ecumenical Council of the Roman Catholic Church had, by a solemn vote, proclaimed the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, which declares decrees of the Pope "on questions of faith and morals" to be infallible.

Conclusion. — The securing of Rome as the capital of Italy completed the work of the liberation and national organization of the Italian people. They now formed a great nation, independent of foreign masters and united among themselves.

In the early part of the year 1878 Victor Emmanuel died, and his son came to the throne, with the title of Humbert I., the second king of Italy.

Reform and progress have marked Italian affairs since the events of 1870. The work of the Government, however, has been much impeded by the opposition of the Pope and of the priests, by the inertia of stolid ignorance, and the deep moral degradation of the masses, — a consequence of long political servitude. Yet very much has been accomplished. The monastic establishments, numbering two hundred and forty, have been dissolved, and the larger part of their enormous possessions devoted to the support of a public system of education: brigandage has been suppressed, railways built, the Alps tunneled, the healthfulness of the Campagna and other districts increased by extensive systems of drainage, and thus regions long given over to desolation made habitable and productive; while the naval and military resources of the peninsula have been developed to such an extent that Italy, so recently the prey of foreign sovereigns, of petty native tyrants, and of adventurers, is now justly regarded as one of the prominent powers of Europe.

CHAPTER X.

ENGLAND IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

The Three Chief Matters. — English history during the nineteenth century embraces a multitude of events. A short chapter covering the entire period will possess no instructive value unless it reduces the heterogeneous mass of facts to some sort of unity by placing events in relation with their causes, and thus showing how they are connected with a few broad national movements or tendencies.

Studying the period in this way, we shall find that very many of its leading events may be summed up under the three following heads: 1. Progress towards democracy; 2. Expansion of the principle of religious equality; 3. Growth of the British Empire in the East.[1]

The political and religious tendencies mentioned have found expression in the legislative acts of Parliament, which have liberalized and broadened the English Constitution; while the growth of England's interests and influence in Asia has been recorded in her wars and foreign policies, particularly in her jealous competition with Russia.

[1] Two other lines of study, which also touch events of importance, are these: England's relations to Ireland, and the growth of the English colonies in the New World.

The first topic would embrace such matters as the following: The union of the Legislatures of Great Britain and Ireland in 1801; the agitation under O'Connell for the Repeal of the Union; the Irish land tenure; the Home Rule movement, etc.

The second would lead to the study of the spread of the English race in British America, in the West Indies, and in the South Pacific; to the investigation of the experiments of these colonies in federative government; to inquiries respecting their present and probable future relations to the motherland, etc.

We shall attempt nothing more in the following pages than to indicate the most prominent matters that should claim the student's attention along these several lines of inquiry.

I. Progress towards Democracy.

Introductory. — The English Revolution of 1688 transferred authority from the king to the Parliament. The elective branch of that body, however, rested upon a very narrow electoral basis. Out of 5,000,000 Englishmen who should have had a voice in the government, not more than 160,000 were voters, and these were chiefly of the rich upper classes. The political democratizing of England during the present century consists in the widening of the electorate, — in the giving to every intelligent and honest man a right to vote, to participate in the government under which he lives.

Effects of the French Revolution upon Liberalism in England. — Throughout the eighteenth century, under the Hanoverian sovereigns,[1] there was a certain but slow growth of Liberal principles. The Tories gradually renounced the untenable doctrine of the divine right of kings,[2] and acknowledged the sovereignty of Parliament. But they retained their old political instincts. They faced the past. They deprecated change. They became the representatives of Conservatism, and held themselves out as "the defenders of the Constitution and Church against the inroads of Liberalism."

[1] The sovereigns of the House of Hanover are George I. (1714–1727); George II. (1727–1760); George III. (1760–1820); George IV. (1820–1830); William IV. (1830–1837); Victoria (1837–).

[2] The sentiment, however, was still strong enough, in connection with discontent awakened by other causes, to lead to several attempts on the part of the Jacobites to place the exiled Stuarts upon the throne. In the year 1715 there was an unsuccessful uprising in Scotland, under the Earl of Mar, in the interest of the son of James II.; and two years later there was another abortive plot, in which Charles XII. of Sweden was concerned. In 1745 the "Young Pretender" (grandson of James II.) landed in Scotland, effected a rising of the Scotch Highlanders, worsted the English at Preston Pans, and marched upon London. Forced to retreat into Scotland, he was pursued by the English, and utterly defeated at the battle of Culloden Moor, — and the Stuart cause was ruined forever.

The Whigs, on the other hand, grew to be more and more distinctively the party of progress and reform, the champions of democratic principles. Having made the king dependent upon Parliament, they would now make Parliament dependent upon the people. Towards the close of the eighteenth century some of the leading Whig statesmen, notably William Pitt, began to urge reform in the electoral system. The French Revolution at first gave a fresh impulse to these Liberal tendencies. The English Liberals watched the course of the French republicans with the deepest interest and sympathy. It will be recalled how the statesman Fox rejoiced at the fall of the Bastile, and what auguries of hope he saw in the event. The young writers Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Southey were all infected with democratic sentiments, and inspired with a generous enthusiasm for political liberty and equality.

But the wild excesses of the French Levelers terrified the English Liberals. There was a sudden revulsion of feeling. All suggestions of reform were looked upon with distrust. Liberal sentiments were denounced as dangerous and revolutionary. "The great part of the people," says the constitutional historian May, "recoiled from the blood-thirsty Jacobins, and took part with the government in the repression of democracy." "There was a social ostracism of liberal opinion, which continued far into the present century."

Revival of Democratic Sentiments. — But England's rapid growth in wealth after the close of the Napoleonic wars, together with the growing enlightenment of the people, led to a wide-spread desire for political reform. The terrors of the French Revolution were forgotten. Liberal sentiments began to spread among the masses. The people very justly complained that, while the English government claimed to be a government of the people, they had no part in it.

Now, it is instructive to note the different ways in which Liberalism was dealt with by the English government and by the rulers on the continent. In the continental countries the rising spirit of democracy was met by cruel and despotic repressions. The

people were denied by their rulers all participation in the affairs of government. We have seen the result. Liberalism triumphed indeed at last, but triumphed only through Revolution.

In England, the government did not resist the popular demands to the point of Revolution. It made timely concessions to the growing spirit of democracy. Hence here, instead of a series of revolutions, we have a series of reform measures, which, gradually popularizing the House of Commons, at last renders the English nation, not alone in name, but in reality, a self-governing people.

The Reform Bill of 1832. — The first Parliamentary step in reform was taken in 1832. To understand this important act, a retrospective glance becomes necessary.

When, in 1265, the Commons were first admitted to Parliament, members were called only from those cities and boroughs whose wealth and population fairly entitled them to representation. In the course of time some of these places dwindled in population, and new towns sprang up : yet the decayed boroughs retained their ancient privilege of sending members to Parliament, while the new towns were left entirely without representation. Thus Old Sarum, an ancient town now utterly decayed and without a single inhabitant, was represented in the Commons by two members. Furthermore, the sovereign, for the purpose of gaining influence in the Commons, had, from time to time, given unimportant places the right of returning members to the Lower House. In 1793 less than 200 electors sent to the Commons 197 members. Of course, elections in these small or pocket boroughs, as they were called, were almost always determined by the corrupt influence of the crown or resident lords. The Lower House of Parliament was thus filled with the nominees of the king, or with persons who had bought the office, often with little effort at concealment. At this same time, such large, recently-grown manufacturing towns as Birmingham and Manchester had no representation at all in the Commons.

Agitation was begun for the reform of this corrupt and farcical system of representation. The contest between the Whigs and

Tories, or Liberals and Conservatives, was long and bitter. The Conservatives of course opposed all reform. Bill after bill was introduced into Parliament to correct the evil, but most of these, after having passed the Commons, were lost in the House of Lords. Finally the public feeling became so strong and violent that the lords were forced to yield, and the Reform Bill of 1832 became a law.

By this act the electoral system of the kingdom was radically changed. Fifty-six of the "rotten boroughs" were disfranchised, and the 143 seats in the Lower House which they had filled were given to different counties and large towns. The bill also greatly increased the number of electors by extending the right of voting to all persons owning or leasing property of a certain value.

We can scarcely exaggerate the importance of this Reform Bill. It is the Magna Charta of political democracy.[1]

Chartism: the Revolutionary Year of 1848. — But while the Reform Bill of 1832 was almost revolutionary in the principle it established, it went only a little way in the application of the principle. It admitted to the franchise the middle classes only. The great laboring class were given no part in the government.

[1] The popularizing of the House of Commons led to a series of legislative acts of a popular character. Laws were made for the advantage of the many, not to confer special privileges upon a few. There now begins a period known as "the Era of Reform."

In 1833 an act for the abolition of slavery throughout the British colonies became a law. 780,993 slaves in the British West Indies were freed at a cost to the English nation of £20,000,000. The English people thus rejected forever what Lord Brougham, the most eloquent advocate of the act of emancipation, characterized as "the wild and guilty phantasy that man can hold property in man."

In 1840 an act of Parliament established the "Penny Postage System," which made the rate upon letters, hitherto unequal and oppressive, uniform throughout the United Kingdom.

In 1846 England, by the repeal of her "corn-laws," abandoned the commercial policy of Protection, which favored the wealthier classes, and adopted that of free trade. The chief advocates of this important measure were Richard Cobden and John Bright.

They now began an agitation, characterized by much bitterness, known as Chartism, from a document called the "People's Charter," which embodied the reforms they desired. These were "universal suffrage, vote by ballot, annual parliaments, the division of the country into equal electoral districts, the abolition of the property qualification of members, and payment for their services."

The agitation for these changes in the constitution went on with more or less violence until 1848, in which year, encouraged by the revolutions then shaking almost every throne on the European continent, the Chartists resolved to make an effective demonstration of their strength and the popularity of their cause. They assembled to the number of 20,000, with the intention of marching through the streets of London, with a huge petition, signed, so it was asserted, by 5,000,000 persons, which they proposed to carry into the House of Commons. Fearing a riot, the government took active measures to prevent the parade. The great mass of the people, ever on the side of law and order, rallied to the support of the government, nearly a quarter of a million of the men of London promptly responding to a call for special policemen. One of these conservators of the public peace was Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, then an exile in England, whom the upheavals of this very year were destined to elevate to the presidency of the French Republic. The Chartists were prevented from carrying out their plans, and their organization soon fell to pieces. The reforms, however, which they had labored to secure, were, in the main, desirable and just, and the most important of them have since been adopted and made a part of the English Constitution.

The Reform Bill of 1867. — The Reform Bill of 1867 was simply another step taken by the English government in the direction of the Reform Bill of 1832. Like that measure, it was passed only after long and violent agitation and discussion both without and within the walls of Parliament. Its main effect was the extension of the right of voting, — the enfranchisement of the great "fourth estate." By it also a few small boroughs in England — for the bill did not concern either Ireland or Scotland, separate bills of some-

what similar provisions being framed for them — were disfranchised, and several new ones created. The towns of Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds were each given a third representative in the Commons, and the University of London was given a seat in the House.

The Reform Bill of 1884. — One of the conservative leaders, the Earl of Derby, in the discussions upon the Reform Bill of 1867, said, "No doubt we are making a great experiment, and taking a leap in the dark." Just seventeen years after the passage of that bill, the English people were ready to take another leap. But they were not now leaping in the dark. The wisdom and safety of admitting the lower classes to a participation in the government had been demonstrated.

In 1884 Mr. Gladstone, then prime minister, introduced and pushed to a successful vote a new reform bill, more radical and sweeping in its provisions than any preceding one. It increased the number of voters from about 3,000,000 to about 5,000,000. The qualification of voters in the counties was made the same as that required of voters in the boroughs. Hence its effect was to enfranchise the great agricultural classes. A Redistribution Bill, which was passed in connection with the Reform Bill, rearranged the electoral districts in such manner that the Commons should more fairly represent the popular will. The number of members from the boroughs was lessened and the number from the counties increased.

Referring to these extensive changes in the constitution of the House of Commons, the queen in proroguing the Parliament whose labors had effected them, used these words: "I earnestly trust that these comprehensive measures may increase the efficiency of Parliament, and may promote contentment among my people. . . . I pray the blessing of God may rest upon their extended liberties, and that the members who are called upon to exercise new powers will use them with that sobriety and discernment which have for so long a period marked the Liberty of this nation."

The late elections (1885), held under the new system, have sent to the House of Commons many men of humble origin and calling.

Only the Forms of Monarchy remain. — The English government is now in reality as democratic as our own. Only the forms of monarchy remain. It does not seem probable that these can long withstand the encroachments of democracy. Hereditary privilege, as represented by the House of Lords and the Crown, is likely soon to be abolished. Even now every time the lords attempt to thwart the will of the Commons there are ominous threats of abolishing the Upper House. However long the traditional conservatism of the English people in the matter of forms and ceremonies may preserve the Constitution against the inroads of Liberalism in this direction, it seems inevitable, that in time these monarchical and aristocratical forms, representing as they do an old order of things, should give way to purely republican institutions.

II. Expansion of the Principle of Religious Equality.

Religious Freedom and Religious Equality. — Alongside the political movement traced in the preceding section ran a similar one in the religious realm. This was a growing recognition by the English people of the true principle of religious toleration.

At the opening of the nineteenth century there was in England religious freedom, but no religious equality. That is to say, one might be a Catholic or a Protestant dissenter, without fear of persecution. Dissent from the Established Church was not unlawful. But one's being a dissenter disqualified him from holding certain public offices. Where there exists such discrimination against any religious sect, or where any one sect is favored or sustained by the government, there of course is no religious equality, although there may be religious freedom. Progress in this direction, then, will consist in the growth of a really tolerant spirit, which shall lead to the removal from Catholics, Protestant dissenters, and Jews of all civil disabilities, and the placing of all sects on an absolute equality before the law. This is but a completion of the work of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Methodism and its Effects upon Toleration. — One thing that helped to bring prominently forward the question of emancipating non-conformists from the civil disabilities under which they were placed, was the great religious movement known as Methodism, which during the latter part of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century revolutionized the religious life of England.[1] By vastly increasing the body of Protestant dissenters, Methodism gave new strength to the agitation for the repeal of the laws which bore so heavily upon them. So now begins a series of legislative acts which made a more and more perfect application of the great principle of religious equality. We shall simply refer to two or three of the most important of these measures.

Disabilities removed from Protestant Dissenters (1828). — One of the earliest and most important of the acts of Parliament in this century in recognition of the principle of religious equality, was the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, in so far as they bore upon Protestant dissenters. These were acts passed in the reign of Charles II., which required every officer of a corporation, and all persons holding civil and military positions, to take certain oaths, and partake of the communion according to

[1] The leaders of the movement were George Whitefield (1714–1770) and John Wesley (1703–1791). Such exhorters the world had not heard since the preachers of the Crusades. Whitefield became the leader of the *Calvinistic* Methodists, and Wesley the founder of the sect known as *Wesleyans*. The Methodists at first had no thought of establishing a Church distinct from the Anglican, but simply aimed to form within the Established Church a society of earnest, devout laymen, somewhat like that of the Young Men's Christian Association in our present churches. Their enthusiasm, and their often extravagant manners, however, offended the staid, cold conservatism of the regular clergy, and they were finally constrained by petty persecution to go out from the established organization and form a Church of their own. This of course constituted them dissenters. "In 1801, the Wesleyans had 825 chapels or places of worship; in 1851, they had the extraordinary number of 11,007, with sittings for 2,194,298 persons." — MAY'S *Constitutional History of England*, Vol. II. p. 419.

the rites of the Anglican Church. It is true that these laws were not now strictly enforced, and that an annual indemnity act gave a sort of relief to Protestant non-conformists. Nevertheless, the laws were invidious and vexatious, and the Protestant dissenters demanded their repeal.

Those opposed to the repeal argued that the principle of religious toleration did not require it. They insisted that, where every one has perfect freedom of worship, it is no infringement of the principle of toleration for the government to refuse to employ as a public servant one who dissents from the State Church.

The result of the debate in Parliament was the repeal of such parts of the ancient acts as it was necessary to rescind in order to relieve Protestant dissenters, — that is, the provision requiring persons holding office to be communicants of the Anglican Church.

Disabilities removed from the Catholics (1829). — The bill of 1828 gave no relief to Catholics. They were still excluded from Parliament and various civil offices by the declarations of belief and the oaths required of office-holders, — declarations and oaths which no good Catholic could conscientiously make. They now demanded that the same concessions be made them that had been granted Protestant dissenters.

The ablest champion of Catholic emancipation was the eloquent Daniel O'Connell, an Irish patriot; but the measure was also favored by many who did not commune with the Roman Catholic Church, but whom the growth of a more liberal spirit in religious matters had led to perceive the injustice of the old laws.

A threatened revolt on the part of the Irish Catholics hurried the progress of what was known as the *Catholic Emancipation Act* through Parliament. This law opened all the offices of the kingdom, below the crown, — save that of Regent, of Lord Chancellor of England and Ireland, the Viceroyalty of Ireland, and a few others, — to the Catholic subjects of the realm.

But unhappily this act of toleration and justice had been too long delayed. "Thirty years of hope deferred, of right withheld,

of discontent and agitation, had exasperated the Catholic population of Ireland against the English government. They had overcome their rulers; and owing them no gratitude, were ripe for new disorders."

Disabilities removed from the Jews. — The Jews were still laboring under all the disabilities which had now been removed from Protestant dissenters and Catholics.

In 1845 an act was passed by Parliament which so changed the oath required for admission to corporate offices — the oath contained the words "on the faith of a Christian" — as to open them to Jews.

In 1858, after a long and unseemly struggle, the House of Commons was opened to the long-proscribed race.

Disestablishment of the Irish Church (1869). — Forty years after the Catholic Emancipation Act, the English government took another great step in the direction of religious equality, by the disestablishment of the State Church in Ireland.

The Irish have always and steadily refused to accept the religion which their English conquerors have somehow felt constrained to try to force upon them. The vast majority of the people are to-day and ever have been Catholics; yet up to the time where we have now arrived these Irish Catholics had been compelled to pay tithes and fees for the maintenance among them of the Anglican Church worship. Meanwhile their own churches, in which the great masses were instructed and cared for spiritually, had to be kept up by voluntary contributions. The rank injustice in thus forcing the Irish Romanists to support a Church in which they not only did not believe, but which they regarded with special aversion and hatred as the symbol of their subjection and persecution, was perceived and declaimed against by many among the English themselves. Thus Sidney Smith very justly said of it, "There is no abuse like it in all Europe, in all Asia, in all the discovered parts of Africa, and in all we have heard of Timbuctoo." The proposition to do away with this grievance by the disestablishment of the

State Church in Ireland was bitterly opposed by the Conservatives, headed by Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli; but at length, after a memorable debate, the Liberals, under the lead of Bright and Gladstone, the latter then prime minister, carried the measure. This was in 1869, but the actual disestablishment was not to take place until the year 1871, at which time the Irish State Church, ceasing to exist as a state institution, became a free Episcopal Church. The historian May pronounces this "the most important ecclesiastical matter since the Reformation."

Proposed Disestablishment of the State Church in England and Scotland. — The perfect application of the principle of religious equality demands, in the opinion of many English Liberals, the disestablishment of the State Church in England and Scotland.[1] They feel that for the government to maintain any particular sect, is to give the State a monopoly in religion. They would have the churches of all denominations placed on an absolute equality. Especially in Scotland is the sentiment in favor of disestablishment very strong. In the late elections (1885) this question of disestablishment was virtually made one of the issues upon which the campaign was fought. Chamberlain, the representative of the Radical wing of the Liberal party, unhesitatingly declares that the time for universal disestablishment has come. Gladstone, while concluding that the line along which the English people have been moving will sooner or later bring them to disestablishment, seems inclined to the opinion that the times are not yet ripe for the measure.

We should not fail here to notice how, by studying past events in their connection with great principles and tendencies, we are enabled to forecast the future, and to determine when we are working in harmony with the great laws of the world.

III. Growth of the British Empire in the East.

The Clew to England's Foreign Policy in the Nineteenth Century. — Seeking the main fact of modern English history, Pro-

[1] The Established Church in Scotland is the Presbyterian.

fessor Seeley[1] finds it in the expansion of England. He says, in substance, that the expansion of England in the New World and in Asia is the formula which sums up for England the history of the last three centuries. As the outgrowth of this extension into remote lands of English population or influence, England has come successively into sharp rivalry with three of the leading powers of Europe, her competitors in the field of colonization or in the race for empire. The seventeenth century stands out as an age of intense rivalry between England and Spain; the eighteenth was a period of gigantic competition between England and France; while the nineteenth has been an age of jealous rivalry between England and Russia.

England triumphed over Spain and France; it remains to be seen whether she will in like manner triumph over Russia.

We have space simply to indicate how England's foreign policies and wars during the present century have grown out of her Eastern connections, and her fear of the overshadowing influence of the Colossus of the North.

Rise of the English Power in India. — And first, we must say a word respecting the establishment of English authority in India.

In the year 1600 Queen Elizabeth chartered an association of English merchants, under the name of the East India Company, for carrying on trade with India. The first factory established by the Company was at Surat (1612); by the close of the seventeenth century it had founded establishments at Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, the three most important centres of English population and influence in India at the present time.

In order to protect its factories and traders, the Company was obliged to build forts, and to maintain soldiers and ships of war, — privileges granted it by the English government.

The Company's efforts to extend its authority in India were favored by the decayed state into which the Great Mogul Empire — founded in Northern India by the Tartar conquerors, and, un-

[1] J. R. Seeley, in his work entitled *The Expansion of England.*

der the great emperors Akbar and Aurungzebe, extended over a large part of the peninsula — had fallen, and by the contentions of the independent native princes among themselves; just as Cortez and Pizarro were aided in their conquests of Mexico and Peru by the weakened and disorganized condition in which they chanced to find the empires of the Montezumas and the Incas.

For a long time it was a matter of doubt whether the empire to be erected upon the ruins of the Great Mogul Empire and of the contending native states should be French or English. About the middle of the eighteenth century the former had the stronger foothold in the peninsula, just as previous to the French and Indian War in the New World they had the stronger hold upon the North American continent.

Indeed, the French were entertaining hopes of driving out the English altogether, and of forming a French empire that should embrace the whole peninsula. The plans of the French were thwarted by the genius of Robert Clive, an officer in the employ of the English Company. Gaining victory after victory over the French and their native allies, he, in a few years, rendered the influence of the English supreme throughout Southeastern India.

A terrible crime committed by the Nabob Surajah Dowlah of Bengal, a province lying along the lower courses of the Ganges, determined the fate not only of that native state, but of all India. Moved by jealousy of the growing power of the English, and encouraged by the French, the Nabob attacked the English post at Calcutta, and having induced the little garrison of 146 persons to surrender on the assurance that they should have no violence offered them, he crowded them all into a close dungeon, called the Black Hole. In the course of a sultry night the larger part of the unfortunate prisoners were suffocated.

Clive, who was at Madras, responded instantly to the cry that arose for vengeance. With only 100 English soldiers and 2,000 Sepoys,[1] he sailed for Calcutta. That capital was taken, and on

[1] The name given to native soldiers in European employ.

the memorable field of Plassey the Nabob's army of over 60,000 foot and horse was scattered to the winds (1757).

The victory of Plassey established upon a firm basis the growing power of the Company. During the next one hundred years its armies, directed by some of the ablest generals of that period, — among whom were Lord Cornwallis, prominent in the American War for Independence, and Sir Arthur Wellesley, the conqueror of Napoleon, — subjugated and deposed, on various pretexts, one native prince after another, and brought province after province under the rule of the English, until the authority of the Company was recognized throughout almost every part of the peninsula, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. A little company of traders, possessing in 1612 a few warehouses guarded by a handful of sentinels, had by 1850 grown into a body exercising almost imperial powers, maintaining an immense army, and ruling over as many subjects nearly as all the monarchs of Europe combined.

There is no question but that in building up this gigantic Empire the East India Company was guilty of many wrong and utterly indefensible acts; but we must bear in mind that the situation of these English traders in India was very like that of the English colonists in America: neither the conquest of the Asiatic Indians, nor the extermination of the American Indians, was the result of a deliberate plan; the conquest and the extermination were both brought about, without deliberate purpose, by the pressure of events.

We will now speak briefly of the most important wars and troubles in which England has been involved through her interests in India.

The Afghan War of 1838–1842. — One of the first serious wars into which England was drawn through her jealousy of Russia was what was known as the Afghan War.

It was England's policy to maintain the Afghan state as a barrier between her East India possessions and Russia. Persuaded that the ruler of the Afghans, a usurper named Dost Mahommed, was inclined to a Russian alliance, the English determined to dethrone

him, and put in his place the legitimate prince. This was done. The Afghans, however, resented this interference in their affairs. They arose in revolt, and forced the English army to retreat from the country. In the wild mountain passes leading from Afghanistan into India, the fleeing army, 16,000 in number, counting camp-followers, was cut off almost to a man.

The English took signal vengeance. They again invaded the country, defeated the Afghans, punished some of their leaders, burned the chief bazaar of Cabul, and then withdrawing from the country, left the Afghans to themselves.

Opium War with China (1840–1842). — The next war incited by British interest in India was the so-called Opium War with China.

During the first half of the present century the opium traffic between India and China grew into gigantic proportions, and became an important source of wealth to the British merchants, and of revenue to the Indian government.

The Chinese government, however, awake to the enormous evils of the growing use of the narcotic, forbade the importation of the drug; but the British merchants, notwithstanding the imperial prohibition, persisted in the trade, and chiefly through the corrupt connivance of the Chinese officials succeeded in smuggling large quantities of the article into the Chinese market. Finally, the government seized and destroyed all the opium stored in the warehouses of the British traders at Canton. This act, together with other "outrages," led to a declaration of war on the part of England. British troops now took possession of Canton, and the Chinese government, whose troops were as helpless as children before European soldiers, was soon forced to agree to the treaty of Nanking, by which the island of Hong-Kong was ceded to the English, several important ports were opened to British traders, and the perpetuation of the nefarious traffic in opium was secured. The treaty also provided for the payment by the Chinese of an indemnity of about $20,000,000, to cover the loss sustained by the British merchants in the destruction of their opium, and to defray the expenses of the war.

Perhaps no act of the English government has caused so much censure to be cast upon it as this, in which at the cannon's mouth it forced open the ports of a helpless, half-civilized nation to a most abominable and pernicious traffic.

The Crimean War (1854–1856). — Scarcely was the Opium War ended before England was involved in a gigantic struggle with Russia, — the Crimean War, already spoken of in connection with Russian history. From our present standpoint we can better understand why England threw herself into the conflict on the side of Turkey. She fought to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, in order that her own great rival, Russia, might be prevented from seizing Constantinople and the Bosphorus, and from that point controlling the affairs of Asia through the command of the Eastern Mediterranean.

The Sepoy Mutiny (1857–1858). — The echoes of the Crimean War had barely died away before England was startled by the most alarming intelligence from the country for the secure possession of which English soldiers had borne their part in the fierce struggle before Sebastopol.

In 1857 there broke out in the armies of the East India Company what is known as the Sepoy Mutiny. The causes of the uprising were various. The crowd of deposed princes was one element of discontent. A wide-spread conviction among the natives, awakened by different acts of the English, that their religion was in danger, in connection with an old prophecy of the Hindu soothsayers that just one hundred years from the battle of Plassey the English power in India would be overthrown, was another potent factor of the causes that led to the rebellion. There were also military grievances of which the native soldiers complained.

The mutiny broke out in Bengal. At different points, by preconcerted signals, the native regiments arose against their English officers and put them to death.[1] Delhi and Cawnpore[2] were

[1] The East India Company at this time had an army of nearly 300,000, of which number not more than 45,000 were English troops. The chief positions in the native regiments were held by English officers.

[2] The atrocities committed by the Rebels at this place sent a thrill of hor-

seized, and the English residents and garrisons butchered in cold blood.

Fortunately many of the native regiments stood firm in their allegiance to the English, and with their aid the revolt was speedily crushed. The leaders were punished with great severity, many of them being executed by being blown from the mouths of cannon.

At the close of the war, the government of India, by act of Parliament, was taken out of the hands of the East India Company and vested in the English crown. Since this transfer, the Indian government has been conducted on the principle that "English rule in India should be for India."[1]

Later Events: the English in Egypt. — It only remains for us to refer to some later matters which are more or less intimately connected with England's Eastern policy.

In 1874 Mr. Disraeli, who had then just succeeded Mr. Gladstone as prime minister, in pursuance of an ambitious, foreign policy which aimed to give England a sort of imperial position

ror through all the civilized world. Nana Sahib had slain the garrison, and crowded about two hundred English women and children, the families of the murdered soldiers, into a small chamber. They were spared the fate of the prisoners in the Black Hole of Calcutta, but only to meet a more terrible one. Fearing that the English forces, advancing by forced marches under General Henry Havelock, would effect a rescue of the prisoners, Nana Sahib employed five assassins, some of them butchers by trade, to go into the room with their swords and knives and kill them all. The work required two hours. Then the bodies were dragged out and flung into a neighboring well.

[1] Within the last two decades the country has undergone in every respect a surprising transformation. Life and property are now as secure in India as in England. The railways begun by the East India Company have been extended in every direction, and now bind together the most distant provinces of the empire. All the chief cities are united by telegraph. Lines of steamers are established on the Indus and the Ganges. Public schools have been opened, and colleges founded. Several hundred newspapers, about half published in the native dialects, are sowing Western ideas broadcast among the people. The introduction of European science and civilization is rapidly undermining many of the old superstitions, particularly the ancient system of caste.

upon two continents, purchased, for $20,000,000, the 176,000 shares which the Khedive of Egypt held in the Suez Canal. This was to give England more perfect control of this all-important gateway to her East India possessions.

Two years later, in 1876, Disraeli took a second step in his imperial policy. This was the bestowal, by act of Parliament, of the title of Empress of India upon the Queen.[1] The object of this was to dazzle the Indian subjects of the empire, and to persuade them that their Queen was in no way inferior to the Emperor of Russia.

Still another part of Disraeli's foreign policy was the extension of English influence and authority in Afghanistan. The excuse for trespassing again upon the territory of the Afghans was the alleged necessity, created by the advance of Russia in Central Asia, of finding somewhere in Afghanistan a "scientific frontier" for the Indian Empire. The result of this aggressive policy was a sharp contest with the Afghans (1879–1880). Almost the first act of the drama was a massacre of British officers, like that of 1841. The slaughter was avenged, and the country occupied with garrisons. Later, under a new Liberal administration, the English troops were withdrawn, and the scientific frontier abandoned.[2]

In 1878, towards the close of the Russo-Turkish War, England, it will be recalled, interfered in behalf of the Turks, and, by the presence of her iron-clads in the Bosphorus, prevented the Rus-

[1] A few months later the Queen elevated Mr. Disraeli to the peerage, with the title of Earl of Beaconsfield.

[2] Disraeli's ambitious schemes embraced Africa as well as Asia. He proposed to consolidate the several English, Dutch, and native states in Southern Africa into a great South African Confederation. The outcome of this scheme was a war with the Boers, the Dutch settlers of the Transvaal Republic, numbering about 40,000; also a war with the Zulus, the most powerful native tribe in South Africa, whose king at this time was Cetewayo. The Zulu war was invested with a sort of tragic interest by the death at the hands of the natives of the Prince Louis Napoleon, who, an exile from France, had attached himself to the staff of the English commander.

sians from occupying Constantinople. In the treaty negotiations which followed, in which the Earl of Beaconsfield played a very dramatic part, England, by virtue of a secret arrangement with the Sublime Porte, received from Turkey the island of Cyprus, in return for promised aid in the future in case of need.

In the year 1882 political and financial reasons combined led the English government, now conducted by Gladstone, to interfere in the affairs of Egypt. A mutinous uprising against the authority of the Khedive having taken place in the Egyptian army, an expedition was sent out under the command of Lord Wolseley for the purpose of suppressing the revolt, and by the restoration of the authority of the Khedive to render secure the Suez Canal, and protect the interest of English bondholders in Egyptian securities.

Three years later, in 1885, a second expedition had to be sent out to the same country. The Soudanese, subjects of the Khedive, encouraged by the disorganized condition of the Egyptian government, had revolted, and were threatening the Egyptian garrisons in the Soudan with destruction. Lord Wolseley was sent out a second time, to lead an expedition up the Nile to the relief of Khartoum, where General Gordon, a representative of the English government, was commanding the Egyptian troops, and trying — to use his own phrase — to "smash the Mahdi," the military prophet and leader of the Soudanese Arabs.

The expedition arrived too late, Khartoum having fallen just before the advance relief party reached the town. The English troops were now recalled, and the greater part of the Soudan abandoned to the rebel Arabs. Further complications seem likely to grow out of England's presence in Egypt.

CONCLUSION: THE NEW AGE.[1]

The Age of Material Progress, or the Industrial Age. — History has been well likened to a grand dissolving view. While one age is passing away another is coming into prominence.

During the last fifty years the distinctive features of society have wholly changed. The battles now being waged in the religious and political world are only faint echoes of the great battles of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. A new movement of human society has begun. Civilization has entered upon what may be called the Industrial Age, or the Age of Material Progress.

The decade between 1830 and 1840 was, in the phrase of Herzog, "the cradle of the new epoch." In that decade several of the greatest inventions that have marked human progress were first brought to practical perfection. Prominent among these were ocean steam navigation, railroads, and telegraphs.[2] In the year 1830 Stephenson exhibited the first really successful locomotive. In 1836 Morse perfected the telegraph. In 1838 ocean steamship navigation was first practically solved.

The rapidity with which these inventions have been introduced into almost all parts of the world, partakes of the marvelous.

[1] For the facts which we give under this head we are indebted chiefly to Mulhall's *Balance-Sheet of the World*, and his *Progress of the World;* Ely's *French and German Socialism in Modern Times;* Laveléye's *The Socialism of To-day;* and an article on *Railroads, Telegraphs, and Civilization*, by Herr C. Herzog, in the "Popular Science Monthly" for July, 1885.

[2] Ploetz, in his *Epitome of History*, pp. 485–487, instructively compares these inventions to the three great inventions or discoveries — the magnetic needle, gunpowder, and printing — that ushered in the Modern Age.

During the last fifty years the continents have been covered with a perfect network of railroads, constructed at an enormous cost of labor and capital. The aggregate length of the world's steam railways in 1883 was about 275,000 miles, sufficient, to use Mulhall's illustration, to girdle the earth eleven times at the equator, or more than sufficient to reach from the earth to the moon. The continental lines of railways are made virtually continuous round the world by connecting lines of ocean steamers. Telegraph wires traverse the continents in all directions, and cables run beneath all the oceans of the globe. In 1883 there were nearly 700,000 miles of telegraph lines; and about 700 marine cables, with an aggregate length of 97,000 miles, although the first successful ocean cable was not laid until 1866.

By these inventions the most remote parts of the earth have been brought near together. A solidarity of commercial interests has been created. Thought has been made virtually omnipresent: a new and helpful idea or discovery becomes immediately the common possession of the world. Facilities for travel, by bringing men together, and familiarizing them with new scenes and different forms of society and belief, have made them more liberal and tolerant. Mind has been broadened and quickened. And by the virtual annihilation of time and space, governmental problems have been solved. The chief difficulties in maintaining a confederation of states widely separated have been removed, and such extended territories as those of the United States made practically as compact as the most closely consolidated European state. England, with her scattered colonies, may now, Professor Seeley thinks, well enough become a World-Venice, with the oceans for streets. Furthermore, the steps of human progress have been accelerated a hundred-fold. The work of years, and of centuries even, is crowded into a day. Thus Japan, on the outskirts of the world, has been modified more by our civilization within the last decade or two, than Britain was modified by the civilization of Rome during the four hundred years that the island was connected with the Empire.

But a still more important feature of the new epoch is the use of steam and machinery in the manufactures and various industries of the world. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the great manufactures of the world were in their infancy. Under the impulse of modern inventions they have been carried to seeming perfection at a bound. Steam and improved machinery have increased incalculably the productive forces of society. More articles contributive to human well-being can now be manufactured in a single day than were produced in fifty or one hundred days at the opening of the century. This enormous augmentation of the power of production is the most significant feature of the age, and the one, as we shall see in a moment, that creates and gives distinctive character to its chief problem.

The history of this wonderful age, so different from any preceding age, cannot yet be written, for no one can tell whether the epoch is just opening or is already well advanced. It may well be that we have already seen the greatest surprises of the age, and that the epoch is nearing its culmination,[1] and that other than material development — let us hope intellectual and moral developments — will characterize future epochs.

The Labor Problem. — Now this great expansion of civilization on its material side has most profoundly affected the social and economic order of the world, and has brought prominently forward for solution questions more perplexing and momentous than any that have agitated past epochs of history.

Beyond controversy the central problem of the epoch, and one involving many others, is the so-called Labor Problem. This, plainly stated, is, How are the products of the world's industry to be equitably distributed?

[1] "It is probable," says Professor Ely, "that as we, after more than two thousand years, look back upon the time of Pericles with wonder and astonishment, as an epoch great in art and literature, posterity two thousand years hence will regard our era as forming an admirable and unparalleled epoch in the history of industrial invention." — *French and German Socialism in Modern Times.*

The condition of modern industrial society is this: Through the employment of the forces of nature and the use of improved machinery, "economic goods," that is, products promotive of physical well-being, can be produced in almost unlimited quantities. But this increase in society's productive power has brought little or no augmentation of material comforts to the laboring classes. Owing to some defect in our industrial system, capital secures a disproportionate share of the economic products. The rich grow richer, while the poor grow comparatively poorer. Great monopolies are created, and colossal fortunes amassed, while the laborers for wages become more and more pauperized, and consequently sink into an ever lower intellectual and moral degradation. This inequitable distribution of material well-being is creating everywhere the most dangerous discontent among the laboring classes, — as indicated by labor strikes, and by the promulgation of wild communistic schemes for the violent overthrow of all existing social institutions, — and is awakening among philanthropists and statesmen the greatest solicitude and apprehension.

Now, the student of the last two epochs of history will not fail to note that this labor problem bears exactly the same relation to industrial society that the old religious and political questions bore to the Church and the State. The great problem of the first era was the proper distribution of authority in religious matters; that of the second era was the distribution of power in the State; that of this new epoch is the equitable distribution of the products of industry.

The establishment of religious and political equality has led to demands for social and economic equality. The democratizing of Church and State has rendered inevitable, it is urged, the democratizing of property. But it should be carefully noted that democracy in wealth does not mean communism — which denies individual rights in property — any more than democracy in religion means atheism, or democracy in politics anarchy. It simply looks to such a reform or reorganization of the present

social and economic system as shall prevent capital from establishing a new tyranny in the world, and shall secure to every man an equitable proportion of the material goods which his labor helps to create, or "an apportionment of well-being according to labor performed."

Socialism. — It only remains for us to mention some of the socialistic plans for the reorganization of industrial society, to which the evils and inequalities of the present system have given rise. We must first, however, get a correct idea of what socialism really is. "The distinctive idea of socialism," says Professor Ely, "is distributive justice. It goes back of the processes of modern life to the fact that he who does not work, lives on the labor of others. It aims to distribute economic goods according to the services rendered by the recipient."

Socialists believe that the present industrial system is so radically wrong that it cannot by any amount of reform be made to work equitably. Consequently they would, by gradual measures, replace it by a wholly new economic system. The two most practicable schemes yet presented for the reorganization of society upon a socialistic basis are what are known as State Socialism and Christian Socialism.

State or political socialists would supersede the present wasteful, harsh system of competition, whose maxim is the survival of the strongest, by the gradual extension of the functions of government. The following quotation will put the plan clearly before us: "Wagner[1] believes" — we again quote Professor Ely — "that he has discovered a law according to which the functions of government are constantly increasing in many places, even in spite of theory. According to him, government in all civilized countries is uninterruptedly taking upon itself new duties. The post-office, education, the telegraph, railroads, and the care of forests are examples. The increase in state business in England, *e.g.*, may be seen from the fact that the expenses of government were forty

[1] Adolf Wagner, professor in Berlin, one of the ablest advocates of state socialism.

times as great in 1841 as in 1685, although the population had little more than trebled its numbers. If it can be shown that Wagner's theory is really a law, and that the apparent proofs of it are not merely temporary social phenomena, it will at once be admitted that it is of the highest importance. Its operation would, of itself, establish the socialistic state, since, if government continually absorbs private business, there will, in the end, be only state business. . . . At present things are moving pretty rapidly in Germany towards the accomplishment of Wagner's ideal, if we may suppose that expressed by his law." [1]

Christian socialists would correct the evils and wrongs of the present social and economic system by the application to them of the principles of Christianity. Now Christianity is essentially socialistic. It condemns individualism. It teaches fraternity. It forbids one to pursue his individual interests at the expense of another. It enjoins every one to look, not on his own things, but also on the things of others. Hence Christian socialists — and here they are in perfect accord with state socialists — maintain that political economists in making self-interest the basis of the science of production and exchange, are founding the whole industrial order of the world upon a distinctively anti-Christian principle; and that by thus framing self-interest into a system, and, as it were, sanctifying it, the moral sense of men is dulled, the selfish tendencies of human nature made more pronounced, business divorced from Christianity, and the moral elevation and improvement of humanity rendered more difficult and practically impossible.

Therefore, in place of competition they would substitute co-operation. The distributive coöperative associations in the North of England, which now number several thousand, with property aggregating many millions, are pointed to as evidence of the practicability of the reorganization of society upon a socialistic basis. All that is needed is that the principle be extended to the processes of production as well as to those of distribution. The numerous building and loan associations among us, which are essentially

[1] *French and German Socialism*, pp. 242, 243.

socialistic in principle, are a further illustration of the progress which the idea is making, and additional evidence of the practicability and advantages of the system.

Now, both these schemes for the reorganization of the social and economic system, not only have the same aim, namely, the more equitable distribution of physical well-being, but are also closely allied in method. Both propose to secure the end in view through the substitution of industrial coöperation for the present harsh system of competition; only to effect the change political socialists invoke the aid of the State, while Christian socialists look to the Church and to voluntary association. Both systems, and particularly that of voluntary coöperation, depend for success upon the intellectual and moral development of society, and above all, upon the growth of the Christian sentiment of the brotherhood of man. Dr. Lyman Abbott, in urging on the upper classes the claims upon them of the laborers for wages, — the great "disinherited fourth estate," the toiling masses who are now shut out from a just participation in the blessings of our modern civilization, — and in presenting further the relations of the Church to this great question of the age, very truthfully says: "Nothing else can solve it [the labor problem] than the application of the principles of Christianity to industrial organization, as they have already been applied to political and ecclesiastical organization; and as they have revolutionized the State and the Church, so they must revolutionize industrial society."

There are already indications of a coalescence between these movements in State and Church, which may result in the creation of a new social and industrial system, just as Roman forms and Teutonic ideas combined to form the feudal system of the mediæval ages. In such case, the State, "even now the highest and most majestic of coöperative associations," would constitute the model upon which the complete organization of society would be framed, and the Church would contribute the inspiring spirit. Thus would be reached the ideal Christian State, which would rest upon justice, liberty, and equality, and be pervaded by the sentiment of the brotherhood of man.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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[The following table, being prepared for practical use in the classroom, contains in the main only cardinal dates, chosen with special reference to the text. Many dates that in another connection might be deemed important have been omitted.]

395. Final division of the Roman empire; Arcadius in the East and Honorius in the West.
410. Alaric sacks Rome; 411–18, Romans withdraw from Britain.
415–507. Visigothic kingdom in Tolosa; 526–711, in Spain.
449. Hengest and Horsa invade Kent in Britain.
451. Attila defeated at Chalons (dies 453); (452, Beginning of Venice).
453. Genseric, king of the Vandals, sacks Rome.
476. ODOACER ENDS THE WESTERN ROMAN EMPIRE.
486. Clovis, the Merovingian Frank, defeats Syagrius at Soissons.
489–93. Theodoric the Ostrogoth conquers Italy (d. 526).
495. Cerdic and Cynric invade Britain; 519, Cerdic king of Wessex.
496. Clovis defeats the Alemanni at Tolbiac; his baptism.
527. Justinian emperor (d. 565).
527? CHRISTIAN ERA ADOPTED BY ABBOT DIONYSIUS THE LITTLE.
528. St. Benedict founds his monastic order (d. 543).
533–40. Campaigns of Belisarius.
554. Narses destroys the Ostrogothic kingdom.
563 (or 564). Columba founds the monastery of Iona.
569 (or 570). Birth of Mohammed, son of Abdallah and Amina.
590. Gregory I., the Great, Bishop of Rome (d. 604).
596 (or 597). St. Augustine in England; death of Columba.
601. Augustine first Archbishop of Canterbury.
610. Mohammed begins to preach; Heraclius emperor (d. 641).
622 (July 16). THE HEGIRA (Mohammedan era).
627. Heraclius defeats the Persians at Nineveh.

632. Death of Mohammed; accession of Abubekr.
634. Omar caliph; 636, Damascus and Cadesia; 637, Jerusalem taken; 638, conquest of Egypt.
644–55. Othman caliph; Moslem conquests in central Asia.
655. Ali caliph; Oswy defeats Penda and converts Mercia.
661. Moawiyah founds the Ommiade dynasty at Damascus.
664. Synod of Whitby declares for Roman Church; Cædmon.
687. Pepin of Heristal defeats the rival mayor Ebroin at Testry.
705–16. Waled caliph; Moslem dominion at its greatest extent.
711. Tarik destroys Visigothic kingdom at Xeres.
714. Charles Martel Frankish Mayor of the Palace.
716 (or 717). Leo the Isaurian, emperor; St. Boniface in Germany.
732. Charles Martel checks the Moslems at Tours or Poitiers.
750. Abbassides overthrow the Ommiades; (762, found Bagdad).
751. Lombards overthrow the Exarchate of Ravenna, in Italy.
752. Pepin the Short, first Carolingian king (d. 768).
754. Council of Constantinople condemns image-worship.
755. Pepin confers lands upon the Pope; St. Boniface dies.
756. Emirate of Cordova founded by Abdelrahmen (the Ommiade).
771. Charlemagne sole king; (774, conquers the Lombards).
786?–809? Haroun-al-Raschid; golden age of the Abbassides.
800. *Charlemagne crowned emperor at Rome by Leo III.* (d. 814).
800. Egbert king of Wessex; 827, overlord of all the English.
842. Bilingual oath of Strasburg (Charles and Louis); (images restored).
843. *Treaty of Verdun* (division of the Frankish dominions).
862. Ruric founds a dynasty in Russia (lasts till 1598).
871. Alfred king of Wessex (d. 901).
874. Norsemen settle Iceland.
885–6. Norsemen checked at Paris by Odo the Great.
909. Abu Obeidallah, first Fatimite caliph.
911. Conrad, first Franconian king of Germany.
911? (918?) Rollo receives Normandy from Charles the Simple.
962. *The Holy Roman Empire established by Otto I.* (destroyed 1806).
984. Norsemen settle Greenland.
987. *Hugh Capet founds a dynasty in France* (d. 996).
1000. *Expected end of the world.*
1013. Danes under Sweyn conquer England.
1014. Danes checked at Clontarf, Ireland, by "Brian Boru."
1016. Edmund Ironsides and Canute in England; Normans invade Italy.
1024. Conrad II., Franconian emperor. (Line lasts till 1125.)
1035. Foundation of kingdoms of Castile and Aragon.

1059. Election of Pope by Cardinals; Robt. Guiscard, Duke of Apulia.
1066. Battles of Stamford Bridge and Hastings; *William I. of England.*
1073. Hildebrand becomes Pope Gregory VII. (d. 1085).
1075? Seljuks take Jerusalem.
1084. Rome taken by Henry IV. and Godfrey; retaken by Robt. Guiscard.
1086. Domesday Book; William receives the oath of his vassals.
1095. Councils of Placentia (or Piacenza) and Clermont.
1096–99. First Crusade (1097, Nicæa, Dorylæum; 1098, Antioch; 1099, Jerusalem).
1115? Irnerius teaches civil law at Bologna.
1147–49. Second Crusade, under Conrad III. and Louis VII.
1154. Henry II. of England. (Plantagenet line till 1485.)
1187. Saladin takes Jerusalem; (Christians call for aid).
1189–92. Third Crusade, under Richard I. and Philip Augustus.
1198–1216. Innocent III. pope; (1199–1216, John of England).
1202. Fourth Crusade; 1204–61, Latin Empire of Constantinople.
1206. Genghis Khan founds the Mongol Empire (d. 1226).
1209–13. Crusade against Albigenses; 1212, Children's Crusade.
1215. Magna Charta; Dominicans founded; Guelphs and Ghibellines in Florence; Lateran Council abolishes ordeals.
1248. Crusade of St. Louis; (Inquisition introduced into Spain).
1261. Greek Empire restored by Michael Palæologus.
1265. Montfort calls the Commons to Parliament; regularly called, 1295.
1270. Eighth Crusade; death of Louis IX.
1272. Edward I. king of England.
1273. Rudolph of Hapsburg, emperor.
1282. Conquest of Wales; "Sicilian Vespers"; a storm forms the Zuyder Zee.
1291. Fall of Acre and the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.
1295. Edward I.'s "Model Parliament" includes the Commons.
1302. Philip IV. calls the Third Estate to the National Assembly.
1309. Avignon, France, made the seat of the papacy.
1314. Battle of Bannockburn; (1315, of Morgarten Pass).
1327–77. Edward III. of England; 1328, Philip VI. of France.
1346. The Black Prince defeats the French at Crécy; David II. of Scotland made prisoner by the English at Neville's Cross (released 1357).
1347. Rienzi, tribune of Rome; 1347–9, the Black Death.
1356. Poitiers; John II. of France captured by Edward III.; the Golden Bull issued by the Emperor Charles IV.
1360. Treaty of Bretigny; Wycliffe lectures at Oxford.

1361. The English language used in English law courts.
1377. Popes at Rome and Avignon; Wycliffe denounced.
1382. Hanseatic League at the height of its power.
1384. Wycliffe completes his Bible; his death.
1386. Swiss win Sempach; Timour invades Persia.
1396. Bajazet defeats Sigismund at Nicopolis.
1397. Union of Calmar; Margaret of Denmark.
1399. Henry IV. of England (Lancastrian line).
1402. Timour captures Bajazet at Angora (d. 1405).
1409. Council of Pisa deposes rival popes and elects Alexander V.
1414–15. Council of Constance elects Pope Martin V.
1415. Battle of Agincourt; martyrdom of Huss.
1420. Treaty of Troyes between Henry V. and Charles VI.
1422. Henry VI. and Charles VII. claim the French crown.
1429. Joan of Arc defends Orleans and crowns Charles VII.; burned 1431.
1438. Gutenberg invents printing; Albert II. establishes the Hapsburg line in Germany.
1452. Frederick III., last emperor crowned at Rome.
1453. *Fall of Eastern Empire;* end of Hundred Years' War.
1455. War of Roses (ends 1485); Mazarin Bible printed (?).
1462–1505. Ivan the Great of Russia.
1479. Union of crowns of Castile and Aragon.
1492. Conquest of Granada; Columbus discovers America.
1507. Henry VIII.; (1513, Leo X.; 1515, Francis I.; 1516, Charles I. of Spain; 1519, becomes Charles V. of Germany; crowned, 1530).
1517. Luther posts his 95 theses.
1519–21. Magellan's voyage; Cortez conquers Mexico.
1520. Luther burns the Pope's bull; (1521, condemned by the Diet of Worms).
1525. Pavia; (1527, Rome sacked; 1529, Reformers called Protestants).
1534. English Act of Supremacy; (1535, English Bible).
1540. Ignatius Loyola founds the Order of the Jesuits.
1543. Copernican system of astronomy published.
1546. Death of Luther; (treaty between Charles V. and the Pope).
1547. Death of Henry VIII. and of Francis I.; Ivan IV. "Czar."
1555. Religious Peace of Augsburg; (Mary of England).
1556. Philip II. (d. 1598); Ferdinand I. emperor; (Cranmer burned).
1558. Elizabeth (d. 1603); (marriage of Mary Stuart with the Dauphin).
1559. Francis II.; second English Act of Supremacy.
1560. Charles IX.; conspiracy of Amboise; (Scotland establishes Calvinism).

1566. Revolt of the Netherlands; (murder of Rizzio).
1568. Mary escapes to England; (imprisoned till her death, 1587).
1571. Lepanto; (Universities of Oxford and Cambridge incorporated).
1572. Massacre of St. Bartholomew; capture of Haarlem.
1573–74. Siege of Leyden; (1575, University of Leyden founded).
1576. "The League" in France; sack of Antwerp; pacification of Ghent.
1579. Union of Utrecht; (Celtic Netherlands submit to Spain).
1580. Philip II. seizes Portugal, and puts William the Silent under ban.
1582. *Gregory XIII. reforms the Calendar (Feb. 24); Edinburgh University.*
1584. Assassination of William the Silent.
1585. Raleigh colonizes Roanoke Island; War of the Three Henrys.
1587. Execution of Mary Stuart; (Davis' Straits discovered).
1588. The Invincible Armada; Murder of Henry of Guise.
1589. Henry IV. of France; (1590, Ivry; 1593, abjures Protestantism).
1598. Edict of Nantes gives toleration to Huguenots.
1601. Elizabeth's Poor Law.
1603. James I. unites the crowns of England and Scotland.
1607. Jamestown, Va., settled; Brownists sail for Holland.
1609. Truce between Spain and Netherlands; (Protestant Union and Catholic League in Germany); (Moors expelled from Spain).
1610. Henry IV. assassinated; Louis XIII.; (Galileo's discoveries).
1611. English Bible; (plantation of Ulster); (Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden).
1613. Michael Romanoff founds a line in Russia.
1614. Last French States General till 1789.
1618. Thirty Years' War begins; (Prussia united with Brandenburg).
1619. Synod of Dort condemns Arminius.
1620. Pilgrims land in Massachusetts; (Bacon's "Novum Organum").
1625. Charles I.; (Wallenstein engaged by the Emperor).
1627. Shah Jehan, builder of the Taj Mahal at Agra, in India.
1628. Petition of Right; (Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood).
1629. Richelieu's Edict of Grace to the Huguenots.
1630. Gustavus Adolphus invades Germany; (founding of Boston, Mass.).
1632. Death of Tilly; death of Gustavus at Lutzen.
1640. Short and Long Parliaments; (John IV. frees Portugal).
1642. Civil War begins in England; death of Richelieu.
1643. Louis XIV.; (Westminster Assembly of Divines, 1643–47).
1645. Naseby; (peace between Sweden and Denmark).
1648. Treaty of Westphalia; end of Thirty Years' War.
1649. Execution of Charles I.; Cromwell in Ireland; (Wars of the Fronde).

1653. Cromwell Lord Protector.
1660. Charles II. restored by the Convention Parliament.
1666. The Annus Mirabilis; (England mistress of the seas).
1679. *The Habeas Corpus Act in England.*
1682. Peter the Great of Russia; (La Salle explores the Mississippi: Penn's treaty with the Indians).
1685. James II. of England; Louis XIV. revokes the Edict of Nantes.
1689. English Revolution; William III.; *Bill of Rights.*
1697. Peace of Ryswick; Charles XII. of Sweden.
1700. Charles XII. defeats Peter at Narva.
1701. Frederick I. of Prussia; 1701–14, War of Spanish Succession.
1702. English Act of Settlement; Queen Anne (d. 1714).
1704. Battle of Blenheim, or Hochstadt.
1707. Union of England and Scotland into Great Britain.
1709. Peter defeats Charles XII. at Pultowa, or Pultava.
1713. Treaty of Utrecht; fixes boundaries in Europe.
1714. Treaty of Rastadt; George I.
1715. Louis XV.; Old Pretender's Jacobite invasion.
1727. George II. of England.
1740. Frederick the Great (d. 1786); Maria Theresa (d. 1780).
1740–48. War of the Austrian Succession.
1752. New Style in England, adds 11 days to calendar.
1755. Braddock's defeat in America; (earthquake at Lisbon).
1756. Seven Years' War begins; (Black Hole of Calcutta).
1757. Clive wins Plassy in India.
1759. Wolfe captures Quebec.
1760. George III. of England; (British victories in India and Canada).
1762. Catherine II. of Russia (d. 1796).
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1772. First partition of Poland.
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1791. Flight and recapture of Louis XVI.; Legislative Assembly.
1792. Mobs and massacres in Paris; *New French Era* (till 1806); Valmy.
1793. Execution of Louis XVI.; Reign of Terror.
1794. Reign of Terror ended; Polish insurrection under Kosciusko suppressed by Russia.

1795. Napoleon defends the Convention; the Directory; third partition of Poland.
1796–97. Napoleon in Italy; 1798–99, in Egypt; 1799, he overthrows the Directory; 1800, Marengo; 1801, the Concordat, Luneville.
1801. Union of Great Britain and Ireland takes effect Jan. 1.
1802. Napoleon consul for life; peace of Amiens; code Napoleon.
1803. Louisiana sold by Napoleon to the United States.
1804. Napoleon emperor; 1805, Trafalgar and Austerlitz; 1806, Jena and Auerstadt; Berlin decree; end of Holy Roman Empire; 1807, Eylau, Friedland, and Tilsit; 1808, Peninsular War; 1809, Wagram; 1810, second marriage; 1811, height of power; 1812, Russian campaign; 1813, Leipsic; 1814, Elba; 1815, Waterloo (d. 1821).
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